CENTRE FOR APPLIED SOCIAL SCIENCES*
University of Zimbabwe
P O Box MP167
Mount Pleasant
HARARE
Zimbabwe

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ANIMAL CONSERVATION AND HUMAN SURVIVAL: A Case Study of The Tembomvura People of Chapato Ward In The Zambezi Valley, Zimbabwe.

By

Ravai Marindo-Ranganai**
and Basia Zaba***

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* A Member of IUCN - The World Conservation Union

** Sociology Department, Population Studies Programme,
University of Zimbabwe

*** Centre for Population Studies, London School of Hygiene
and Tropical Medicine

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Abstract

This paper describes the predicament of the Tembomvura, a clan of hunter-gatherers dwelling in the Northern Zambezi valley in Zimbabwe, who find their traditional activities strongly circumscribed by the CAMPFIRE programme which regulates the use of wildlife resources in the area. Their expectations and their evaluation of the programme are presented and contrasted with the functioning of the programme as described by information gathered from other interested parties in the area and some of the CAMPFIRE officials. An attempt is made to formulate a critical evaluation of the programme in this area based on its theory and assumptions. The implications of the negative perceptions of the Tembomvura for the future success of the programme are also considered.

Figure 1: Map of Chapoto Ward showing proximity of the area to game reserves.

