

**SUSTAINABLE LIVELIHOODS IN
SOUTHERN AFRICA:
INSTITUTIONS, GOVERNANCE AND
POLICY PROCESSES**



SLSA Working Paper 3

Zimbabwe Country Paper

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December 2000

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List of Abbreviations

CA	Communal Area
CAMPFIRE	Communal Area Management Programme for Indigenous People
CC	Catchment Council
DNPWM	Department of National Parks and Wildlife Management
ENDA	Environment Development Agency
IUCN	International Union for the Conservation of Nature
PIP	Policies, Institutions and Processes
RDC	Rural Development Council
TFCA	Transfrontier Conservation Area
VIDCO	Village Development Council
WWF	World Wide Fund for Nature

1 INTRODUCTION

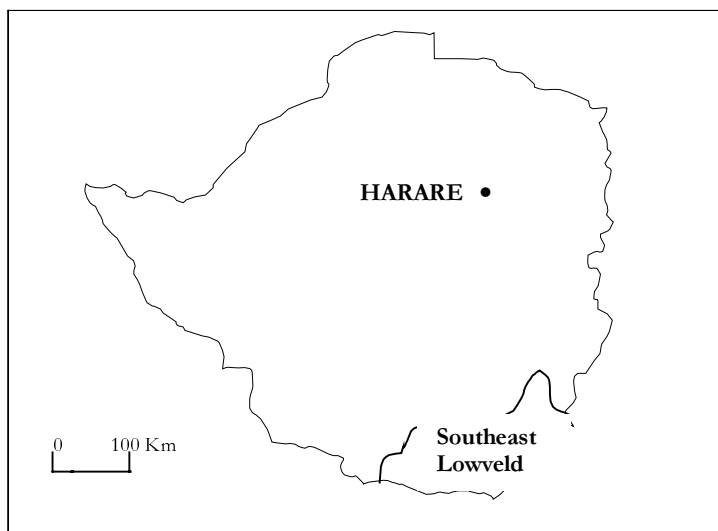
Zimbabwe has occupied an unusually prominent position in the world media in recent months as race, politics and land have come together in a strong television-friendly cocktail. However notwithstanding the glib pronouncements of the British press, Zimbabwe stands at a key moment in its post-colonial history. The political terrain is a rapidly shifting one with unlikely new alliances emerging between actors (commercial farmers and trade unionists; war veterans and traditional authorities) around different issues. The previously strictly physically demarcated Zimbabwean landscape is also changing as squatters occupy (mainly white-owned) commercial farmland and (mainly white-owned) commercial enterprises increasingly operate in communal lands (hunting concessions, contract-farming etc). Talk of decentralisation and capacity building of local government has accompanied the virtual collapse of many rural district councils.

Underlying these trends is the meltdown of the Zimbabwean economy heralded by Economic Structural Adjustment in the early 1990s and exacerbated by the current political situation and Zimbabwe's involvement in the DRC war. HIV and AIDS affects a large proportion of the population and its impact will be felt for years to come. Early this year Cyclone Eline ravaged the south-east of the country (our potential study area) causing massive damage to houses, roads, dams and crops.

In this context of increasing vulnerability access to natural resources continues to play, alongside a portfolio of other activities, a crucial part in rural people's livelihood strategies. What remains insufficiently understood is an understanding of the way in which new institutional interventions aimed at facilitating access to these resources play out in practice.

2 SOUTHEAST ZIMBABWE: CONTEXTS AND LIVELIHOODS

Figure 1: Map of the Study region



The case study areas proposed for research are Chiredzi in Masvingo Province and Chipinge District in Manicaland. This area constitutes a large portion of Zimbabwe and is of course not physically, economically or socially homogenous – there is a large degree of variation. However this section attempts to summarise the context in which people pursue their livelihood strategies and explores some of these strategies.

Table 1: Provinces and their Districts

MASVINGO PROVINCE		MATEBELELAND SOUTH	
DISTRICT	COMMUNAL AREA	DISTRICT	COMMUNAL AREA
Chiredzi	Matibi 2	Chipinge	Ndowoyo
	Sangwe		
	Sengwe		

2.1 Natural Capital

2.1.1 Rainfall

Much of the southeast of Zimbabwe falls into what is termed the ‘lowveld’, applying to all land below 600 metres above sea-level. The area is markedly warmer than the highveld and is characterised by a particularly uncertain rainfall regime. Major droughts have struck southeastern Zimbabwe on a number of occasions in recent decades, most notably in 1982-84 and 1991-92. The 1991-92 drought was particularly severe resulting in total crop failures on both dryland and irrigated farms and having devastating effects on livestock numbers in the region as Figure 2 demonstrates.

However the most recent extreme meteorological event to affect the region was the uncharacteristically heavy rainfall over southern Zimbabwe, Botswana and northern South Africa early in 2000 which brought massive flooding along the Save and Limpopo Rivers, sweeping away bridges and temporarily displacing populations.

Table 2: Mean annual rainfall and coefficient of variation (%) for selected rainfall stations in the south-east and southern lowveld regions of Zimbabwe.

Station	Period	Mean annual rainfall (mm)	Coefficient variation (%)	N
Beitbridge	1922/23-1989/90	334.4	32	68
Buffalo Range	1968/69-1991/92	657.2	49	23
Lamula	1941/42-1970/71	364.4	48	30
Mazunga	1941/42-1970/71	386.1	36	30
Mtendelende	1941/42-1970/71	458.8	37	30
Nuanetsi	1917/18-1972/73	450.1	35	56
Rutenga	1952/53-1991/92	514.2	40	38
Silungubghe	1941/42-1970/71	472.1	38	30
Sovelele	1941/42-1970/71	558.0	32	30
Tuli	1899/00-1940/41	359.8	34	54

2.1.2 Soils

The four dominant soil groups in the southeast lowveld are: lithosols, predominantly on the igneous intrusive outcrops around the Mateke Hills and Chipinda Pools region, regosols within Gonarezhou National Park, vertisols, and siallitic soils. The main significance of the soils in the lowveld is their suitability for irrigation. In this respect the lithosols are limited by their shallowness, and the regosols by their low nutrient reserves and high permeability. The vertisols, by contrast, provide some of the best irrigable land in Zimbabwe, and excellent levels of production can be achieved on the siallitic soils (as on the Triangle and Hippo Valley Estates) (Cunliffe 1993). Fertile basaltic vertisols known as *tlava* are found in Matibi No. 2 and Sangwe communal areas.

2.1.3 Vegetation

The lowveld's vegetation is predominantly dry deciduous savanna woodland (Cunliffe 1993). *Mopane* woodland is the most extensive vegetation type, *Colophospermum*, *Combretums* and *Acacias* are also important. Riverine forest is found along the larger watercourses but large areas of were destroyed as part of tsetse fly control operations in the 1950s and 1960s. The fertile soils, and 'sweet grasses' of the lowveld make for high quality livestock feeding. Cattle can be fattened without supplementary feeding .

2.1.4 *Water resources*

Given the arid nature of the southeast of Zimbabwe the distribution and availability of water supplies takes on extreme significance, particularly in the context of irrigation development. Permanent natural surface water supplies are confined to the pools and beds of the larger rivers. Large dams have been constructed on the Runde and Mwenezi drainage systems to provide water for large irrigation schemes in the lowveld. Further major water storage works are planned but currently stalled due to lack of funds (see section below). Underground water supplies have been tapped through the development of boreholes which many settlements, particularly in the communal areas, depend upon. These have also extended the winter grazing range of livestock and game (Cunliffe 1993).

