Diverse interests amongst multiple actors in REDD+ initiatives: challenges and opportunities for sustainable forest management in Kariba REDD+.

By

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Abstract

Deforestation is a major contributor to climate change largely because people are cutting down forests for agricultural expansion, food, fuel and pastures and these forests act as carbon sinks. Tackling deforestation is of paramount importance and, as such, international protocols and agreements are in place particularly in the forestry sector. Some of the protocols and agreements include Clean Development Mechanisms (CDM), increased biofuel use, and most recently reduced emissions from deforestation and forest degradation (REDD). REDD is not only about reducing forest degradation, but it also concerns conservation, sustainable forest management and development of carbon stocks in forests. Zimbabwe is also engaged in multi stakeholder experiments to mitigate climate change effects with the Kariba REDD+ project being the most recent initiative. The aim of the study was to develop understanding on the significance of stakeholder interests in REDD+. The study also examined the impact that REDD has on local livelihoods and sustainable management of forests. Data collection was done using key informant interviews and secondary sources to identify actors, interests and meanings towards the project. Observations were also done in the study area to identify livelihoods and REDD+ project plots. The study findings revealed that actors in REDD are multiple with interests ranging from conservation, receiving funds, inputs to generating profits. The study also showed that although there are claims of improving livelihoods, local people continue to suffer with no improved gains. Meanings attached to REDD+ are evidently adverse and these are irreconcilable, bringing actors on a collision path. The study concluded that REDD is a threat to local communities because of land tenure revisions and limits to livelihoods.

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Dedication

This thesis is dedicated to my wonderful parents Samuel and Joice Kapfumvuti. Thank you for believing that I could make it and the encouragement. I am forever indebted to them. To my wonderful sisters Jill and Jean thank you for all the moral support and encouragement.

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Abbreviations

AGRITEX **Agricultural Technical Extension Services**

CAMPFIRE	**Communal Areas Management Program for Indigenous Resources**
CASS	**Centre of Applied Social Sciences**
CDM	**Clean Development Mechanism**
CF	**Conservation farming**
CGA	**Carbon Green Africa**
COP	**Conference of the Parties**
CO_2	**Carbon Dioxide**
DA	**District Administrator**
EA	**Environment Africa**
EMA	**Environmental Management Agency**
FAO	**Food and Agricultural Organization**
FC	**Forestry Commission**
FPF	**Forest Partnership Facility**
GHG	**Green House Gas**
GPS	**Global Positioning System**
HRDC	**Hurungwe Rural District Council**
IPCC	**Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change**
KCRP	**Kariba Carbon REDD Project**
MDC	**Movement for Democratic Change**
MOU	**Memorandum of Understanding**
MRV	**Monitoring, Reporting and Verification**

NAMA	**Nationally Appropriate Mitigation Actions**
NGO	**Non governmental Organization**
NRM	**Natural Resource Management**
PDD	**Project Design Document**
REDD	**Reduced Emissions from Deforestation and forest Degradation**
RDC	**Rural District Council**
RER	**Reference Emission Rate**
SAT	**Sustainable Agricultural Technologies**
SFM	**Sustainable Forest Management**
USAID	**United States Agency for International Development**
UNEP	**United Nations Environmental Program**
UNFCCC	**United Nations Convention on Climate Change**
UNDP	**United Nations Development Program**
UNREDD	**United Nations Program on Reducing Emissions from Deforestation and Forest Degradation**
VCS	**Verified Carbon Standards**
VER	**Verified Emission Reduction**

Chapter 1: Background and Introduction

1.1 Introduction

The world over, climate change has become a major predicament which calls for urgent attention from every group, state or organization. It poses major threats to humankind as the adverse effects include depleted water resources, decline in agricultural production, increase in vector borne diseases and unstable weather conditions (Zimbabwe National Climate Change Response Strategy, 2013). One of the chief causes of climate change has been stated to be deforestation, which accounts for close to 17% of worldwide green house gas (GHG) emissions thus making it the subsequent principal cause after the energy sector (Butler, 2009; Lovera, 2009; UNREDD Program Framework Document, 2008). Deforestation is widely rampant according to the World Bank (2004) because forest resources contribute significantly to the livelihoods of approximately 90% of the total population which lives in abject poverty. Communities depend on forests not only for food but also for fuel, pastures, shelter and medicine. Due to all the stated activities, pressure is placed on forest resources which are important in reducing greenhouse gas emissions which largely contribute to climate change. A major corollary of deforestation and land degradation is the emission of heat trapping carbon dioxide (CO_2) into the environment. Forests play an important role as carbon sinks, however if destroyed, forests release CO_2 into the atmosphere by either burning or degrading organic matter (Mbow et al, 2012). At a global level it has therefore been realized that to solve the problem of climate change, tackling deforestation is a pre-requisite thus the development of an array of mitigation and adaptation strategies.

1.2 REDD+ initiatives; prospects and challenges

Several international protocols and agreements are in place particularly in the forestry sector as forests are considered to play a role in the carbon cycle as carbon sinks as well as sources of carbon (Zimbabwe National Climate Change Response Strategy, 2013, Mbow et al 2012, Matza 2012). Different mechanisms have been created under the Kyoto protocol as strategies of mitigating climate change and these include Clean Development Mechanisms (CDM), increased use of biofuels, emissions trading, joint implementation and most recently reduced emissions from deforestation and forest degradation (REDD+) initiatives (Borras et al, 2011). REDD+ has been the center of international discussion and it was created as a reaction to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC). Emphasis on reducing deforestation

was made in the 2007 assessment report of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) as it was seen to be the direct and essential method to initiate reduction of GHG emissions (Raygorodetsky, 2012). According to the UNREDD Programme (2008), REDD+ is not only about deforestation and forest degradation, it also concerns conservation, sustainable forest management and development of carbon stocks in forests. REDD+ works by permitting communities to care for, restore and protect their forests in exchange for monetary incentives, generally identified as carbon credits (McDowell, 2011, Bohm and Dabhi, 2009, Peluso and Lund, 2011, Mutasa, 2014). It was observed that, to limit the brunt of climate change to reasonable levels, the global temperatures should be within the 2^0C limit (IPCC, 2007). To realize this limit, reducing emissions from the forestry sector aided with other mitigation strategies was therefore key (Ibid). Internationally and regionally many countries have therefore, become a part of REDD+ initiatives in order to reduce emissions with developing countries playing different roles from developed countries.