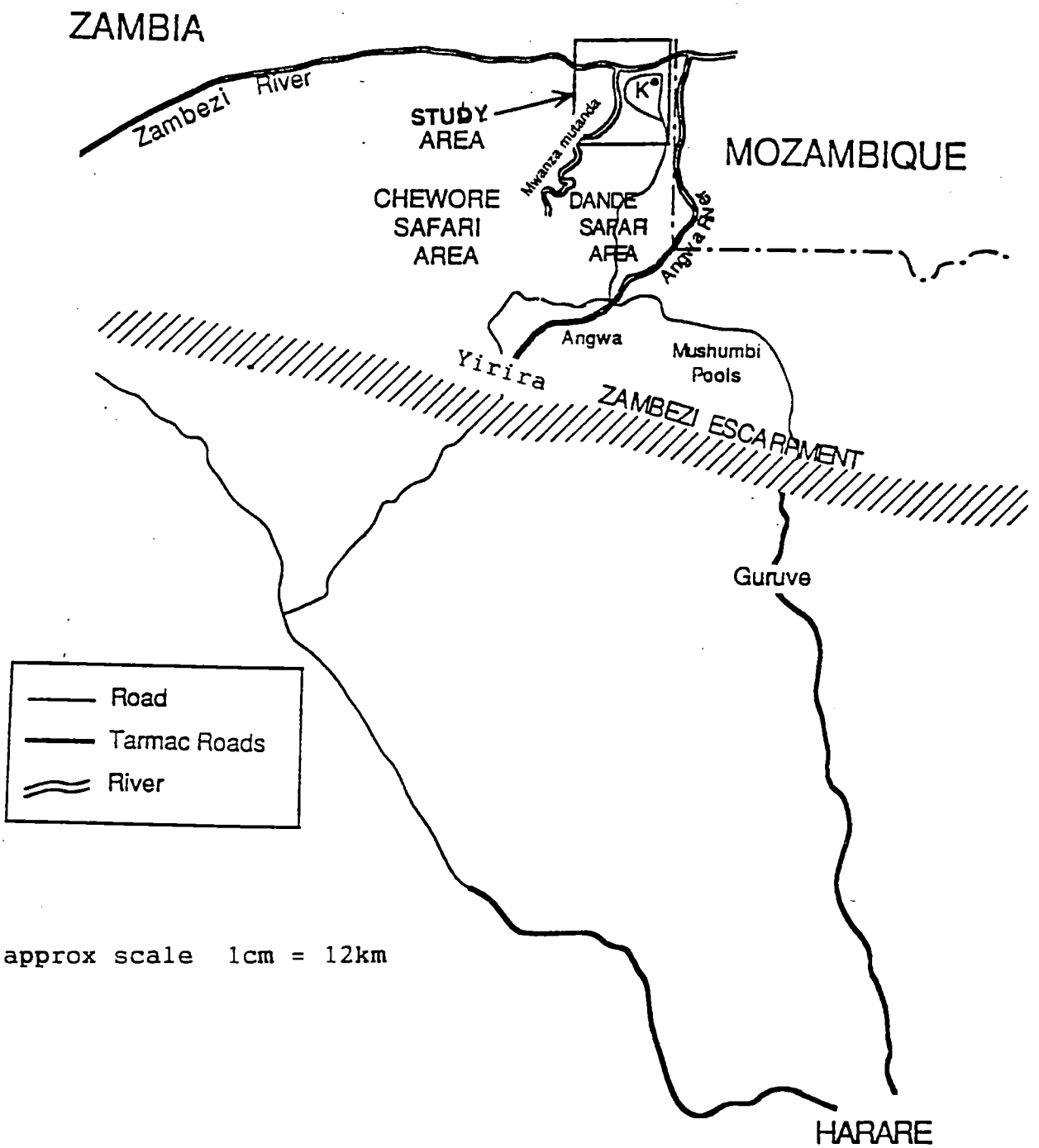
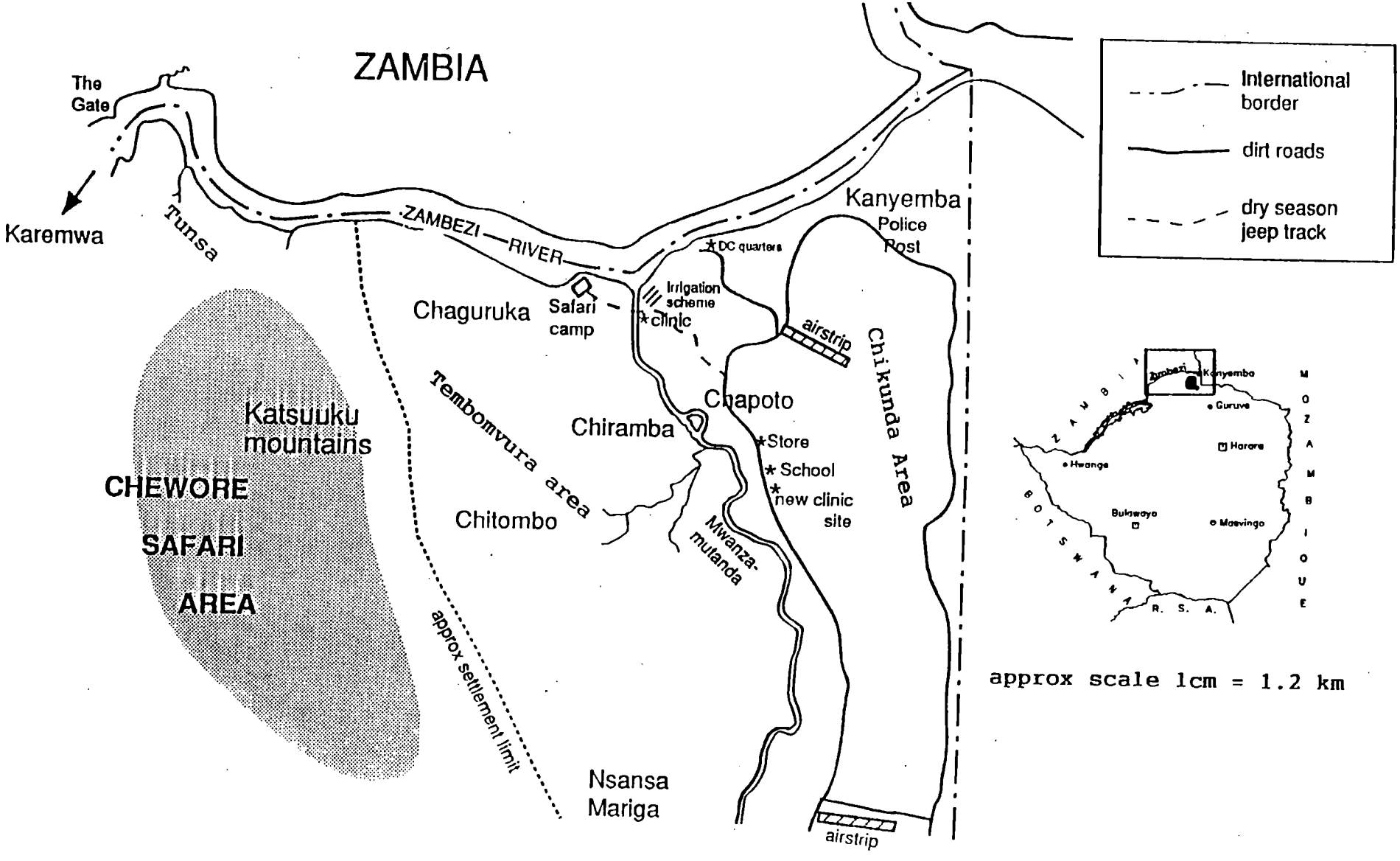


Figure 2: Tembomvura villages and some important man-made features in Chapoto Ward.



1 Introduction

The need for animal conservation, particularly relating to the large mammals of the tropics, has been recognized longer than most problems of bio-diversity loss. Consequently, there is a longer history of attempts to implement policies to safeguard the numbers of these species, and a larger range of approaches which have been evaluated to some degree. There is a growing consensus (Swanson, 1992) about the need to involve local people in conservation measures, both at the planning and implementation stages.

This consensus has gained strength, not only because it has been recognized that schemes imposed from outside simply do not work and are constantly subverted by local people if their interests conflict with those of the conservationists. In addition, the moral implications of expecting the poorest rural dwellers to bear the cost of measures which bring indirect benefits to the whole of humanity, have belatedly been recognized. Indeed a whole body of theoretical economic reasoning has been developed concerning the most effective way to ensure that the true value of environmental resources, including rare species, is realized. One of the conclusions of these research efforts, is the recognition of the importance of the "appropriation of the value of natural resources" by local users (Aylward, 1992).