2.1.5 *Wild resources*

For a long time, the southeast lowveld has been reputed for its abundant wilderness and wildlife. Hunting and trade in animal products were an important component of the pre-colonial economy (Bannerman 1978; Cunliffe 1993) and the colonial fascination with sport hunting and subsequently wildlife conservation led to the formation of Gonarezhou National Park which boasts large populations of mammal species. At times these populations have been affected by tsetse fly control operations, drought and poaching (the latter particularly during the Mozambican civil war). Many commercial ranches in the lowveld are now deliberately nurturing their wildlife populations or buying in animals as they move into the burgeoning wildlife industry. On the fringes of Gonarezhou National Park, and to a lesser extent the game ranches and conservancies, there is a certain amount of 'leakage' of wildlife from the protected areas, and regular complaints of elephants damaging crops and lions killing livestock.

Table 3: Wild resources and their uses in southeastern Zimbabwe

Resource	Status	Use
Mopani trees	Abundant	Construction, fuelwood, browse, medicine etc
Baobab trees	Few	Fibre, edible fruits and leaves, medicine
Ilala palm	Few	Wine, basket making
Marula trees	Moderate	Edible nuts, wood used for carving implements
Ironwood trees	Few	Construction
Sine grass	Abundant after rains only	Thatching, grazing
Usezi grass	Abundant after rains only	Thatching, grazing
Mopani worms	Abundant	Edible
Quelea birds	Abundant (esp. post harvest)	Edible
Tlava (black clays)	Abundant	Plastering huts, clay posts
Hlaveni (sandy soils)	Abundant	Brick making

A massive array of trees, fruits, grasses and other wild resources are utilised in the region of which a very small selection is listed in Table 3, along with an indication of the relative availability of each resource. Access to natural capital, however, is not an unproblematic issue. It is socially differentiated along gender, age, wealth and ethnic lines. Access to resources is often a conflict-ridden process that must be negotiated for and is mediated by a range of formal and informal institutional arrangements (see, for example, Mukamuri et al. 2000).

2.2 Social/human capital

2.2.1 Land allocation

There are three main categories of land represented in the southeast lowveld. In the argot of Zimbabwean land designations these are: state land (Gonarezhou National Park and Malipati Safari Area under the management of the Department of National Parks and Wildlife Management), communal areas and large scale commercial farms. The communal areas form a broad arc separating the national park from the commercial farms and extend west along the Beitbridge river (Ndowoyo, Sangwe, Matibi 2, and Sengwe; and Chipise, Diti and Mtengwe respectively). Commercial farms cover the remainder of the lowveld. There are smaller areas of small scale commercial farms (Gonakudzingwa) and resettlement areas (Chizirizvi and Nuangambe) (Cunliffe 1993).

2.2.2 Population

The population density for all the communal areas of the southeast lowveld is 21.6 people/km². This figure is influenced to a certain extent by the relatively high population density of Ndowoyo Communal Area (42/km²) situated partially on the higher, wetter land east of the Save Valley. By contrast population densities are much lower further south in Sengwe and Chipise Communal areas (8.5/km² and 5.3/km² respectively). Between 1962 and 1992 the total communal area population has more than tripled with Matibi No. 2 experiencing the fastest rate of growth (see table 5). In recent years the AIDS epidemic has had a drastic effect on Zimbabwe's demographic profile and this impact is being felt across the study area and will continue to have a massive impact for the foreseeable future.

Table 4: Population data for the southeast lowveld

	1962	1968	1982	1992	Area (km ²)	1992 Pop. density (per km ²)
Ndowoyo CA	26840	35580	68610	87916	2094	42
Sangwe CA	7950	12300	17322	21766	635	34.2
Matibi 2 CA	9860	16640	31082	41821	2206	19
Sengwe CA	8570	10490	14169	20890	2445	8.5
Chipise CA	1700	3020	43346	4331	811	5.3
TOTAL CAs	54920	78030	135529	176724	8191	21.6
Gonakudzingwa	200	480	519	515	306	1.7
Gonarezhou NP	660	720	759	503	5207	0.1

Sources: CSO 1964, 1971, 1989 and 1992; see Cunliffe 1993.

Table 5: Mean annual rate of growth of populations in the southeast lowveld, 1962-1992

	1962-1969	1969-1982	1982-1992	1962-1992
Ndowoyo CA	4.11	5.18	2.51	4.03
Sangwe CA	6.43	3.48	2.31	3.41
Matibi No. 2 CA	7.76	4.92	3.01	4.93
Sengwe CA	2.93	2.34	3.96	3.01
Chipise CA	8.56	2.84	1.00	3.17
TOTAL CAs	5.15	4.34	2.69	3.97
Gonakudzingwa	13.3	0.06	1.00	3.20
Gonarezhou NP	1.25	0.04	0.96	0.99

Sources: CSO 1964, 1971, 1989 and 1992; see Cunliffe 1993

The majority ethnic group is Shangaan,¹ or more accurately Hlengwe, who constitute a minority ethnic group in Zimbabwe as a whole. Until recently, there no provisions had been made for Shangaan language teaching in schools. The group has close kinship links to larger Shangaan populations in Mozambique and South Africa. Shona and Ndebele populations have settled or been settled in the area since the 1950s and particularly after Independence. Venda people are found in the south of the region along the Limpopo.

3 LIVELIHOOD STRATEGIES

Livelihood strategies in the study area are dynamic, varied and differentiated. This is largely due to the daily, monthly and annual fluctuations in the timing and quantity of factors such as rainfall, labour migration opportunities, remittance income and transport costs. This section outlines the main livelihoods strategies employed by rural people in southeast of Zimbabwe.

3.1 Dryland agriculture

Despite falling largely into Natural Region V – an area officially designated as only suitable for extensive ranching – and the persistence of narratives about ‘the Shangaan’ being good hunters and workers but poor agriculturalists,² dryland agriculture has always provided a very important livelihood strategy to many households in the study area.

Agriculture was historically divided between opportunistic shifting cultivation of drylands and permanent cultivation of wetlands and riverbanks. Sorghum and millet were the staple crops, alongside green mealies, groundnuts, bambara nuts and sesame. Also pumpkins, watermelons, sweet potatoes and tobacco were grown along the river banks where it was possible to supplement rainfall with irrigation from the rivers. Riverine gardening off-set some of the risk of dryland cropping with an uncertain climate where good crops could on average be expected only once every 3-4 years. However, it was possible produce a considerable surplus of grain during years when rainfall was abundant. The surplus was stored in granaries to provide a crucial cushion against intervening lean years (Bannerman 1980; Cunliffe 1993)

Colonial and post-colonial prohibitions on riverine cultivation severely limited that particular cropping strategy. This, coupled with the availability of ploughs, encouraged more extensive cultivation of outfields on a permanent basis. Livestock came to serve as important inputs to cropping through the provision of draft power. Manure is rarely used, however, because of the preponderance of fertile basaltic soils and shortage of rainfall.