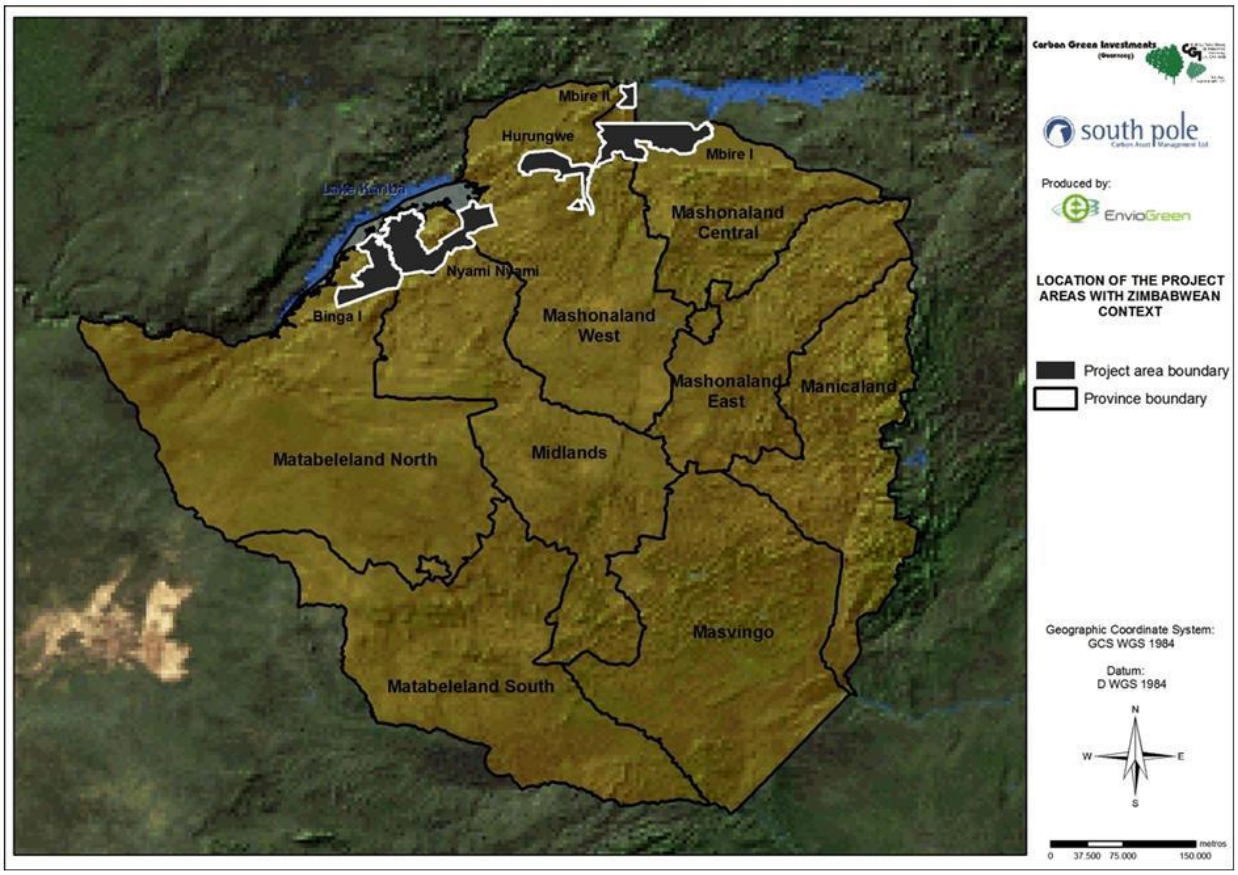
It was agreed under the Cancun Climate Change Conference of 2010 that developed countries submit economy extensive emission reduction targets, strengthen reporting regularity, standards and develop low carbon strategies and plans; while on the other hand developing countries were to submit nationally appropriate mitigation actions (NAMA's) which would be realized subject to technical as well as financial support (UNFCCC, 2014). In essence, REDD+ is about giving financial worth to carbon stored in forests, offering enticement by developed countries to developing countries to reduce emissions.

Several countries which include Uganda, Tanzania, Mozambique, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Brazil, India, and Papua New Guinea have engaged in REDD+ with various experiences emerging. Some of the experiences have been positive and some have been negative. What influences the success or failure of implementation of REDD+ projects is based on government involvement, land tenure clarity issues as well as benefits derived by the local communities (Mbow et al, 2012). In Ghana, REDD+ objectives could not be achieved largely because development takes priority and communities look for immediate benefits (Ouya and Foster, 2012). They further argue that in Ghana, the guarantee of better foreign revenue from sun cocoa yield and increase of mineral extraction contributes to deforestation and land degradation. Although REDD+ promises poverty alleviation, people seem to weigh benefits of REDD+; which suffers at the backdrop of

market fluctuations against their current livelihood strategies which seem more profitable and steady. In Tanzania, land insecurity is a result of the many actors working at manifold levels to reconfigure the environment into what have been termed “fictitious commodities” like carbon credits (Betsy et al, 2013). These actions in practice are thought to lead to environmental injustices thus plunging communities into deeper trenches of poverty. Some of the experiences have been positive with Kenya’s Kasigau Corridor REDD+ project contributing to sustainable forest management and improved livelihoods. The benefits derived from the project include protecting 200,000 hectares of primary woodland, generating millions of dollars in direct investment, creating employment, community projects such as building of schools, bursaries generated from REDD+ and protecting the Tsavo Conservation Area which is a biodiversity corridor (Korchinsky, 2010). With so many experiences being encountered by different countries, it is important to identify the trade offs between the interests of governments, local land occupiers as well as business actors and attempt to strike a balance in order to achieve reduced deforestation and improved livelihoods (Mbow et al, 2012).

In this continued and growing move to reduce global warming, Zimbabwe is also engaged in multi stakeholder experiments to mitigate the effects of climate change through the use of Jatropha, E20 fuels as well as the Kariba Carbon REDD+ project (KCRP) which targets deforestation in multiple land categories ranging from state lands, protected areas and forestry areas to communal lands. The Kariba Carbon REDD+ is the first carbon project registered in Zimbabwe. The project has been set up in the Zambezi valley and it covers four rural district councils (RDC) which include Nyaminyami, Mbire, Hurungwe and Binga (*see map 1below*). According to South Pole Carbon (2012) KCRP is Zimbabwe’s initial REDD+ project which is owned by local communities with the aim of protecting the immense and essential ecosystem at Lake Kariba from deforestation. Deforestation in and around the project area is driven by increased slash and burn agriculture, wood fuel collection and the increase in wildfires (Jiri et al 2013, South Pole Carbon 2012, Kariba REDD+ PDD, 2012). With this in mind, Zimbabwe is ranked as the ninth country with the highest level of deforestation in the world, losing over 1.7% of forests every year (South Pole Carbon, 2012). Reflecting on this background, in order to reduce these negative impacts, KCRP is therefore of immeasurable value to the environment and will contribute to reducing climate change effects.