The countries of Southern Africa have been in the forefront of development of schemes for involving the local community in animal conservation - Barbier (1992) reports on schemes in Botswana and Zambia as well as the Communal Areas Management Programme for Indigenous Resources (CAMPFIRE) in Zimbabwe, which operates in the area described in this paper. This scheme has received widespread recognition for the way in which it attempts to bring the benefits and the responsibility for wildlife conservation to the local inhabitants. In this programme, local councils are supposed to decide their own management strategies for wild life in their area (eg. whether hunting should be allowed, by whom, which species, at what cost and how it should be policed) and the same councils are to control how the revenues are to be shared and spent. In its inception, it is one of the most devolved programmes in Tropical Africa, and it is quite surprising that such an ambitious, de-centralized programme has been implemented in Zimbabwe, given its troubled history and legacy of centralized control by a racial minority - a minority which still retains control of the safari tourist industry.

Although local studies have been conducted in particular regions of programme activity since its inception in 1984 (eg. Jansen, 1990) to date there has been no comprehensive evaluation of its social and ecological achievements. The present study is certainly not an attempt to fill this void. It is a detailed study of the workings of the CAMPFIRE programme as seen from the perspectives of one small ethnic group: the Tembomvura, who currently form a very small minority in the Guruve district in Northern Zimbabwe. Traditionally hunters and gatherers who ranged along the Zambezi valley between Zambia, Mozambique and Zimbabwe, they currently feel themselves marginalized and threatened by the animal conservation measures enacted by their own neighbours through the district council. The study arose as an incidental adjunct to demographic fieldwork conducted amongst the Tembomvura, involving four months of participant observation and questionnaire interviews, whose main aim was to establish the fertility, mortality and migration trends in this community.

It must be stressed from the start that this paper is not intended as a critique of the CAMPFIRE programme as a whole, which may operate rather differently for the majority

of its participating groups. However, it is hoped that lessons may be drawn from this experience for other conservation programmes which have to operate in areas of great social diversity.

2 Background

Chapoto Ward lies 300 km on the North Eastern border of Zimbabwe, in Mashonaland East Province (Figure 1). The administrative centre of this ward is Guruve and the Guruve District council is in charge of the political and administrative organisation of the ward. Guruve District is demarcated into communal areas and game reserves. Chapoto ward is in the Dande Communal Land zone but it lies in close proximity to the Chewore Game Reserve and Dande Safari Area, both of which are specially designated for wild life. The whole area lies within the Zambezi Valley with its characteristic high temperatures, low rainfall and intense heat during the dry season. The soil type is calcimorphic and shallow which makes it poor for agriculture. The presence of tsetse flies in the area make keeping of cattle almost impossible and this means that most cultivation is done by hand. Chapoto ward is therefore a difficult area for agriculture, but it is a very rich area in terms of wild life. There is plenty of wild game and common animals include elephants, lions, leopards, buffalo and a variety of small herbivorous animals. Because of its proximity to the game reserve, Chapoto ward is becoming increasing important in terms of local participation in the conservation of wild life. Recognition is made by the government of the losses inflicted on the population by wild life and efforts are being made to ensure that people gain from animal resources whilst ensuring that the animal numbers are not depleted.

2.1 The Population of Chapoto Ward

Two major ethnic groups reside in Chapoto Ward; the Chikunda people and the Tembomvura. There are about 1050 Chikunda people and the Tembomvura number around 500. The Chikunda have an age and sex structure fairly typical for rural Zimbabwe, with 43% under age 15, and an overall sex ratio of 1.02. Among the Tembomvura, 48% are under 15, but this is not because they have high fertility, but rather because there is a dearth of males in the 30 to 44 age groups. This is reflected in the overall sex ratio, which is only 0.87. It is hoped that further analysis will reveal whether the most likely explanation of this is excess mortality or temporary migration.

The two communities differ in terms of their livelihood. The Chikunda are cultivators (although Hasler (1990) reports that they used to be hunters) and currently they are fully integrated into a settled agricultural lifestyle. The Tembomvura people on the other hand are more complex in their survival strategies. Although resettled by the authorities who expected them to live an agricultural lifestyle, the Tembomvura have continued with a life which is based on gathering, minimal cultivation and selling of labour as well as clandestine hunting. Although part of the community is attempting agriculture, especially those who have recently migrated from Angwa, (an area 70 km to the South where about 100 of the Tembomvura were settled) the remainder are still nomadic and constantly move and change residence within a limited range (Figure 2). It is now illegal to settle in the surrounding game reserve so the Tembomvura move around in a restricted area of approximately 90 sq km. The history of the Tembomvura partly explains why there is this persistence of a nomadic life style.