In a study of Sengwe Communal Area, ENDA (1993) identified an ongoing trend pointing to the increasing importance of rainfed arable production, as people attempt to diversify and expand their food base. Small grains such as sorghum and millet are still the major crops grown, although maize is increasing in importance since its introduction by settlers from Filabusi in the 1950s. A survey conducted in the Chikumbedzi area in 1998 found that 95.5% of households sampled grew sorghum and 91.5% grew maize (Mukamuri *et al.* 2000). Average home and out field sizes were 1.2 and 8 ha respectively – relatively large for Zimbabwean communal areas, reflecting the extensive nature of cultivation. Not all arable land held is necessarily cultivated. The area actually under production depends on the availability of labour and draft power. Due to the lack of water, and the large expense of digging wells or boreholes, it was found that only 12% of households sampled had a vegetable garden.

¹ Also written ‘Shangana’, ‘Shangani’

² See early District Commissioners reports for numerous accounts of drought and agricultural disasters.

Table 6: Harvest 'quality' in Chikombedzi 1980-1999

	Maize	Sorghum
1998-1999	8/10 Maize yields were good but less than sorghum because people couldn't afford treated seeds like R201 and R215. Those buying treated seeds had excellent yields	9/10 Excellent yield. Higher than maize because seeds are given for free
1997-1998	4/10 Poor due to lack of rain	5/10 Sorghum yields slightly better as more drought resistant
1996-1997	2/10 Very poor – grain loans distributed to those with no yield	3/10 People had ploughed large areas of land under sorghum but the rain was insufficient for a good harvest
1995-1996	3/10 Poor – those with draft power and treated seeds received better yields	4/10 Poor – insufficient rain
1994-1995	4/10 Only 3-4 bags harvested per family	5/10 Better yields – particularly for those who held communal work parties for ploughing
1993-1994	2/10 Very poor due to low rainfall and shortages of draft power following the severe drought	2/10 Very poor – people surviving on food for work schemes
1992-1993	0/10 Nothing – no rain; many cattle deaths due to the drought	1/10
1991-1992	0/10 No rain	0/10
1990-1991	0/10 Sufficient rain for germination but not for crop growth	1/10 Very few people managed to get even a bag of sorghum
1989-1990	1/10 Poor harvests – people survived on food for work or South African migration	1/10
1988-1989	7/10 Good rainfall meant good yields	8/10
1987-1988	1/10 Poor yield due to rainfall shortage	2/10
1986-1987	2/10 Many people had to look for work in South Africa and Hippo Valley	3/10 Slightly more favourable
1985-1986	0/10 Little rain	1/10 Some good farmers achieved small yields
1984-1985	9/10 Excellent yields	9/10 Excellent yields although problems with quelea birds eating grain
1983-1984	3/10 Poor rainfall; shortage of draft power following the war	4/10
1982-1983	2/10 Inadequate rainfall	3/10
1981-1982	1/10 Inadequate rainfall	2/10
1980-1981	2/10 Not much land cultivated as people were still in protected areas. Shortage of cattle for draft power	3/10

Source: Wolmer (2000) – fieldwork notes

Table 6 shows a ranking of harvest 'quality' by farmers in Chikombedzi between 1980 and 1999. There were very 'good' agricultural seasons only in 1998-99, 1988-89 and 1984-85 in this period when massive harvests were gathered and grain stores and cash income built up. However even in 'bad' years small yields of sorghum are usually managed. In the period 1989 to 1994 there were five consecutive 'bad' years including the 1991-92 drought when practically no crops at all were harvested.

3.2 Irrigated agriculture

Despite the presence of a large irrigated sugar industry in the lowveld (focused on Triangle and Hippo Valley Estates) and widespread irrigable soils, irrigation development in the communal areas has been fairly limited. The Agricultural Development Authority (ARDA) manages two large irrigation schemes at Tshovani in Sangwe Communal Area and Chisumbanje in Ndowoyo Communal Land. There are also a number of relatively small, government owned irrigation schemes in the region of which six in Beitbridge District, five in Chiredzi District and three in Chipinge District are currently operational (Cunliffe 1993).³ Shortages of diesel and delays in repairing engines and pumps commonly cause operational problems. This, together with local political wrangling, often imposes severe constraints on the effectiveness of these schemes. Maize and vegetables are grown on irrigation plots.

3.3 Livestock

ENDA's survey of Sengwe CA showed average cattle ownership levels down to 7.7 per household from 26 per household in 1991. Mukamuri et al.'s survey of livestock ownership in the Chikombedzi region of Matibi No. 2 CA in 1997-1998 found that average numbers of cattle owned were exceedingly low (2.1 per household) and that the majority of households (74%) own no cattle at all. The figures are particularly surprising given the reputation of the region as a 'livestock area' and can be attributed to the devastating impact of the 1991-92 drought on livestock populations (see Figures 2 and 3).

Drought events appear to have differential impacts on different types of livestock with cattle being worst hit and smallstock populations recovering more quickly. This trend was particularly evident following the 1991-2 drought when the slow recovery of the cattle population contrasted sharply with the rapid increase in smallstock numbers (See Table 3). The shift from cattle to small stock ownership resulted in severe shortages of draught power. It also affected patterns of livestock ownership shifting the ownership in terms of wealth, age and gender. For instance, both men and women invested in goats as a means of security while cows and donkeys (rather than oxen) were increasingly used for tillage. In the context of shortage of draft animals (only 26% of households owned two or more draft animals) a

³ NB. After Cyclone Eline the number of operational irrigation schemes might be considerably less.

number of institutional arrangements including sharing, hiring and work parties were entered into in order to secure draft power to till the relatively large fields (see Mukamuri et al. 2000).