Map 1: Kariba REDD+ project areas



Source: Kariba REDD+ project monitoring report 2011-2012

Communities are also set to benefit from REDD+ as the project supports conservation agriculture through capacity building and providing inputs to farmers. Communities are also receiving training in bee keeping, providing hives, sourcing markets and establishing nutrition gardens in all areas (www.herald.co.zw). According to Carbon Green Africa, the project can potentially alleviate poverty and cut down on dangerous carbon emissions. For all this to be effected, a number of stakeholders have crucial roles to play. Stakeholders include research institutions, non-governmental organizations (NGO's), local level institutions, the private sector, government departments and ministries (Jiri et al, 2013). For carbon projects to be successful, it is important to recognize the interests of these multiple stakeholders as they affect the performance of the REDD+ project (Mbow et al, 2012).

This study will focus on the multiple interests of actors in the KCRP and identify how these interests will affect sustainable forest management and also impact on the lives of the rural communities in the project area. The study area is Hurungwe, Chundu Ward 8 which lies in the remote parts of Mashonaland West province.

1.2 Research Problem

The diverse interests amongst stakeholders in REDD initiatives remain imprecise and little is understood about these diverse interests by practitioners and academics. More misunderstood is how such interests ultimately affect the sustainability of REDD initiatives at the local level. To better appreciate the stakeholder dynamics and to assist in the development of REDD initiatives that attend to all stakeholders, research is therefore urgently required.

1.3 Aim of the study

The study aims to develop an understanding on the significance of stakeholders interests in REDD.

1.4 Objectives

The objectives of this project are:

- To identify the interests of actors within REDD+.
- To identify how local livelihoods are affected by REDD+ initiatives.
- To investigate how different meanings attached to REDD+ by multiple actors affects the sustainability of the project.

1.5 Research Questions

To address the above stated objectives, the study will attempt to answer the following research questions:

1. Who are the multiple actors within REDD?
2. What are their interests in the project?
3. What is their role and contribution to the project?
4. What are the current livelihood strategies being employed by the local people?
5. What effect will REDD initiatives have on these livelihood strategies?
6. How do multiple actors understand REDD?

7. What meanings are attached to REDD by the different actors?
8. What opportunities and challenges do these meanings have for the future running of the project?

1.6 Justification of the study

While there has been a lot of literature on REDD+ initiatives either as a global solution to deforestation, poverty alleviation, reducing global warming effects or as a new form of colonialism through land grabs, little is known about the interests of the different stakeholders. Mbow et al (2012) indicate that within the African context, an array of deforestation pressures, economic resources, technical capacity and varied interest groups create challenges for the proper implementation of REDD+ initiatives. As such, it is important to understand all this in the context of the different stakeholders. This study therefore seeks to add to existing literature and expand on the understanding of REDD+ initiatives in Zimbabwe. There is also need to contextualize the literature by focusing on Zimbabwe as there is limited information on REDD+ in Zimbabwe.

1.7 Theoretical Framework

This research is heavily reliant on transactional theory, traceable to Bronislaw Malinowski. He was an anthropologist who emphasized understanding the significance of learning about life in its entirety (Malinowski, 1944). The theory holds that people, groups, are perpetually competing for resources as well as benefits which for reasons relating to scarcity cannot be acquired by all (Salisbury 1977; Bailey, 1977). In all this competition, Bailey (1977) suggests that people employ practical strategies, some not definable ethically. These strategies include narratives, discourse, violence and all these; share the concern of excluding other members from accessing resources (Bailey, 1977; Borras et al, 2011). In some instances, with the realization that one group cannot access resources without the other, interlocking is made possible and alliances are formed (Geertz, 1973; Barth, 1966). Thus this transactional theory will be used to identify interests in REDD and how groups devise strategies including alliances to strengthen their claims at the expense of the common vision.

1.8 Structure of this dissertation

The dissertation is divided into five chapters. Chapter 1 looks at the background of REDD+ and the problems associated with initiating it. Chapter 2 explores the available literature on REDD+.

Of importance are the different schools of thought regarding REDD+ with some schools looking at REDD+ as a new form of colonialism and others looking at it as a practice which promises conservation of wildlife and forestry whilst alleviating poverty amongst the rural poor. Chapter 3 focuses on the methodology of the study which was qualitative and the different data collection tools. Challenges encountered during the field work process as well as limitations of the study are presented in chapter three. Chapter 4 is a presentation of the research findings and analysis of data is also done in this chapter. Chapter 5 is the final chapter with a conclusion and modest recommendations for the successful implementation of REDD+ programs in the Zimbabwean context.

1.9 Conclusion

Climate change is a problem which needs urgent attention and as such, initiatives such as REDD+ offer an opportunity to tackle the problem. There are many opportunities, prospects and challenges that REDD+ has encountered and will continue to encounter and as such it is imperative to understand interests of the different actors in REDD+ as they are important in the success or failure of proper REDD+ implementation. This study in the following chapters will therefore look at the various actors and their interests in REDD+ initiatives with particular focus on Hurungwe.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

Climate change issues are perceived to be real and have become a major concern for human kind. This is largely because many systems are attached to the climate which can affect features of how and where people live as well as food production and availability. As such it is imperative that people in different parts of the world engage in practices which do not add to the amount of carbon emissions already in the atmosphere. Internationally, countries are being called upon to have mitigation and adaptation strategies, which for some are already in place or are being put in place with REDD+ initiatives being considered to be of paramount importance as a mitigation strategy (McDowell, 2011).

There appears to be many schools of thought in relation to REDD performance as well as promise (Dooley et al, 2008). One school of thought identifies REDD+ initiatives as neutral practices similar to prior community based conservation practices which promised communities to benefit from good conservation practices of wildlife and forestry (Benjaminsen and Bryceson, 2012). The other school of thought argues that, REDD+ represents a new form of colonialism whereby private companies are at the fore of land grabs and land appropriation (Sud, 2014; Borras et al 2011; Larson et al 2013; Peluso and Lund 2011; Benjaminsen and Bryceson, 2012). This chapter will review the existing literature on REDD+.