2.2 Brief History of the Tembomvura

The Tembomvura people report that they originally came from Mozambique. According to their oral history, they never settled inside Mozambique but lived along the banks of the Zambezi River, leading a life of hunting, fishing and gathering wild fruits, honey and tubers. They then migrated to Zimbabwe and settled in a place called Chirambakudomwa mountain. Their ancestors moved to the Chewore game reserve and settled in a place called Karemwa where they lived a life of hunting in the game reserve, gathering honey and the tubers mpama (dioscorea bulbifera), manyanya (boscia angustifolia) and bepe (tacca leontapetaloides), and fishing. Karemwa was a very rich place in terms of fish because of its proximity to Tunsa hot spring where a wide variety of fish could be obtained. Karemwa is also close to a very narrow place on the Zambezi River called the Gate, where the Tembomvura people found it easy to cross over into Zambia. Mozambique is also within reach - about 2 hours downstream by canoe along the Zambezi. During the beginning of the war of liberation in 1973, the Tembomvura people assisted the Freedom fighters who were moving into Zambia for training to fight the Rhodesian government. When this was discovered by the District Administrator, the Tembomvura people were moved from Karemwa and resettled in Chapoto ward close to the community of the Chikunda under Chief Chapoto. From that time, the Tembomvura distanced themselves from the Chikunda by choosing the western side of the Mwanzamtanda river, closer to the game reserve and Katsvuku mountains and they tried as much as possible to continue with their nomadic lifestyle. In 1979, as the war intensified, some of the Tembomvura people and the Chikunda were moved into a security village in Mashumbi Pools 150 km away from Chapoto Ward until the end of the war in 1980. According to the Tembomvura most of them escaped from the security village and continued with their nomadic lifestyle with relatively little disturbance, because the authorities did not have enough manpower during the war to police the hunting activities of the Tembomvura community.

2.3 From 1980 Onwards

Zimbabwe attained political independence in 1980. After this period, more intense efforts were made to resettle the Tembomvura. Newspaper stories following the activities of what was believed to be a backward community of two-toed people (mistakenly termed the Dema) gave rise to a substantial amounts of aid going to Chapoto Ward for the Tembomvura (Dema) people. As Hasler (1990) and some of the Tembomvura elders report, most of the aid given in their name never reached them, but disappeared somewhere in the Chikunda community. Relationships between the Chikunda and Tembomvura people are unfriendly. In times of shortage or drought the Tembomvura people are known to have sold their labour to the Chikunda, working in their fields for food. This has led to a general idea among some of the Chikunda that historically the Tembomvura people used to be their servants, although the Tembomvura people deny this. The Chikunda people play a domineering role in terms of political representation and decision making in the ward. In fact the Village Development Committee Chairman for the Tembomvura villages, Mr Kabere, is himself Chikunda although he is settled among the Tembomvura. He is very keen to dissociate himself from these backward people, whom he refers to as the Dema, a term which they find insulting.

Activities for the protection and conservation of wild life in the area intensified after 1980. The increasing loss of wild life, especially the black rhinoceros to Zambian poachers in 1982 to 1984, led to a tightening of the Parks and Wild life Act 1975 which banned hunting in the game reserve. Police officers and Parks officials intensified their efforts to control illegal hunting and many arrests were made. Police records for the period 1983 to 1984 show a record high number of arrests: 150 poachers, most of whom were Tembomvura - inevitably

the Chikunda played the role of the informants. This background meant that the relationships between the Tembomvura and the Police and Parks officials deteriorated from an early period and the Tembomvura believed that they were being punished for having a different lifestyle. This is significant for the understanding of some of the difficulties that subsequently arose in trying to introduce a participatory programme to conserve wild life in the area.

2.4 Data Sources for this Study

Data and information discussed in this paper were collected during a survey of fertility, mortality, migration and health behaviour among the Tembomvura. Although the aim of the survey was the collection of demographic and health data, including childhood nutritional anthropometry, issues relating to wild life conservation, poverty and food shortage presented themselves as important explanatory factors. The field work was carried out in the area from July to October 1992, with the researcher living among the Tembomvura people. Interviews were conducted with household heads in the four Tembomvura villages of Chiramba, Chitombo, Chaguruka and Nsansa/Mariga. Group interviews focusing on current problems relating to child nutrition and child health were also carried out in the villages, and participatory rural appraisal techniques were used to collect information on the changes in livelihood from a hunting and gathering lifestyle to the present, and the effects of restrictions on hunting.

2.5 CAMPFIRE - a Brief Description

The CAMPFIRE programme is an attempt by the Department of National Parks and Wild life Management to decentralise wild life management from central government to local communities. Under this decentralising policy, District Councils are given appropriate authority status over wild life resources in the areas that fall under their jurisdiction. This is an attempt to introduce, in the communal areas, the same kind of local control of natural resources that the mostly white rural council areas have enjoyed in the past. As a long term aim, the programme seeks to ensure that local communities have the motivation and responsibility for ensuring the survival and continuity of their wild life resources and, in the short term, to make sure that these communities gain in terms of livelihood from the natural resources. CAMPFIRE is thus an attempt to empower local communities. According to Thomas (1992) a number of Parliamentary Acts impinge upon CAMPFIRE and these are briefly described below.

The Natural Resources Act of 1941 allows for the appointment and composition of conservation committees in areas designated as intensive conservation areas, whose function is to protect and improve natural resources and to undertake works for the conservation and improvement of soil and water in the area.

The Parks and Wild life Act 1975 gives provision for the Minister of Environment and Tourism to designate district councils as the "appropriate authority" for wild life in their districts. This ensures that the District Councils can decide on ways of making revenue from wild life and using it within their districts.

The District Councils Act amendment of 1980 gives district councils the powers of a conservation committee under the Natural Resources Act. The role of the conservation committee is that of an expert body judging technical issues such as estimating the number of hunting permits which should be issued.