Figure 2: Matibi II Communal Area livestock populations

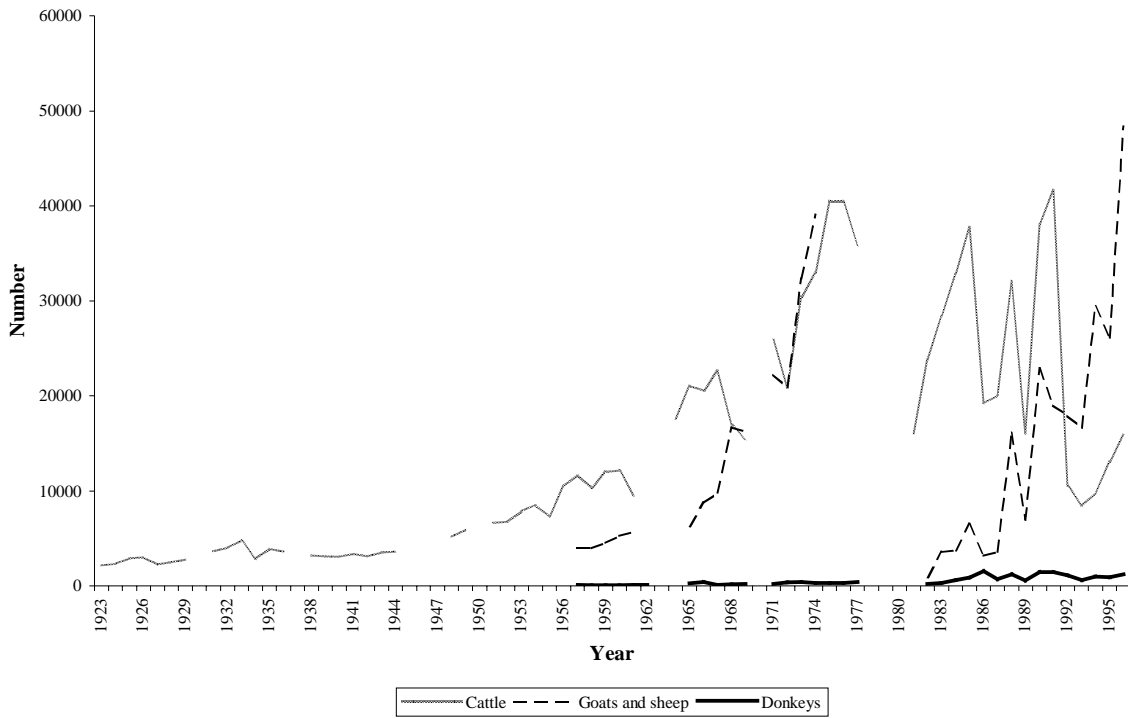
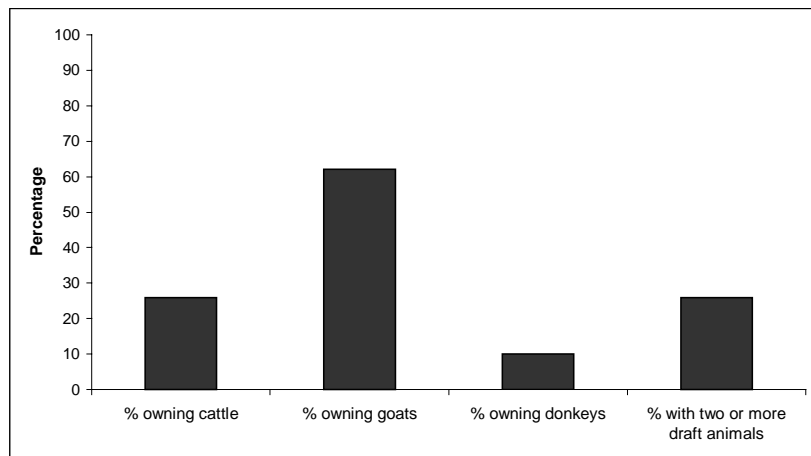


Figure 3: % of population near Chikombedzi owning livestock in 1998



Source: Mukamuri et al. 2000

3.4 Drought contingency planning

Drought is a recurrent event in southeastern Zimbabwe. Response and adaptation to uncertain drought events are consequently embedded in local peoples' practices – drought must be seen as a social and economic phenomenon as well as a meteorological condition. Scoones et al (1998) describe the adaptive responses livestock owners in the region make in the context of uncertain conditions to safeguard their animals. These are summarised in box 1:

Box 1: Drought coping responses of livestock owners

1. *Feed management strategies*
 - lopping tree branches
 - feeding tree pods/fruits
 - purchasing sugar cane residue
 - gathering or purchasing crop residues
2. *Moving livestock to:*
 - neighbouring communal areas through livestock loan arrangements (*kufiyisa*)
 - small scale commercial farms
 - commercial farms
 - Gonarezhou national park (poach grazing)
3. *Livestock marketing*
 - monthly local auctions
 - private buyers
 - direct slaughter to CSC or Tendameats
 - selling locally

A wide variety of fruits and tubers are also harvested, stored for use during drought periods.

A final yet crucial livelihood support mechanism during drought years is government grain loans of which many have been distributed in Chiredzi District in recent years. Of the households sampled by Mukamuri et al. 100% had received grain loans and 99%, despite government requests, had yet to pay them back.

3.5 Diversification

Before the advent of colonial era restrictions on ‘poaching’ Shangaan people hunted widely with traps, snares, dogs, bows and arrows and some guns. Most hunting was for subsistence although ivory and wildcat skins were used as tributes to the Nguni and in trade the coast. A large market for furs and skins developed during the second quarter of the 19th century when many people adopted the dress patterns of the Nguni (Harries 1994). Illicit hunting and fishing in Gonarezhou National Park and the commercial farms is still prevalent and continues to provide many people with important sources of protein. Meat and fish is traded locally.

The long history of local and distant trade between local people and those of higher plateaus has included ivory, skins, biltong (dried meat), iron and salt. (Duma and Nda). Money earned was used to purchase grain during lean years (see NC Chipinga 1931, 1938). The rural economy continues to be highly dependant on markets and includes much illicit cross-border trade with Mozambique and South Africa in second hand clothes, cooking implements, livestock, grain and vegetables. Rampant inflation has encouraged a shift from monetary trade to a form of barter where buckets of sorghum have become the standard unit of currency.

In the survey carried out by Mukamuri *et al.*, 22% of male head of households sampled reported that they were engaged in wage labour with a further 22% working as ‘casual/seasonal’ paid labourers. The actual numbers, particularly of the latter, are almost certainly much higher, as male labour migration (particularly to South Africa) has long been near ubiquitous (see below). The Chiredzi sugar estates are another major employer of both permanent and seasonal labour, and small numbers are also formally employed by the DNPWLM in Gonarezhou National Park or by government field agencies.

Other livelihood diversification strategies include contract building; brewing beer for parties; selling vegetables; and paid agricultural labour for neighbours.

3.6 Migration

A tradition of migration in the lowveld of Zimbabwe has been ingrained in the pattern of everyday life. Whether as an opportunistic response to famine and risk, as hunters or traders, or as refugees – geographic movement in search of better livelihood is embedded within a network of cultural strategies. To move was ‘a socially constructed reflex; a natural, accepted way of seeking to exploit the environment’ (Harries 1994: 17).

Liesegang (1981) estimates that in 1860 approximately 2000 men in a population of 500,000 south of the Save in Mozambique worked part of the year as porters or elephant hunters or as self-

employed traders, deriving some revenues from outside their own area. The number more than doubled after labour migration to the Natal sugar plantations started and reached 10,000 following the opening of the Kimberley diamond fields. Migration numbers multiplied again several times once the Rand gold mines of the eastern Transvaal were opened in 1886 and as railway construction and in coal mines began to demand increased labour inputs.⁴ By 1897 the number of 'Shangaan' employed on the Witwatersrand totaled nearly 80,000 and the numbers had almost doubled by 1936 (Harries 1981).⁵ The experience in Southern Rhodesia was very similar and the movement of males on to the international labour market was encouraged – but not initiated – by land alienation and establishment of reserves (see Palmer 1977; Phimister 1986). District Commissioners, however, were continually perturbed at the flow of labour out of the colony from people in the southeast in preference to working on the mines and farms of Southern Rhodesia.

With such large-scale labour migration to the mines repatriated wages became an important pillar of the local economy and migrant labour came to be viewed increasingly as a stage in a boy's passage to manhood (*gayivisa*). Today this is still the case although there have been significant changes in the migrant labour experiences. In the past, notwithstanding the activities of unscrupulous labour recruiters there was a legitimate, licensed and organised recruitment process. Today the vast majority of labour migrators have been criminalised as crack-downs on immigration in South Africa have led them to become 'border jumpers' running the risk of dangerous animals and arrest as they travel at night through Kruger National Park. Most work is poorly paid and illegal on farms or in the cities rather than in the mines. Interviews in the Chikomedzi area suggested that there has been a diminishing terms of trade from the point of view of the labour migrators. While previous generations would have remitted a relatively large amount and returned with money to buy livestock and build houses current returnees rarely bring more than a few consumer durables (such as radios and bicycles) and enough money to buy smallstock.