2.2 What is REDD+

Forests play a significant role in climate change as they either act as carbon sinks or sources of deforestation (Bushley, 2010, UNREDD, 2008, Mutasa, 2014). As a result, enhancing the capacity of forests as a measure for mitigating climate change is in order. REDD+ as noted earlier is an abbreviation for reducing emissions from deforestation and land degradation. It is considered to be a new international carbon offsetting mechanism {for instance, “foreign investments in technologies and activities that help reduce emissions in other countries”}, developed through the UNFCCC (Bushley, 2010). The mechanism promises to help fight global

warming and biodiversity loss, whilst offering other financial benefits and opportunities to communities who manage and depend on forests (Ibid). REDD+ is an initiative which is widely seen as a cost effective approach to simultaneously conserve forests, slow climate change, protect biodiversity, foster sustainable development and maintain important ecological services provided by healthy forest ecosystems (Butler et al, 2009; Griffiths, 2007; Betsy et al, 2013; McDowell, 2011). Under the Kyoto Protocol countries in Annex 1 which are developed countries are required to reduce GHG emissions through domestic emissions reductions or offsets (Bushley, 2010). In essence, Northern countries as well as powerful multinational companies and organizations pay Southern countries and their communities for engaging in sustainable forestry practices (Griffiths, 2007). Developing countries are encouraged to engage in efforts to increase global carbon sequestration (Bohm and Dabhi, 2011); and this is based on the premise that reforestation adds to the planet's net storage and helps moderate global warming by slowing the growth of carbon emissions in the atmosphere (Atela, 2012; Leach and Scoones, 2013; McDowell, 2011). The past decade has seen numerous REDD+ experiments, all bringing multiple stakeholders who have an array of interests (Mbow et al, 2012) and with a promise to reduce both poverty and climate change.

2.3 From REDD to REDD+: The evolution

REDD was a mechanism under negotiation by the UNFCCC following years of debate which started in Montreal in 2005 under the Conference of the parties; COP 11 (Poffenberger, 2009). The request came from Costa Rica and Papua New Guinea as they were acting on behalf of the coalition of rainforest nations (Virgilio et al, 2010). The document that was submitted was titled; "Reducing Emissions from deforestation in developing countries: approaches to stimulate action" and was put up for consideration under COP 11 but the idea was rejected by some nations (Dooley, 2008). The proposed REDD initiative gained more support in 2007 at COP 13 in Bali, Indonesia where a Bali Road map was adopted with the aim of deciding on a binding agreement in Copenhagen 2009 (Poffenberger, 2009; Virgilio et al, 2010). During COP 13 the initial substantial decision on REDD+ was approved (Dooley, 2008). COP 15 led to the advancement of REDD+ as the Copenhagen accord documented the probable contribution REDD+ could make by providing incentives for good forest management and by mobilizing other resources from developed countries for forestry (Virgilio et al, 2010). Initially what was of major concern was reducing deforestation and land degradation but in the Bali Action Plan more

activities were added (Wainwright et al, 2008). The plus (+) in REDD initiatives refer to five eligible activities shown below:

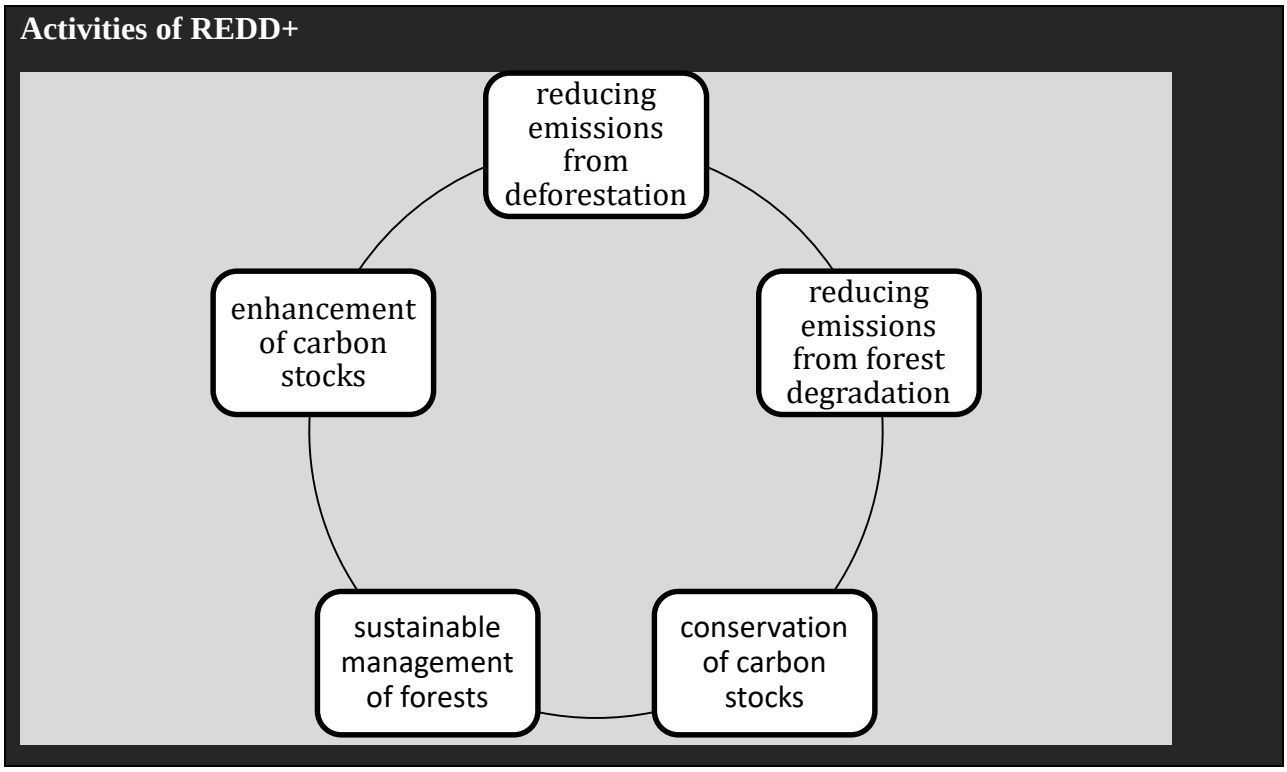


Figure 1: REDD+ activities

In 2010, COP 16 established the introduction of safeguards to ensure that REDD+ implementation at national level would not lead to damaging effects for the local people or the environment (UNFCCC, 2010). In December 2013, COP 19 produced decisions on REDD+ which are jointly known as the Warsaw Framework on REDD+. The decisions address finance; coordination of support for implementation; modalities for national forest monitoring systems; presenting of safeguards; technical assessment of reference levels; modalities for monitoring, reporting and verification (MRV) and information on addressing the drivers of deforestation and forest degradation (UNFCCC, 2014). All these processes require multiple actors to play different roles for the proper implementation of REDD+ initiatives.