The Rural District Councils Act of 1988 provides for the joining together of the Rural Councils (which may encompass commercial farms) and the District Councils governing communal lands. The Rural District Council is empowered to be a Natural Resources Conservation Committee for the whole or part of its area as declared by the minister for local government.

The Communal Land Act 1982 and the Communal Land Amendment Act 1985 laid the foundation for rural development within the communal areas. Although aimed at grassroots development, Thomas (1992) argues that "The Communal Land Model Land Use and Conservation by-laws of 1985 authorised District Councils to prepare and adopt development plans with the advice of the regional officers of government ministries tasked with land use planning". There was no mention of the local people in the development plans of these district councils.

Starting from this background, CAMPFIRE is a Rural Development Programme which attempts to bring equity to Communal land owners by ensuring that they benefit as much as their Rural Council counterparts, from the natural resources in the area. Murphree (1993) expresses this idea very clearly when he states "effective management of natural resources is best achieved by giving it focused value for those who live with them."

2.6 Evaluations of CAMPFIRE Activity

Research on the CAMPFIRE programme in the Zambezi Valley communities has been conducted by Murphree (1993) and Murombedzi (1991) and specifically in the Chapoto ward by Hasler (1990) and Cutshall (1990). Other studies referring to CAMPFIRE and its success were done by the Zimbabwe Trust (Beitbridge case, 1990) and by Thomas (1992), whose study is a critical review of dualism in decision making, incorporating both historical and contemporary perspectives. These studies have had two orientations - on the one hand there are those which attempt to show the success of CAMPFIRE as a participatory programme which allows the local people to gain form their natural resources (Murphree, 1993); on the other are those using specific case studies to focus on some weakness in the programme (Murombedzi, 1990, 1991).

The 1989 Hasler study is very relevant for the problems considered here, because it is based on the same ward and in it he gives details of some of the local perceptions, but is limited by the fact that the programme was at its initial stage when the research was conducted. It is rather difficult to know whether the difficulties at that stage were just teething problems or actual threats to the programme.

Hasler reports that the Guruve District Council was notified of its appropriate authority status in November 1988, and that Z$168,600 (about £16,860) was handed over to the district Council from hunting concessions in 1989. He notes, however, that the locals of Chapoto ward claimed they did not get any of this revenue during the period of his research. He noted then some conflict of interest amongst Chikunda households, in terms of competition for agricultural land and land available to the whole community for collecting, and mentions the difficulties which could beset development efforts if they were not supported by the very influential spirit mediums. He also found that during the implementation phase of CAMPFIRE not enough detail was provided about the kind of gains which could be obtained from the programme.

Hasler recommended that training workshops and seminars could be conducted by National Parks and Zimtrust personnel to educate people about the importance of CAMPFIRE and to encourage their active engagement with the other parties involved in running the programme. Another problem identified by Hasler, is the lack of institutional capacity to deal with local finances and decision making, and he suggests that the district council should try to ensure that this institutional capacity exists through the training of locals. He suggested that certain community leaders should become more involved with CAMPFIRE: the chief, the school headmaster, the nurse and the VIDCO chairman. It is not apparent whether Hasler recognized the depth of conflict between the two tribal groupings - all the community leaders identified by him are Chikunda, and his study has far more detailed information about the Chikunda than the Tembomvura.

3 Current Problems

The plight of the Tembomvura is distressing, and worthy of our attention. The Tembomvura people are marginalised in the community: they occupy the lowest position in the social organisation of the ward and because of this their views tend to be quashed by those of the Chikunda. Their original lifestyle which was based on hunting and gathering makes them extremely vulnerable to any activities which restrict hunting or in any way affect the area they use for gathering wild food. They suffer more than the other community in the face of adverse conditions, such as the recent drought. Their residential settlements tend to be closer to the game reserves than those of the Chikunda, so they tend to incur more damage from wild life in terms of loss of life and damage to crops.

In this study, we attempt to present the views of the Tembomvura about wildlife and hunting, and the workings of the CAMPFIRE programme as understood by them. These views are contrasted with information about the programme gathered from disinterested parties in the area, and from some of the CAMPFIRE officials. The workings of the programme in this area are compared with its theoretical principles and assumptions. Finally, we consider the implications of the negative perceptions of the Tembomvura for the future success of the programme.

3.1 The Tembomvura Understanding of CAMPFIRE

The perceptions of the Tembomvura people, their understanding of the CAMPFIRE programme, their expectations and their frustrations, are presented below, as recorded during our research.

> *"CAMPFIRE is a programme for the Chikunda and the Safari people. They are the ones who gain from it. What CAMPFIRE does is to stop us from hunting so that white people can come from far away to kill animals for fun. We have heard that these people pay money but we have never seen any of it. The Chikunda are making money from CAMPFIRE and when animals are killed they get the meat. All the village wild life committee is made up of the Chikunda. Look at us we are poor, we are starving and we are not allowed to kill any animals to continue with the lifestyle which our ancestors taught us. How are we expected to survive? They are all in it, the police, the Chikunda and the Safaris. We are even afraid of*

going to the mountains to gather food, once they see you there they will come after you even when you are only looking for plant food - not for their animals."