⁴ In 1878 8000 'Shangaans' made up 30% of the workforce on the Kimberley diamond diggings (Harries 1994).

⁵ It has been argued that the label 'Shangaan' itself came to stand for Tsonga-speakers (mainly east coast Mozambican) who were recruited in batches to work in South Africa and had a stereotypical reputation as good mine-workers. Harries (1989: 102) suggests that, as well as being imposed on people, Shangaan identity was, in part, constructed by the miners themselves. Their work in ethnically defined teams at the rock face, in highly dangerous conditions, and communal life in the compounds with its own rites and rituals, bred solidarity and cooperation and their newly shared identity took on some of the functions of an extended family

4 NARRATIVES, INSTITUTIONS AND POLICY PROCESSES IN RELATION TO LAND, WATER AND WILD RESOURCES

In the southeast of Zimbabwe, debates about water, land and wild resources are brought into sharp focus and assume a particular salience. This section will explore the narratives around each of these forms of natural capital that are told and that influence policy in the region, identify the institutions operating in region, and pose questions about the way policies are arrived at implemented.

Table 7: Key narratives and initiatives concerning water, land and wild resources in southeast Zimbabwe

	WATER	LAND	WILD RESOURCES
KEY NARRATIVES	Soil erosion Drought Water shortage Engineering-driven supply Community management	Alienation Land shortage	Preservationism Bioregionalism Rangeland degradation Sustainable utilisation CBNRM
KEY INITIATIVES	New Water Act, catchment committees Micro-catchment management (IH/IES – DFID) Small dams (CARE-DFID) Tokwe Mukorsi dam (public-private initiative)	Land designation Resettlement programmes Tenure reform Squatting by war veterans SEDAP	Campfire Conservancies DNPWLM and Gonarezhou National Park rehabilitation (WB – GEF) Transfrontier Conservation Area SELCC Illala palm weaving (SAFIRE)
	RDC Capacity Building Programme (DFID)		

4.1 Water⁶

Since the mid-1990s water sector reform in Zimbabwe has been gathering pace. With the passing of the Water Act and the establishment of ZINWA⁷ in late 1999, reforms are now being implemented. Recent political change, however, has meant that water reform implementation is being overshadowed by the land issue. It now looks like successful implementation of the reforms will be contingent on the outcome of political conflict over land return because the nature of current land-use largely determines the demand for water in agriculture which in turn underpins the way institutional change is being framed. Whilst this leaves a large question mark hanging over long-term analysis of the sector, it is still possible to discern important processes underway with implications for livelihoods and access to water. In brief three main ‘macro’ issues are emerging both of which have ‘micro’, livelihoods level implications:

⁶ Following extracted from Alan Nicol’s country visit report.

⁷ Zimbabwe National Water Act.

- 1) The definition of new institutional roles, including those of catchment councils and RDCs (respectively in 'big' and 'small' water), will change the context of vulnerability, the PIP 'box' and alter the ways in which poor households and communities access the resource. Key questions include what contests are likely to emerge as a results and how will these contests affect livelihoods strategies?
- 2) Ongoing decentralisation as a political phenomenon is affecting the nature of local participation and management of domestic water supplies, through changing both technical and social features of management. Key questions are how are these changes being manifested in the behaviour of households seeking representation of their interests, accountability of institutional actors and in changing the rules of the game of access to water?
- 3) Political conflict over land is changing the use-patterns of water at a national scale with macro-level implications for demand, and micro-level implications for future provision. Key questions are what does this mean for the 'new institutions' (CCs, ZINWA, RDCs (and their new role)) and how might the disarticulation of policy in the two areas exacerbate difficulties in each?

4.2 Land

During the recent elections in Zimbabwe the ever volatile 'land question' was brought to the world's attention. Various coalitions of actors, gathered under the banner of 'war veterans,' stepped up a previously low level campaign of occupying commercial farms and some state owned land. ZANU-PF, quick to capitalise on deep seated grievances on the emotive land issue fought the election under the slogan 'Land is the economy and the economy is land'.

The history of the land question in Zimbabwe is a well rehearsed one covered extensively in the SLSA Theme Paper on Land. Yet it is worth drawing out some of the threads with particular reference to our potential study area. As elsewhere in Rhodesia, the greatest impact the colonial government was to have on the people of the southeast lowveld was the prolonged land squeeze resulting from the system of 'land apportionment'. Once the British South Africa Company realised that the country was not as rich as the Witwatersrand in minerals, it decided to focus on developing the agricultural possibilities of the country (Palmer 1977). From 1908 onwards this resulted in land alienation as the African population were denied the right to occupy areas now officially designated as 'commercial land' or 'Crown Land' and were relocated into 'Native Reserves'. In the lowveld, the movement of 'pioneer' white farmers from the highveld to carve out cattle ranches triggered the movement of Africans off 'European farming area'. The moves were accelerated after the Second World War, especially with the introduction of sugar estates at Triangle and Hippo Valley.

However relative to other parts of Zimbabwe, land has always been readily available in the southeast where population densities are relatively low. Massive pressure on arable land is generally absent, although there is at times some pressure on grazing land. Grievances around colonial interventions tended to focus more on the destruction of traditional livelihood strategies (such as fishing and hunting) and the disruption of trade routes. Land alienation also led to people's removal from the former protective sphere of their ancestors – leading to a perceived increased incidence of drought.

Prior to the current standoff, land last flared up as a political issue in Zimbabwe in 1997 when more than 800 farms were designated for resettlement. At that time, most of the farmers succeeded in legally challenging these designations. However it is these farms, with a few changes, which constitute the current list of farms again designated for compulsory acquisition and resettlement. A large number of these farms are in the lowveld (mainly Mwenezi District).

The commercial farming sector and wildlife lobby argue that large scale resettlement is inappropriate for the lowveld and will not alleviate poverty or environmental degradation due to the limited agricultural potential of the area. However farm invasions occurred throughout the election period in the region and in fact increased after the election. It remains to be seen whether the plots being pegged will be cultivated with the next rains.

On the ground it appears hard to generalise about who is squatting, where and why. However one thing is evident: on all sides there is a difference between public posturing and the back stage discourse. In practice, certainly adjoining Matibi II CA negotiations and trade-offs are being carried out between commercial farmers and war veterans with particular grazing paddocks as the bargaining chips.

4.3 Wild Resources

Like land, a key colonial legacy in Zimbabwe that has been massively politicised is the issue of wild resources and in particular wildlife management. Today the political significance of wildlife cannot be divorced from the land issue.

4.3.1 Preservationism

The history of wildlife conservation in colonial Africa – and Rhodesia was no exception – is one of coercive measures to protect animals from local inhabitants initially for the recreational desires of white settlers and visitors, and subsequently to preserve a threatened African heritage (Anderson and Grove 1987; MacKenzie 1988; Adams and McShane 1992). In the southeast lowveld this has been played out around the establishment of Gonarezhou National Park. A long campaign from the 1930s to 1960s was fought by conservationists eager to see the area gazetted as a national park. The major challenge to this

scheme came from the cattle industry and veterinary department. The cattle lobby saw a ‘wilderness’ area as a twin headed threat to cattle from tsetse fly and Foot and Mouth Disease. In the 1960s this difference of opinion became a very public one. Large-scale game culling exercises were proposed to eradicate the tsetse fly and international conservation organisations such as the IUCN and WWF joined the fray in campaigning to ‘save’ Gonarezhou National Park.