2.4 Carbon trading systems

REDD+ initiatives provide significant additional financial benefits and create opportunities to the communities who manage forests in a sustainable manner (Bushley, 2010). Trading systems can either be market based or traditional grant mechanisms (Miles and Kapos, 2008; Dooley,

2008). Market based mechanisms are primarily based on carbon trading or offsets. In carbon trading, for every ton of carbon sequestered a carbon credit is acquired; the owners of the project receive carbon credits which can be put up for sale to corporations and organizations with a voluntary carbon reduction strategy (Atela, 2012). Under the market based approach, there is need for measurable, reportable and verifiable emissions reduction, high levels of accuracy and monitoring (Dooley, 2008). To achieve this, most countries put forward a methodology based on a concept of historical baseline, where the average emission trend from deforestation over a period of about ten years becomes the reference emission rate (RER) (Ibid). Credits are therefore granted if emissions are kept below RER. This carbon trading mechanism is favoured by most northern countries and per definition it implies that REDD+ will not contribute to emissions reduction since each ton of carbon saved by reduced deforestation is compensated for by the extra ton of carbon emitted in northern countries (Lovera et al, 2009). Basing on these interests REDD+ implementation challenges can therefore be encountered.

Under the traditional grant mechanism countries are assisted financially in their efforts to reduce emissions by supporting readiness for REDD+ (Dooley, 2008). There are grants, funds and trusts which have been established in order to cater for this. The World Bank's forest partnership facility (FPF) is one such grant which became operational in 2008 to help prepare for future REDD systems by establishing emission reference levels, strategy adoption and system design (Wainwright et al, 2008). UNEP, UNDP and FAO are also working in partnership with UN REDD and have established a multi donor trust fund which allows donors to pool resources and provide funding to developing countries engaged in reducing GHG emissions (Wainwright et al, 2008). Accumulated funds are intended to provide resources at national level (Ibid). There are other multilateral initiatives which aim to support country efforts in developing REDD+ readiness plans as identified by Jiri et al (2013). These include:

i. Readiness fund;
ii. Forest Carbon fund;
iii. Forest Investment Program part of the Climate investment fund;
iv. Congo Basin Forest fund; and
v. The Global Environment Facility (GEF).

However, Dooley (2008) argues that traditional grant funding does not require stringent MRV's and the consequences are that such carbon trading regimes are bound to benefit the elite. For some politicians it becomes a business of carbon which further deprives local communities of their rights and benefits as the elite try to fulfill their business interests (Bohm and Dabhi, 2011). Due to these differentiated interests REDD+ initiatives might fail to meet the requirements that will lead up to sustainable forest management.

2.5 Developing REDD+ from other conservation practices

Community based management has often been seen by indigenous communities as the highest order of management system to aspire because it suggests greatest potential for indigenous responsibility (Tipa and Welch, 2006). Examples of community based management with the aim of reducing poverty and improving conservation include the USAID funded Communal Areas Management Programme for Indigenous Resources (CAMPFIRE) program in Zimbabwe and other similar community conservation programs in the region. Advocacy for these multiple stakeholder initiatives indicate how communities previously left out by the state have been able to reduce poverty through the use of their natural resources, albeit with some devolutionary concerns (Frost and Bond, 2006), which have resulted in resource monopoly by the few powerful elite (Tipa and Welch, 2006). The unfolding REDD+ experiments are seen as building on these community based conservation initiatives (Roe et al, 2009) but the difference lies in the sources of revenue and arrangements (Ibid). According to this pro- REDD+ narrative, multiple stakeholders stand to benefit from these REDD+ initiatives with the arrival of outside actors, migrants corporations and the state for instance in South Eastern Asia (Hall, 2011) creating opportunities for further expansion of REDD+ initiatives.

2.6 Land appropriation through REDD+

REDD+ is associated with land grabs and land appropriation in some countries which include India, Sierra Leon and Uganda (Sud 2014, Fairhead et al, 2012). Land grabs in India range from straightforward private-private purchases and public-private leases for biofuel production to acquisition of large parcels of land for conservation arrangements (Hall, 2011). Some of the land acquisitions are in communal lands, for example in Rajasthan of India, land brokers facilitate the alienation of their fellow villagers' farm land and rights to their plots by exploiting farmers trust, as the brokers are local actors who possess social networks and relations with sellers (Sud,

2014). Associated with these land grabs, enclosures of public lands by private companies in the interest of profits are resulting in greater social inequality (Fairhead et al, 2012) as benefits derived from the land contribute to capital accumulation by more powerful actors (Benjaminsen and Bryceson, 2012). Publicly owned nature is becoming enclosed into private ownership and existing claimants are expelled to become landless (Kelly, 2011). To facilitate these outright land grabs different actors within REDD such as powerful transnational and national actors create narratives or agendas that justify what have been termed land grabs of underutilized land (Borras et al, 2011). Such narratives include describing the land as empty or unused, overpopulated or abundant and this becomes the basis of appropriation of land (White& Dasgupta, 2010; Benjaminsen and Bryceson, 2012). For example in Vietnam, companies have feigned interest in planting trees in order to get access to the right to clear standing forests (Hall, 2011).

2.7 Revisions of land tenure

Beyond outright ownership or expropriation there have been some observed attempts that have the same effect and these include revision of tenure to facilitate resource transfer (Nel and Hill, 2013). Loss of local user rights or the revisions of local rights have been created by new laws and structures often linked to REDD+. Regulations within the UN Collaborative programme on REDD allow investors to purchase rights to forests resources (Holmes, 2014). Moreover, reforms of property law involve formalizing traditional or customary tenure an opportunity used by elites and the state to define ownership in ways which allow them to assume control even if these areas have a long history of human occupation (Peluso and Lund, 2011). Access to forest resources is therefore limited and indigenous owners of the land can no longer do what they did in the past for instance carrying out traditional rights. Nel and Hill (2013) give an account from Namisindwa in Uganda where people are being prevented from entering local forests which they simultaneously use to perform circumcision rites on the graves of their ancestors and support local livelihoods. As will be documented later, conflicts are therefore likely to emerge and this poses a threat to the sustainable management of forests and the future running of REDD+ projects. In Sao Paola for instance sugar cane expansion for biofuel production has displaced extensive cattle ranching which was a primary source of livelihoods (Borras et al, 2011). While people are likely to remain on their farms primary livelihood strategies such as agriculture and farming are revised thus creating new livelihood strategies.

2.8 Mechanisms of Appropriation

Whether it is direct appropriation of land or the revision of land rights, often this is facilitated by various mechanisms. In some cases force/violence is used. The use of force is evident in Papua New Guinea where pressure is put on indigenous people to sign away their land by powerful and politically well established foreign logging companies (Lederer, 2011; Murdiyarso et al, 2012). Market power is another mechanism used in the appropriation of land. Hall (2011) describes that market power works mainly through the price of land and the inputs required to work it. He further describes that actors may gain access to land by buying or leasing it or be excluded from it depending on how much it costs. An example is the case of Zambia Sugar Company and the investments by IIIovo investors where economic power exercised by the investors enabled them to limit tax contribution and prevent further competition in the production of biofuels (Richardson, 2010). In other cases narratives are used. In Tamil Nadu India, biofuel demand is driving major investments in land (Vermeulen and Cotula, 2010) and proponents of these investments argue that land is being underutilized or idle (Borras et al, 2010). Such narratives are said to be far from the true, what these narratives accomplish is justification of transforming 'wastelands' into green productive landscapes (Borras and Franco, 2010). In all the lands acquired or whose tenure is revised for purposes of carbon buyers can exploit or weaken governments (Hall, 2011).