"We have not received anything from CAMPFIRE, no money, and all we hear is that the money is used to build the school, but the school was built some time ago, so what happened to the money now? We hear that it is going to be used to build the clinic but our people are moulding bricks for the clinic and getting paid for this. Is that CAMPFIRE money? Do we have to work for it as well? So what happens to those who are too old to work? Are they not going to get any money from CAMPFIRE then? We think the money is going somewhere, the Chikunda Councillor is getting some money and so are his relatives. He has gained a lot himself. They even pick him up in the CAMPFIRE car now."

"We expected money. At least something to improve our lives. They do not want us to go back to our lifestyle and yet we gain nothing. All we have is that we should not go back into the mountains, we should not kill any animals but wait for the government to give us maize. Have you ever eaten maize without relish? We have nothing at all not even the meat or the money. All we get is harassment from the safaris protecting their animals."

A meeting was held at Chapoto school on the 17th July, 1992, attended by the researcher. At this meeting the councillor informed the local people that the money from CAMPFIRE was not going to be paid to individual families but was going to be put into the development of the area. Three Tembomvura men attended, but before the meeting came to an end they moved off, leaving the Chikunda arguing among themselves. Hasler reports that the villagers' wish to be paid cash from wild life proceeds was "frowned upon by a deputy secretary in local government" (p.4). The situation in 1992 was that the idea of paying dividends to individual families was opposed even by the local councillor and some of the educated Chikunda people.

Mr. Mutukwa Chiyambo, clan head of the Tembomvura people, states:

"We have been told our role is not to hunt. If we hunt we will be arrested. One of us (Sign Muzunza) has just come out of jail for killing a buffalo, he says jail was hard and difficult. So we just sit here and wait for the government to provide us with maize but we can not live on maize without relish. When things become really difficult and the children are crying for food, we go into the bush and try to find whatever we can. We have to survive somehow."

"Before CAMPFIRE and the Safaris we could at least kill mice or birds and eat them but now that is impossible. We are not allowed to kill anything at all. We just sit here and wait. They have asked us to assist them in tracking animals. We are not going to do it. We are not going to help them to protect animals while we are starving and, moreover, we will be forced to betray our brothers who sometimes, because of hunger, are forced to go searching in the mountains."

"But look what the animals have done for us. They destroy our fields, walk all over and play in our water holes. They sense our weakness and there is nothing we can do about it. Someone suggested that we should be put in a fence like they did in Masoka. If they do that we will move back into the mountains. How can humans be fenced and not animals?"

3.2 Views of the Chikunda

There was a general consensus among most household heads among the Chikunda VIDCOs of Chansato, Nyaruparo and Chapoto that the role of CAMPFIRE was to provide money for the building of the school and clinic. Like the Tembomvura they had negative views about the Safari operator whom they thought was not paying enough money to the community. They had better knowledge of the operation of CAMPFIRE and tended to brush away the idea that the Tembomvura were not gaining from CAMPFIRE. The responses of different individuals were broadly similar, along the following lines:

> *"Those people are so backward. They don't understand the significance of schools, they are used to being given everything for free. They like living like animals. Anyway they have themselves to blame for settling so far away from the centre, where the new clinic is going to be built. They are selfish and they want to continue hunting and having meat like they used to. The animals belong to all of us."*

3.3 The Reality of the CAMPFIRE Programme in Chapoto Ward

The situation reported by Hasler in 1989 had not changed in 1992, with most locals still claiming that they had not received any money at all. Although it was now accepted by the CAMPFIRE representative at ward level, Mr. Kamukaka that the money was used for building some of the teachers' houses, it was not clear where this decision had originated. The money from the 1990-91 concession was believed to have been channelled into the building of the new clinic at a central place (Councillor, and CAMPFIRE representative Mr. Zisanhi personal communication) but as stated by the locals, the brick moulding scheme was being paid for by the District Development Fund (DDF) and individuals had to work in the scheme before they could receive any money. Although we were unable to obtain from the District Council details of revenues raised in Chapoto Ward it was clear that, however much this amounted to, none of it had ever found its way back to the Tembomvura households. It was even doubtful that the Chikunda had received any substantial amounts. Explanations that the money was used for moulding bricks for the new clinic were questionable and this confirmed that people who could not work in the brick moulding scheme were automatically disqualified from benefiting from CAMPFIRE.

Attempts were made to investigate the suggestions made by some of the Chikunda and Tembomvura, that the money could have been diverted by the council to build beer halls at Guruve Growth Point, which was felt to be a more likely source of future revenue to the council than developing Chapoto ward. The District Administrator and the District Finance Officer both responded that such diversion could not have occurred, because according to CAMPFIRE regulations, 10 percent of the gross earnings must go back to the producer communities. The Council's financial books were not available for perusal.

In relation to the allegations by the Tembomvura that they were forbidden to kill mice and other small animals, CAMPFIRE officials first denied any knowledge of this. However, when faced with some of the village CAMPFIRE trackers who confirmed that other CAMPFIRE officials had instructed them to stop locals from killing mice, Mr Zisanhi (the CAMPFIRE officer from the District) concluded that there must have been some misunderstanding by the village workers. Further investigations revealed that it was the local councillor who had made that decision.