4.3.2 Community Based Natural Resource Management (Campfire)

The last acts of land alienation of the colonial era in the lowveld were to move people out of the area which became Gonarezhou Game Reserve, and subsequently National Park. As recently as the late 1960s the whole Ngwenyene community was shifted from the area around the confluence of the Save and Runde rivers and moved to Sengwe CA. Other communities were moved from along the Mwenezi River further south. These displacements from ancestral lands were bitterly resented and led to severely degraded relations between local communities and DNPWLM. The poor relations were compounded by aggressive anti-poaching measures and highly visible elephant culls by DNPWLM. Understandably, people were aggrieved that the animals that they were no longer allowed to hunt and caused so much damage to their crops were hunted with impunity by the government department that was protecting them.

More recently, the CAMPFIRE programme which had its genesis in part in the experiences of the Mahenye community in the lowveld⁸, has come to Chiredzi, Chipinge and Beitbridge Districts. Zimbabwe has been at the forefront of attempts to promote Community-Based Natural Resource Management (CBNRM) through the CAMPFIRE scheme (Communal Area Management Programme for Indigenous Resources – a project for the disbursement of hunting revenue to communities). The central tenet of this scheme, which has become something of an icon among conservation agencies and international NGOs, is that neighbouring communities must receive direct benefits from protected areas if conservation policies are to be effective. However to many the relatively meager cash disbursements that fall to members of Campfire committees are small recompense for the damage to crops caused by elephants or livestock by lions and leopards, and the large area of fertile soils denied use for agriculture or as grazing land. There is thus a widely held perception in the CAs of the lowveld that Gonarezhou National Park is of no practical use to them and has led to the theft of ancestral lands.

4.3.3 Bioregionalism

In October, 1999 the Zimbabwe, Mozambique and South African governments signed a memorandum of understanding noting that ‘ecosystems transcend national boundaries’ and recognising ‘the need for

⁸ See Peterson (1991), Goodwin (1997) and Murphree (2000) for detailed descriptions of the Mahenye experience.

transborder co-operation in the conservation and management of shared natural resources'. The Transfrontier Conservation Area (TFCA)⁹ agreement aims to 'promote biodiversity and socio-economic development in the area ... The Kruger / Banhine-Zinave / Gonarezhou Peace Park will create one of the most impressive conservation regions in the world, with an area totaling a massive 95,700km².¹⁰ The newly established park would encompass a substantial amount of the lowveld regions of all three countries.

The TFCA concept is informed by both traditional preservationist notions of wildlife management and ecocentric environmental philosophies with an emphasis on biodiversity and 'bioregionalism' (Duffy 1997). This leads to a discourse on preserving 'ecological integrity'; 'maintaining the integrity of core parks'; opening 'biological corridors for megafauna'; and talk of 'greenbelts', 'biosphere reserves', 'buffer zones', 'ecozones' and 'core refuges' and suchlike.¹¹ Habitat fragmentation is portrayed as a threat to biodiversity – and this can only be reversed by the creation of large 'wildlife complexes' (Price Waterhouse 1994).

4.3.4 Conservancies

In the commercial farming sector in the lowveld there has been large-scale move by cattle ranchers into game ranching, either exclusively or alongside cattle. This trend has been mainly driven by economic factors, particularly the relative decline in beef prices and the difficulties faced in restocking cattle after the devastating 1991/92 drought. In the 1960s game ranching meant the production of meat and hides, in the 1970s this expanded to include safari hunting and in the 1980s with tourism and live game sales augmenting the product line in the 1990's.

The trend has reached its apogee with the development of 'conservancies'. The concept involves the amalgamation of privately owned ranches devoted to wildlife production (both consumptive – game cropping and safari hunting, and non-consumptive – photographic tourism) through the removal of internal fences between participating properties.

Through three conservancies in the southeast lowveld (The Save Valley, Chiredzi River and Bubiana.), the region has come to be particularly closely associated with the conservancy concept. Save Valley Conservancy has made a complete land use-transition from cattle ranching to wildlife operations. Comprising 24 properties and with a total area of 3387 km² it has become the largest private wildlife reserve in Africa (du Toit 1998). These are politically highly controversial as they encapsulate the volatile Zimbabwean land debate in microcosm with groups of white commercial farmers building a continuous

⁹ aka Peace Park

¹⁰ The Herald 25 October 1999.

¹¹ See, for example, World Bank Preparation Mission (1992).

fence between themselves and the communal land farmers, creating an island with low population densities and a rich habitat surrounded by densely populated areas.

Conservancies have been portrayed as the most economically lucrative and environmentally sustainable form of land use in the lowveld (Price Waterhouse, 1994). On the other hand, the conservancies are also seen as ‘de-development, economic sabotage, a demonstration of white luxury – indulging their whims by turning land into large game parks’¹² and as ‘attempts by large-scale farmers to ‘hide’ and privatise wildlife’.¹³

4.4 Actor networks and the policy process

Donor activity in the lowveld is increasingly being linked to conservationist goals – particularly the preservation of biodiversity. As well as the TFCA this is exemplified by a World Bank Global Environmental Fund (GEF) scheme to rehabilitate Gonarezhou National Park. Alongside providing US\$3 million for upgrading infrastructure and capacity building a further US\$2 million is earmarked for spending on ‘community-based’ projects around the park. Three NGOs are spending money on similar projects in the region (Africa Wildlife Foundation, CESVI and SAFIRE).

A network of actors has come together to address organise bids for this money as the South-East Lowveld Coordinating Committee (SELCC). These include DNPWLM, game ranchers and tourist industry representatives, NGOs and representatives of the three RDCs neighbouring Gonarezhou National Park (Chiredzi, Chipinge and Beitbridge). However this raises important questions about accountability. The 1-2 members of the RDCs are held to speak for the whole communal area population of the lowveld (176,724 in Chiredzi District alone in 1992). Indeed in the context of the Campfire programme it is a commonly heard criticism that RDCs do not automatically or necessarily have the best interests of local committees at heart and that power should be further devolved to the genuinely local level.

The current political context in Zimbabwe has led to a collapse in tourism and hunting revenues over the first six months of 2000, and the wholesale invasion of Save Valley Conservancy accompanied by snaring and hunting of wildlife, grass and timber cutting and burning.

5 DECENTRALISATION IN SOUTHEAST ZIMBABWE

Following the amalgamation of District and Rural Councils in 1993 (following from the RDC Act of 1988), the pace of development of Rural District Council capacity has been varied. Major donor efforts in

¹² Interview WWF, Harare [6/99].

1996 (funded by DFID, the World Bank and SIDA) attempted to extend the lessons of a DFID funded pilot in Gokwe to the whole country. The five year, \$ 20 – 30 million scheme has been criticised for being too big and complex. Patterns of authority, control and forms of accountability between different actors – from external projects to line ministries to RDCs to ‘traditional leaders’ – are played out differently between sites and by policy area.