2.9 REDD+ and Sustainable Forest management (SFM)

There is a continued debate on sustainability with regard to REDD+ initiatives. SFM is classified as the proper management of forests according to the principles of sustainable development and aims to achieve broad social, environmental and economic goals (Daviet et al, 2007). FAO defines SFM as the stewardship and utilization of forests and forest lands in a manner and pace that maintains their biodiversity, efficiency, restoration capacity, vitality and their potential to fulfill current and future ecological, economic and social functions. The concept of SFM seeks to attain a balance between the increasing demands of society for forest products and the preservation of forests. It entails using the forest today to guarantee similar gains in the future (ITTO, 2008). As such these are the desired implications of REDD+ initiatives, although most countries are failing to achieve the dual purpose of biodiversity and poverty reduction.

Various scholars such as Ouya and Foster (2012) say that the land grabs and revisions in land tenure often result in poverty, reduced conservation and loss of biodiversity. Evidence from Kenya amongst the Sengwer indicates that there has been a revision of local livelihood strategies thus limiting livelihood options and exacerbating poverty (wrm.org.uy/2014). Reduced conservation is also a result of land grabs and revisions of land tenure. For example in Uganda, continued encroachment in forests is evident because people remain uncompensated, as a result poor people continue encroachment into biodiversity zones which they seek to subvert (Benjaminsen and Bryceson, 2012). Mbow et al (2012) highlight that people living in poverty have to outweigh carbon prices against the opportunity costs associated with avoiding deforestation. They further say that if insufficient incentives are provided such as funds for infrastructural development to maintain forests, poor communities revert to more urgent livelihood concerns such as collecting firewood or clearing forests for farming at the detriment of REDD+ goals thus leading to reduced conservation and increased biodiversity loss. Essentially the promises of REDD therefore remain unclear; and whether these initiatives will yield the expected results of reducing poverty and improving forest conservation is yet to be examined.

2.10 Conclusion

The literature review identifies a number of critical concepts about REDD+ and what is also emerging is the fact that there seems to be no consensus about the correct path REDD+ has taken. At one level, it seems empowering, attending to the needs of diverse actors in an equal fashion. At another level, it is empowering others whilst equally disenfranchising some other actors. Therefore understanding the diverse interests of the multiple actors is in order, particularly to ensure sustainable forest management.

Chapter 3: Study area, Research design and Methodology

3.0 Introduction

The previous chapter focused on the literature review of REDD+, centering on the development of REDD in addition to the various schools of thought relating to REDD+ initiatives at a regional and international level. This section narrows down to Zimbabwe's REDD+ project in Hurungwe giving specific details of the district. The chapter will also give an overview of the area under study, research design, techniques and the thematic analysis process. The chapter also sets to outline how the different tools were relevant in answering the research questions and the challenges that were encountered in the administration of various tools.

3.1 Study Area

The Kariba Carbon REDD+ project covers four rural district councils which are Mbire, Binga, Nyaminyami and Hurungwe. The map below shows the four districts in which the Kariba REDD project is being implemented.

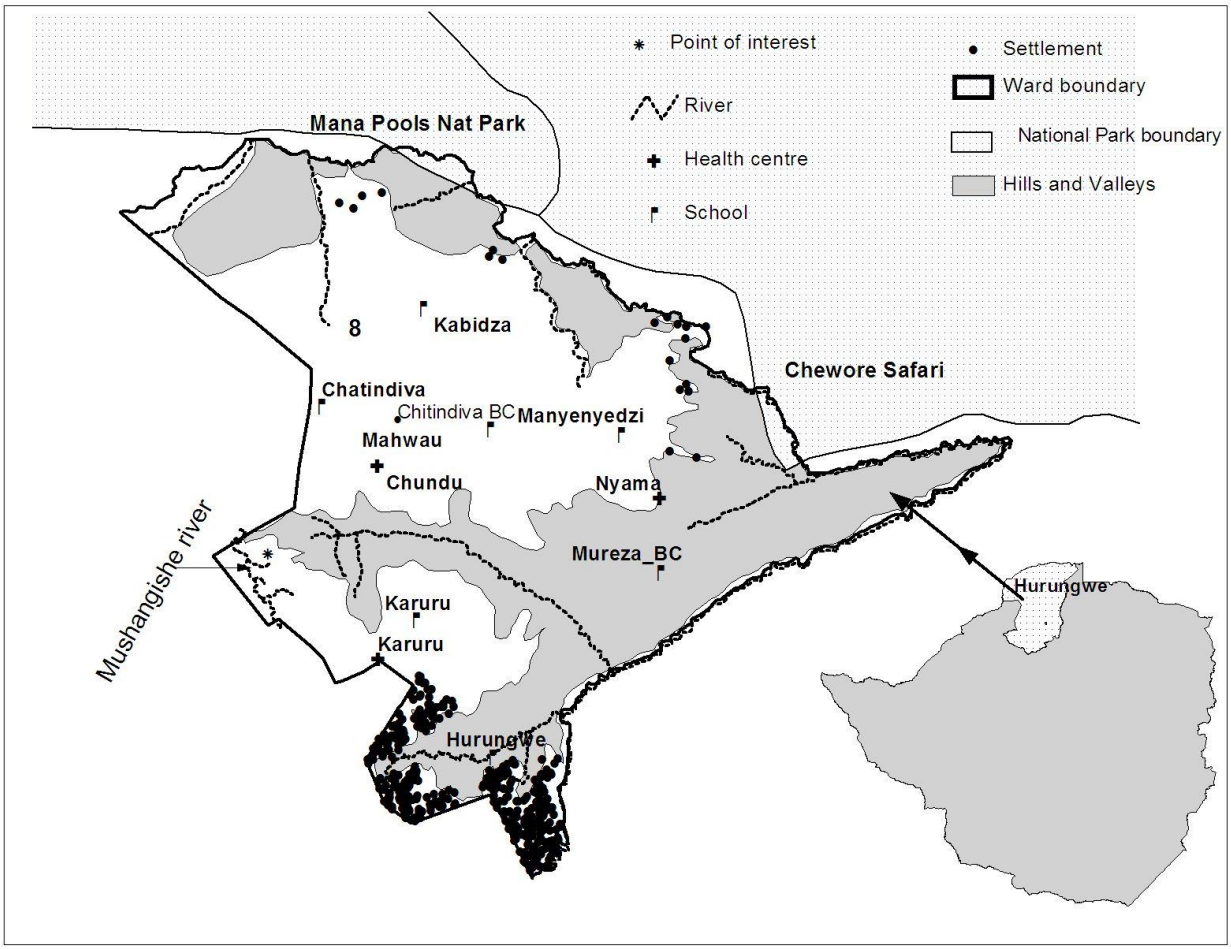
This study particularly focused on Hurungwe, Chundu ward 8 *(Map 2).* It is located in Hurungwe district of Mashonaland West Province which is roughly 60km from the nearby town of Karoi and is about 260km North West of Harare. Hurungwe RDC lies in the remote part of the province of Mashonaland West and is adjacent to Mana Pools national park with a forest cover of 131,480 ha (VCS project description, 2012). It can be described as the hot, low lying areas between the Zambezi River and the escarpment where animals of all descriptions are abound and seeing the potential of wildlife, game areas were created to enclose endangered species and control the spread of rinderpest and tsetse flies by creating wildlife free corridors (White 1971, Child and Riney, 1987). To the North East of Mana pools is the Sapi safari which covers an area of approximately 1180km^2 and to the east is the Chewore Safari area covering about 3000km^2. Sapi and Chewore Safari areas are for the preservation of wildlife where controlled hunting, fishing and photo safari activities take place (Wild Zambezi, 2009). There are also extensive forest areas which gives the area great potential for REDD+.