3.4 Implications of the Social Divide for the CAMPFIRE Programme

Chapoto Ward is populated by two very different communities. They differ in their livelihood strategies and in terms of social stratification the ethnic groups are very different with one playing a superior role over the other. Representation of the interests of the two communities is dominated by the Chikunda at all levels. How can there be equal participation in development when the programme is based on such gross indigenous social inequality? How can the interests of a weak group be represented by a domineering numerical majority, with its own interests? There is a need for the programme to accept and deal with this social heterogeneity.

Murombedzi (1991) mentions that one of the major problems about CAMPFIRE is that it uses the ward as a demarcation of resource use. He argues that the ward is formed on the basis of demography rather than resource use. Thomas (1991) also mentions that "... the effect of colonial land legislation was to create or increase significantly the heterogeneity of communities". In Chapoto ward the significance of this heterogeneity has implications for the success of the programme. It has led to the alienation of the Tembomvura, with CAMPFIRE activities being looked upon as "Someone else's business".

Cecily Jackson (1992), writing about the dangers of ignoring heterogeneity among local communities, states: "This leads them [development agencies] to see the people as unified in opposition to outsiders and bureaucrats. Conflicts between and among the people receive little attention, since the existence of exploitative relations within the peasantry / the poor is inconsistent with populist views of the virtuous peasantry". She goes on to ask an important question "... and why are differing perspectives homogenised?". We might also ask in this case why the conflicting interests of the Tembomvura and the Chikunda in Chapoto Ward have been ignored.

3.5 Understanding the Poverty of the Poorest

Another difficulty faced by development programmes is appreciating the full extent of the poverty of the most under-privileged. Are education and hygiene more important than filling one's stomach and feeding one's children? There is an outside assumption that what the local communities need are schools and clinics. In some cases certain communities are so poor that the school and clinic are seen as a luxury compared to the immediate need for clothing and food. Before development can take place, the desperately needy have to surface above the poverty line. The programme should take cognisance of not only the long term needs of the local community, but also of the short term needs. The expressed desire for cash returns to households is not necessarily a failure of vision, and community decisions on how finances should be used ought to be respected.

The Tembomvura people are the poorest of the poor. One need only stay with them a short time to realise the depth of their poverty. They dress in dirty rags and one of the major reasons given as to why the children were not attending school was poverty. "Our children are ashamed of their rags. Other children laugh at them at school." In a hunting and gathering context this poverty would have been less overt, but since resettlement the Tembomvura see their own conditions side by side with the relative comfort of the Chikunda. It is a glaring contrast. This is significant because it means the CAMPFIRE programme must try to satisfy these basic needs, and address the different degrees of poverty in the Tembomvura and Chikunda communities with distinct provisions.

3.6 Colonial Legacies

There are three main ways in which the colonial legacy affects how compliance to wild life management policies is enforced, the principal one being the history of disrespect of "natives" by officialdom, which is mirrored in the negative relationship between the Tembomvura and the police and Parks and Wildlife officials. The Tembomvura have been automatically viewed as the "guilty" party because of their traditional means of gaining their livelihood from hunting. This attitude seems to be continuing, and has been embraced by the local safari operator, who has no formal authority over the Tembomvura, but nevertheless adopts the role of an overseer. Hasler, (1989) describes how the safari workers harassed the Tembomvura people by opening their pots in an effort to find anyone cooking meat. By 1992 this attitude had not changed. The safari workers and the parks officials were referred to collectively as "Magame" (literally, "them in charge of game") and they were feared by the Tembomvura. People became very agitated whenever a safari landrover approached the area, though the basis of this fear may have been the knowledge that some relative was engaged in clandestine hunting. The safari workers clearly showed their contempt for the local people, and the white managers extended this to all blacks, even to obviously well educated persons from outside the area. This attitude perpetuates the idea of "them" and "us" and also the idea that the safaris are there to play a policing role. Individuals who work for the safaris and for CAMPFIRE assume that they are the ones who know about animal conservation and that the Tembomvura are senselessly depleting them. Such an attitude alienates the Tembomvura from the natural resources they partly own.

These issues are rooted in the political history of Zimbabwe. How far can CAMPFIRE's attempts at local participation and bottom up development work within the same socio-political governmental instruments and attitudes that were dominant during the colonial era and the time of UDI? The District Councils have always worked with a top-down approach (Thomas 1992) and may continue to do so. The disposition of the police, the wild life anti-poaching unit and the safaris are all informed by a political legacy which assumed that the locals were to be controlled to make sure that they do not "senselessly exploit the environment". In a discussion with the Councillor the same attitude was expressed "If you leave those Tembomvura to do what they like, they will kill off all the animals and in three years time there will not be even one wild animal left."