The Ministry of Local Government is committed to decentralisation, and has outlined its vision in an internal (‘well workshopped’) paper. The paper is silent about fiscal decentralisation and implementation has moved incredibly slowly. With the increasing squeeze on central government resources much decentralisation effort has been ‘dumping’ functions on rather weak RDCs.¹⁴ Fiscal decentralisation has not gone very far, and there remain relatively few income earning opportunities for councils. Options for the land tax (to supplement the unit tax on commercial land) have been delayed by bureaucratic discussions around subdivision requirements etc. With so little revenue itself central government may yet recapture revenues from land etc. to the national treasury. Basic reforms around staffing etc. are also on hold, as the Public Service Commission has not responded.

Another perennial problem has been the dominance of line ministries (often with the best qualified staff, the bigger budgets and the greater political clout in Harare and with donors etc.). With line ministry staff reporting up the line to their provincial bosses and thus to head office, lines of accountability at the district level are obscure. The RDC Development Committee is supposed to be the forum for cross-ministerial coordination at the district level, but there are no formal incentives to ensure anything happens as a result of such discussions, and mostly nothing does. The endless planning processes (from village to ward to district etc.) which resulted (from 1984 onwards) in lots of ‘bottom up’ plans from but no budgets to draw on still continue, but are almost always overridden by line ministry priorities. This has caused much disillusionment among all concerned, and has resulted in the gradual demise of the VIDCOs/WADCOs as planning units.

Those line ministries who have devolved control over service provision (education, health) are those who just did not have the budget anymore to keep things going. Others (like agriculture) have slimmed down but are seen to be effective (and can expect lots of donor money under the ASMP if World Bank conditions are met by government). The tension between RDCs and line ministries is being broken down, to some extent, by the move to block grants from donors (e.g the World Bank) for infrastructure developments such as roads and water/sanitation. (This programme has meanwhile

¹³ Chiredzi Rural District Council – Master Plan 1997

¹⁴ Makumbe (1998) argues that the decentralisation process to date in Zimbabwe has resulted in the further entrenchment and penetration of central government power and that it was primarily conceived for the purposes of creating a de facto one-party state in Zimbabwe.

ceased, although another massive 12 year loan has been prepared for release as soon as the government decides to toe the line).

Another challenge for RDCs is the huge array of projects and other initiatives in a district, each offering to different services for different per diem rates and ‘perks’. The Development in Practice ‘shared objectives’ study highlighted the chaos through a number of cases, suggesting a number of mechanisms for dealing with the situation at the district level. However, the practical day to day politics of who gets which contract from whom makes managing the multitude of initiatives a difficult challenge. There are someone complained ‘no rules of the game’.

The complexity of district level administration is further increased by a consideration of the changing nature of authority at the village level. The term ‘village’ is as highly contested now as it has been since the colonial era. There has been an effective abandonment of the VIDCO structure and a move back to the system of administration by ‘traditional authorities’ created by the colonial administrators, and made use of particularly in the ‘community development’ era of the 1960s and 1970s. The new Traditional Leaders Bill provides a framework for creating village assemblies (following from the Rukuni Commission recommendations), and bestows new powers on traditional leaders. However, how this pans out depends on complex histories of particular places – who can claim to be a traditional leader (and even a chief) is not straightforward.

Things are particularly complicated in Chiredzi District where – de facto – the RDC has ceased to exist. Chronic financial mismanagement lead to the sacking of the executive by the Minister for Local Government. The District Administrator was then effectively the acting RDC. He has since died leaving the affairs of the RDC in the hands of two acting DAs.

6 POTENTIAL RESEARCH THEMES

What has been the impact of water sector reforms on local governance and livelihoods in South Eastern Zimbabwe? (Solomon Mombeshora)

This emerges as a central question if one considers that differential access to water could be reduced or widened by the reforms. Yet recognising the need for equity in accessing and using water for farming and non-farming activities is one thing, knowing how to bring it about is quite another. This proposed research therefore seeks to not only document and analyse how the water sector reforms are impacting on governance and livelihoods at the local level, but also suggest ways in which the complex task of equity, in relation to the asset of water, could be achieved. In order to understand the impact of the reforms, the study compares two irrigation schemes in South Eastern Zimbabwe. Fieldwork will be

carried out in Chiredzi Rural District Council. However, the subject of water, governance and livelihoods has much wider relevance to Zimbabwe and beyond.

Water and Rural Livelihoods in South Eastern Zimbabwe (Sobona Mtisi)

There has been a shift in the study of rural livelihood from a tendency to equate rural livelihoods with agricultural activities to one that looks at various livelihood strategies of the rural poor. This shift is based on a realisation that that farming on its own may not provide sufficient means for survival in rural areas (Ellis, 1992). Furthermore, it has been shown that people pursue a range of livelihood activities by drawing on a range of assets which they have at their disposal, driven by their own particular preferences and priorities, and the type of vulnerability contexts in which they are placed (Farrington et al 1999:2).

Merits of these studies notwithstanding, their major limitation is that they fail to go beyond the diverse portfolio of rural activities and consider the structures (such as government or of private sector) and processes (such as institutions, policy and cultural factors) that determine the options available to rural people. This is particularly the case with rural people's access to, and use of, water with special reference to South Eastern Zimbabwe.

The proposed research will seeks to answer some of the following questions:

- What are the vulnerability contexts of the rural poor?
- Who are the rural poor?
- What is the full range of rural livelihood activities that exist in the case study area?
- What role does natural capital, especially water, play in rural livelihoods and how does it complement or compete with other forms of capital?
- How does socio-cultural capital affect access to and use of water?
- To what extent does local practice in water use affect policy, and to what extent does policy affect the livelihoods of the poor?

How do water policies articulate with institutional political processes? (see also Water Theme Paper by Alan Nicol)

This would involve mapping the ways in which policy is being implemented and how the institutional configurations which are resulting in open or close avenues for the participation of the poor in decision making. The focus would be on the Runde Catchment Council as it develops and the RDCs and other 'user groups' represented on it. The primary research would be to assess the competing nature of water use within the catchment (a baseline survey) and to observe/analyse the expression of this competition within the CC and its planning sub-committee (focusing on two sub-catchment councils). The research

would involve long-term linkages with key informants on the CC and, to triangulate observations, the insights of a reference group of local external informants. The anticipated end-goal would be to feed back into CC development better ways of articulating the needs of poor communities/users, particularly through the sub-catchment and user group levels. Outputs would be research reports (baseline survey, CC report, CC-RDC report), a policy paper on experience of operationalising the IWRM principle and a decision-support framework for catchment planning based on SL analysis.

Institutions and water access at the micro level (see also Water Theme Paper by Alan Nicol)

This would involve research at the household/community livelihoods level looking at the development of choice-perceptions of access within changing institutional environments. How do the poor see new institutional configurations as an opportunity or barrier to access? This would look at the relationship of water access and the articulation with the 'black (PIP) box' through analysing the specific issue of the demise of the DDF maintenance capacity, the establishment of new roles for the RDCs in Catchment Based Management (CBM) and the changing nature of the local political environment.