People of Hurungwe can be divided into three different groups which are the Korekore, migrants and squatters. The Korekore are the original group united by common cultural symbols (Hasler, 1996). The Karanga are the migrants who are cotton and tobacco growers engaged by local chiefs in pursuit of raising population levels in the district and gain political mileage. The last group consists of squatters who emerged after the 2000 land reform and have settled in the buffer zone which was designed for hunting purposes.

The vegetation type is mainly miombo woodlands with fewer parts having mopane woodlands. Hurungwe is covered with shallow lithosols which are derived from phillites and quarzites (Kariba PDD, 2012). The soils are moderately shallow and have better potential for agriculture. The general climate of the area is hot and arid with a short rainy period which spans from November to April. Compared to other project areas Hurungwe receives higher annual precipitation of 804.1mm which allows for semi intensive/extensive farming (Kariba PDD, 2012).

Higher annual precipitation in Hurungwe allows for diversified crop production. Crops under cultivation in Hurungwe include maize, vegetables and tobacco which has led to major deforestation, with trees being cut down for tobacco curing (VCS project validation, 2012), hence to curb deforestation, REDD+ initiatives are being put into place. Changes in the crops being planted are related to the changes in global market demands with farmers moving from intensive cotton farming to tobacco farming. These recognized tobacco farmers are classified as migrants who are in the pursuit of wealth. The project area covers multiple land categories and jurisdictions in Matebeleland North, Mashonaland West and Mashonaland Central with Midlands serving as a control or reference point.

Map 2: Hurungwe Chundu Ward



Source: Lindiwe Mangwanya(2014, unpublished source)

3.2 Sampling

The target populations for this study were people in areas where REDD+ initiatives are being implemented. Different stakeholders who are involved in the implementation of REDD+ initiatives were also part of the targeted respondents. The selection of both household and stakeholder respondents was done using purposive sampling together with its subset which is snowballing. This was used to gather relevant information relating to the phenomenon under study. With purposive sampling only those who were participating in REDD+ initiatives were targeted. Purposive sampling is when the researcher starts with a purpose in mind and the sample is thus selected to include people of interest (Evans, 2007). Snowballing was also employed to identify potential respondents. Referrals through snowballing were quite useful in locating potential respondents.

3.3 Research Approach

A phenomenological approach was used in the study to help capture the various interests of actors and understand how these will in turn affect the future of the project. The phenomenological approach helps to gain full access to divergent trends or interests, illuminate the specific, and identify phenomena through which they are perceived by different actors (Lester, 1999). It is powerful for understanding subjective experience, people's motivations and actions (Ibid) and has been used in various natural resource management studies. Phenomenological approaches aim to discover some of the underlying structures of experience through intensive study of individual cases. Within the phenomenological approach various qualitative methods of data collection were used. These included key informant interviews, observations and secondary sources.

The phenomenological approach has an advantage of generating rich data which captures different aspects of a target population's life. The approach entailed the collection of data about behaviours, knowledge, beliefs, world views, attitudes, feelings, quality of life, related changes and values. It provided a background against which particular components of people's behaviour can be meaningfully explained. This method allowed the researcher to have an in depth understanding of the research matter. Smith (2003) points out that the phenomenological approach allows for increased interaction between the researcher and the participants; follow up on interesting topics is also done thereby clarifying grey areas. Different data tools were developed to help capture the required qualitative data for the study.

The phenomenological approach was relevant for this study because REDD+ is an emerging initiative in Hurungwe which is being perceived in different ways by different actors. Sensitivity relating to issues of investments, profits and benefits would be brought out through the approach largely because it allows for building of trust between the researcher and respondents. Because Hurungwe is a highly politically charged area, people do not trust easily hence there was need to build trust that the data needed was for academic purposes. Other methods would have been impersonal and would have not allowed for the generation of data on sensitive issues relating to interests.

3.4 Data Collection Methods

Several data collection methods were used for this study. The use of multiple methods allowed for cross checking and verification of data. It was also convenient because where some methods failed to elicit the desired information for instance with face to face key informant interviews due to respondents busy work schedules, more was obtained from other methods such as telephonic interviews with the key informants. The methods that were used in this study included:

- **Key informant interviews**
- **Secondary sources**
  - Photographs
  - Project documents
  - Brochures
  - Newspaper cuttings
- **Participant observation**
  - Direct observations
  - Transect walks

3.4.1 Key Informant interviews

To identify the diverse interests of multiple actors in REDD+ as required in Objective 1, key informant interviews were used. In this thesis an interview is defined as a method of data collection involving interactions between an interviewer who elicits information and an interviewee who gives the required information (Roulston 2003; Denzin, 2001). The researcher remains alert to Boyce and Neale's (2006) assertion that interviews lead to an increased insight into people's thoughts, feelings and behaviour. Key informants interviews can be defined as a technique involving looking for and discussing with respondents who have acknowledged expertise in the research area (Muranda, 2004). Key informants included beekeepers, CF farmers, traditional leaders, RDC officials, CGA officials, Environment Africa and Forestry Commission. Various key informant interview guides were developed for the different categories of interviewees to generate specific information to answer the research questions. The guides included questions like;

1. What is the focus of REDD+?

2. Prior to the project was there evidence of deforestation? If yes what can this be attributed to?
3. What are the stipulated benefits for communities?
4. Have there been any changes in livelihood strategies since the introduction of KCRP?