The second consequence is the lack of understanding of local circumstance, reflected in the lack of specificity in rulings about the kind of animals that should be protected. Within the drought stricken area of Chapoto ward, where most of the Tembomvura people do not have vegetable gardens, where they do not have money to buy meat or any relish from anywhere and where gathering is controlled in the game reserve, it is ridiculous to prevent people from killing mice and birds. It would be important to realise the precariousness of the people's situation and the impossibility of surviving on a diet of maize only. The programme should make it clear that it is up to the community to decide what should be done with various animal resources and not up to the council. A disregard of peoples' problems does not indicate participation but coercion.

The final issue reflects a failure of the imagination when thinking about ways of exploiting wildlife. Are safaris and tourism the only way in which wild life can benefit the human population? This is discussed by Murombedzi (1991), who makes a very important policy statement: "... benefits should include improved crop and livestock protection, employment opportunities, and better access to the wild animals themselves..." We could add to this, that local communities should have the right to kill some of the animals for food, if that is the most useful and important thing at that point in time for their survival.

Such issues need to be addressed: not only should the Tembomvura people be educated about their rights and their power as custodians and part owners of the local resources, but the CAMPFIRE programme officers and the District Council officers all have to be educated about opening up to the peoples' ideas and letting go their own exclusive hold on the reins of authority. Giving the villagers the chance to decide and run things according to their needs will not be easy, but with proper training it is a manageable process and may ensure true participation.

4 Attitudes and Beliefs of the Tembomvura

The Tembomvura elders state "We have the skills, we have the knowledge, the animals are available and we are not allowed to hunt them." The process of hunting is also an educational process where skills and knowledge are passed from one generation to another and these skills are not only about killing, but about survival in the bush, about respect for nature, and about the link between human and animal spirit life.

The Tembomvura people value wild life because it is part of their culture. For them animals have a role to play in human survival. Not all animals are killed indiscriminately. What one kills, one should eat. For them there should be a balance in nature. Existence is a chain in which each animal and human needs the other for survival. This is expressed in the following poem:

"Sit down and listen to the sounds of the night
Each animal's cry is a story
They are the messengers of our ancestors"

In Tembomvura folk stories, animals play all sorts of roles, sometimes as teachers, as messengers from ancestors, as representatives of the spirits of those who have died, as indicators of changes in the weather - giving information about drought or flooding, as corrective agents, as sources of food, and their spirits are also considered as special helpers in times of trouble. Every animal is important in its own right. When it comes to conservation the Tembomvura people have very good theoretical ideas about animal survival. And yet they are feared because of what damage they will do to the survival of animals.

The Tembomvura people have refused to participate in any formal activities relating to conservation of wild life. Attempts to employ them in the anti-poaching unit have failed and the Safaris have also failed to employ the Tembomvura. Any attempt to help the authorities is seen as betrayal. The implications of this mutual distrust and separation is that there is a loss of valuable knowledge. The Tembomvura people have skills and expertise related to hunting and these will vanish. Their skills in survival and their culture of gathering are devalued because they are being made to feel guilty about their abilities. For a country like Zimbabwe where the loss of indigenous culture due to colonialism is being continuously mourned, it is sad that the same is happening even now to the Tembomvura people.

Conservation of wild life in Chapoto ward rests on fear of arrest. There is no intrinsic belief in the idea that wild life is a resource which must be appreciated because the community feels alienated from their own assets. As long as this approach to the conservation continues,

clandestine hunting will persist and any chance to kill wild animals by the Tembomvura will be taken as a victory scored against "them" - officials, CAMPFIRE, police, Safaris etc.

It is important to realise that the Tembomvura are a people at the cross roads of social and cultural change. Their culture and their livelihood are threatened and they are making every effort not to lose the things they understand. They are afraid of change and tend to see development efforts as jeopardizing their livelihood rather than bearing positive benefits. They have a tendency to look backwards into their past and to see their life as hunters and gatherers as a golden age. This attitude is even reflected in their perceptions of disease (Marindo-Ranganai, 1993) whereby they blame resettlement and the Chikunda for all the illness that has befallen them since they arrived in Chapoto ward.

5 Conclusions

As a programme aimed at participation, CAMPFIRE has fallen short of involving the Tembomvura people of Chapoto ward. Their understanding of the programme is very poor and little effort has been made to educate them in terms of their rights and what the programme should give them. It is viewed as a "them" and "us" programme. The programme has failed to recognize the heterogeneity of "the peasants".

In spite of this, we believe that the CAMPFIRE programme is a very promising starting point for involving the local people in management of their own resources. For CAMPFIRE to work in Chapoto ward, there is an initial need for separate dealings with the two communities to try and find ways in which it can cater for the different needs of the Tembomvura and the Chikunda. The programme should also review the possibilities of other ways of exploiting wild life apart from safaris and tourism.

There is need for education of the local community about their power and responsibilities and there is need to convince officials - whether District Council or Parks and Wild life - to accept the local as equals with responsibilities, rather than continue with a parochial attitude which is a relic from their colonial masters. If the local people are to bear the responsibilities of conserving their resources because they appreciate and value them, participation should include the right to decide about money, the right to decide about what to kill and what to conserve. If this is not done, the CAMPFIRE programme would have assisted in alienating the Tembomvura from their natural rights and culture.

Although the Tembomvura perceptions may be exaggerated, there is need for programme officers to understand the local political dynamics when implementing community based programmes.

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