It is anticipated that the one of the key issues would be participation in family well development versus participation in communal water point development (what, for instance, are the specific gender issues involved in trade-offs within such decision making?). The Mvuramanzi Trust (working in Masvingo – forming part of the Runde Catchment) could be a local partner in the research, the board of which comprises institutional actors embedded in policy change at many levels (see* below), useful for national-level dissemination. A selection of six communities could be chosen and institutional (community/household) decision making analysed in retrospect and prospect, looking at how households within a community participate in different programmes and how decentralisation can change the nature of participation on programmes based on changes to community/household perceptions.

Does decentralisation provide new opportunities for access, allowing greater political space for local demands to be made, as is the World Bank view? Are there new opportunities for access to water? Or is the environment regarded as fundamentally the same with the same institutional, legal and social barriers in place? Might a better understanding of this PIP-household/community water access help to stimulate improvements to the diversification of livelihood strategies and reduce vulnerability to future shocks such as droughts?

The wildlife industry and its impact on local governance and livelihoods – a potential research outline (Will Wolmer)

In Zimbabwe in general, and the southeast lowveld in particular, there are massive differences of opinion emerging over what are viable or appropriate means of managing wild resources in such a way as to

support rural livelihoods. Over the last 10 years ‘sustainable utilisation’ along ‘rational’ economic principles (particularly of wildlife) has gained axiomatic status in Zimbabwe and much of the region – if not with all conservation institutions. This situation has been exemplified by the renowned Campfire programme. In the commercial farming sector in the lowveld these developments have been paralleled by the growth of game ranching initiatives and conservancies on private land. Quasi-Campfire ‘outreach’ programmes purporting to share the economic benefits of commercial wildlife management with neighbouring communities have often accompanied these. Most recently there has been a drive to promote the whole lowveld and parts of neighbouring Mozambique and South Africa as a Transfrontier Conservation Area in which governments, the private sector and local communities operate in some form of partnership.

Recent developments in the lowveld appear to indicate that these wildlife management and revenue sharing initiatives command limited support. In the context of the widespread occupation of commercial and state land by squatters/war veterans/land hungry peasants it is wildlife-based areas that have been particularly targeted. In the lowveld, Save Valley and Chiredzi Conservancies, game ranches, and to a lesser extent Gonarezhou National Park, have become the butt of land claims and occupations. Fields have been pegged, fences removed, cattle driven in, and poaching, removals of firewood and thatching grass intensively carried out by local communities and opportunist entrepreneurs.

Access to wild resources is of course linked inextricably to Zimbabwe’s fervent land debate as the changing political dynamics around land impact directly on people’s access to wild resources. Populist narratives concerning peasant agriculture and CBNRM in Zimbabwe have been thrown into stark contrast as the former increasingly emphasise re-appropriation of, principally white-owned, land whilst the latter focus on ‘doing more with less’ with existing land and natural resource complements.

These developments pose a variety of questions:

- What institutional and policy arrangements influence peoples access to wild resources?
- Are current wild resource management policies supporting or constraining livelihoods?
- Are they actually devolving power?
- How important is access to wild resources to livelihoods?
- Is wildlife conservation – participatory or otherwise – actually compatible with poverty alleviation and the promotion of sustainable livelihoods?
- What agendas/narratives are behind wild resources management policies? How do they play out in practice?
- How do people interact with wild resources management policies?
- How do the changing institutional dimensions of land access impact on access to wild resources?

- How has the emergence of powerful new actors (e.g. war veterans) and the atrophication of older actors (e.g. RDCs) affected access to natural resources?
- How can NRM policy processes be made more responsive to the priorities of the rural poor?

APPENDIX 1 – TABLES

Basic Human Development Indicators:

	Zimbabwe
Persons living in Absolute Poverty (HPI)	1.9 million (17.3%)
Total Population	10.9 million
Urban	3.4 m (31%)
Rural	7.5 m (69%)
HDI Ranking	129
Per Capita income Ranking	119
Per Capita Income (PPP) – US\$	US\$ 2,196
Life expectancy at birth	49
Literacy	84.7%
Percent of population with access to	
Basic health	85%
Clean water	77%
Sanitation	66%
Average Per capita daily caloric intake	1,989 (1992)
Underweight children (under age of 5)	16% (1990-96)
Child mortality (per 1,000 live births)	570 (1990)
Mother mortality (per 100,000 live births)	70
Child mortality up to age of 5, per 1,000 live births	74 (1995)
SOURCE	UNDP 1997 (1994 Survey)

Source: GTZ Reports Krause 1998a

Distribution of land according to agro-ecological regions

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Natural Region	% of Total land area suitable for agriculture	Rural Area %	Small Scale farming area %	Large Scale Farming area %	Average Rainfall per year	Total Erosion (1 000 ha / %)
I	1.8	13	-	71	> 1 000 mm	13.1 / 0.7 %
II	15.4	21	4	69	750 – 1 000 mm	302.6 / 16.5 %
III	18.5	39	4	45	650 – 800 mm	417.2 / 22.7 %
IV	37.4	50	4	28	450 – 650 mm	727.7 / 39.7 %
V	26.9	49	2	26	> 450 mm	374.7 / 20.4 %
Total	100					1,834.8/100 %

Sources: Columns 2 – 6: Zimbabwe Agricultural Journal 77 (0):1980 and Kay, G. 1970. Rhodesia Human Geography, University of London Press in Mararike 1999 pp. 35-36 Columns 7 Whitlow, R (1988) pp 24 – 25.

Local governance, and institutions/initiatives around access to natural resources in four potential case study districts

	Local Governance	Institutions/Initiatives		
		Land	Water	Wild Resources
Chiredzi	Collapsed RDC	SEDAP		Conservancies; SELCC; National Parks; Campfire; TFCA
Chipinge	Effective RDC	SEDAP		Conservancies; National Parks; Campfire

Bikita	Effective RDC MDC MP		DFID	Conservancy
Beitbridge	Weak RDC			TFCA

Inventory of initiatives in the proposed study area

Institution/donor	Project description	Location	Status
Government of Zimbabwe	Tokwe-Mukorsi dam to increase irrigation in lowveld	Chivi District	Stalled
World Bank Global Environmental Facility (GEF)	Gonarezhou National Park rehabilitation scheme and community biodiversity focused schemes outside park	In and around National Park	Stalled
Government of Zimbabwe USAID Peace Parks Foundation	Gaza-Kruger-Gonarezhou Transfrontier National Park	Zimbabwe, Mozambique, South Africa	Proposed
South-Eastern Dry Areas Project (SEDAP) – IFAD	Agricultural development, capacity building	Masvingo and Manicaland	Ongoing but threatened
RDC Capacity Building Programme - DFID	RDC ‘facilitation’	Zimbabwe	Ongoing
DFID	Water project	Bikita	Ongoing
EU	Anti-FMD veterinary fence	Around National Park	Proposed but stalled
USAID	Campfire	Matibi II, Ndownoyo, Sengwe CAs	Ongoing
SAFIRE (NGO)	Basket weaving cooperatives	Sengwe	Ongoing
CESVI (NGO)	Research support for TFCA	Chiredzi, Chipinge, Beitbridge Dts	Ongoing
Africa Wildlife Foundation (NGO)	Research support for TFCA	Chiredzi, Chipinge, Beitbridge Dts	Ongoing
Gazaland Tourist Initiative	Regional tourism promotion	Southeast Zimbabwe and Mozambique	Ongoing

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