For a fuller detail of the interview guides refer to appendices 1-3.

The first key informant interview was held with a Forestry Commission official in Harare on the 14th of October 2014. The interview was solicited and since it was the first interview anxiety and not knowing what to expect from the interviewee, the researcher was tense. A warm welcome that was received therefore helped. The interview was then conducted and a general idea of REDD+ in Zimbabwe was obtained. Referrals to other key informants were made available to the researcher by FC officials and this aided in identifying important stakeholders in REDD+. After information was sought from the Forestry Commission, the researcher proceeded to the Ministry of Environment, Water and Climate where it was made clear that not much information can be obtained from the office but it was important to make contact with the REDD+ focal point. The focal point was contacted and discussions on REDD+ revealed that the Kariba REDD+ project in Zimbabwe is privately owned with CGA as the private company involved. It was also revealed that government is still yet to put its own REDD+ projects in place.

EA based in Greendale, Harare was the next port of call after key informant interviews had been conducted with FC and the focal point. However, key informants from EA were not forthcoming and acted as gatekeepers in accessing information. This was strange because civil society always presents itself as transparent and this was an indication of how sensitive the topic on REDD+ was. The process of accessing information from EA was wearisome; being told first that no one from the office would be able to assist. Following persistent enquiry via the telephone from the office an interview with the country director was finally permitted. However, this was not an easy task and the researcher was also reluctant to conduct the interview basing on the past experiences encountered whilst trying to secure the interview. On getting there and waiting for over an hour to conduct the interview, the director made it clear that no information would be made available until the researcher had talked to community beneficiaries in Hurungwe. The reason for the precondition was that students are lazy and just want to be given information on a silver platter thus they have to sweat before they can get information. The researcher therefore

only managed to leave the office with contact details of field officers who had worked in Hurungwe on the KCRP. Despite my experience the contact details were useful and this assisted in the data collection process in Hurungwe.

After necessary data was collected from the key informants in Harare, the researcher then proceeded to Magunje on the 29th of October 2014, where the HRDC offices are located and here bureaucratic challenges again presented themselves. Perhaps seeking to protect itself from unfair reports, it was required that proper identification be presented. A school identification card was produced but this was not enough and arrangements for a proper cover letter to be filed for future reference had to be made. Thanks to technology and intervention by the department of CASS the letter was prepared in a matter of hours and the researcher was able to conduct a 3 hour interview which clearly was loaded with information on the relevance of the project in Hurungwe considering that the HRDC strongly feels deforestation is as a result of human activities in the area. After the interview, the researcher travelled to Chundu ward 8 in the company of the village head. The village head who has assisted other research projects was able to show the areas of relevance with regards to the project and where key informants would be located. Considering the short time in the field, the village head was quite helpful in arranging interviews with respondents in a short space of time.

Interviews with community beneficiaries were conducted the following day and this was also a very strenuous process. On the first day in the company of the village head, managed interviews with farmers practicing CF and beekeeping who were the relevant key informants were conducted. Most of the beneficiaries were willing to participant in the study and a lot of information was obtained. The information that was obtained related to their understanding of REDD+, their role in the project, the benefits that they have accrued since the inception of the project, their expectations of the project together with the successes and challenges of the project. After finishing interviews for the day, we went back to the village head's aunt's place where the researcher was putting up. On the second day, interviews were held in Kabidza with the former EA field officer who now works for CGA. Reasons for moving to CGA after the withdrawal of EA were not made clear but this surely revealed a matter of interests. The field officer gave details about the role that EA played when it was still working on the project. He pointed out that they had managed to distribute beehives, source markets for the honey

producers, rehabilitate boreholes and teach community beneficiaries about CF. From the interview, it was made clear that in terms of benefit sharing mechanisms amongst the community beneficiaries, KCRP was different from CAMPFIRE. Issues of land tenure had not however changed because the interview revealed that KCRP is still operating in the same areas where CAMPFIRE was operating.

Other interviews were conducted with village heads; however some village heads were not available on the day because there was a celebration at the chief's house and it was imperative for village heads to attend. The chief has been recently installed and still wants to strengthen his position by maintaining a good relationship with the people and obtain support from others. After finishing interviews in Kabidza, the researcher travelled back to where she was staying. On the way back, informants who had willingly participated in giving information suddenly required letters and proof that the researcher was truly a student. Letters from the department were then handed out and the student id was shown. Following the completion of data collection in Hurungwe, arrangements were made to travel to Mutoko on the 14th of November 2014. In Mutoko, an interview was conducted with the EA officer who was working in Hurungwe. At this juncture information was willingly given out with no challenges. The experience with conducting key informant interviews was that time, bureaucracy and distances covered in the field are issues that cannot be overlooked and pose a challenge to the quality of data that can be obtained if not approached with caution and proper planning. Despite these encountered challenges in conducting key informant interviews the interviews were appropriate in generating data on the interests of various stakeholders and the different meanings attached to REDD+ as required by Objective 3.

3.4.2 Secondary Sources

Secondary sources were also made use of in this study, which Stewart and Kamins (1993) identify as sources of data and information archived by others in the form of government reports and journals. Secondary sources consisted of project documents such as the Kariba REDD+ PDD, notes from other researchers, newspaper cuttings, court applications, brochures and photographs. These sources were used to identify the multiple stakeholders involved, their roles and their interests. A desk study of notes from other interview scripts by other researchers were helpful in identifying the livelihood strategies and meanings which are often attached to REDD+

initiatives by the community beneficiaries. From these secondary sources it was clear that the reasons for deforestation in the project area were linked to socio-economic reasons such as subsistence agriculture, collection of firewood and settlements. Activities designed to improve livelihoods such as improved agriculture; fuel wood plantations and beekeeping were also identified in the PDD. Through the desk study the current governmental position on REDD+ implementation was identified and issues of transparency and governance were also clearly articulated in the various sources. Information from the newspaper sources revealed that implementation of REDD+ in Zimbabwe was marred with challenges which needed to be carefully addressed. An information brief on getting Zimbabwe ready for REDD+ readiness was availed to the researcher by the climate change office. The same information brief which had been availed to the researcher by the climate change office was also given by the REDD+ focal point. This was an indication that not much literature on REDD+ in Zimbabwe was available at the time of the research. Photographs on the Kariba REDD+ PDD (2012) indicated that the project has a role in driving out poverty amongst the poor. An image of children, barefoot with no uniform in a class with no proper furniture reveals that the project will help reducing levels of poverty. Photographs that were taken during the fieldwork were used as evidence of the livelihood options, plotted REDD+ areas, evidence of veld fires and deforestation as well as what has been done at community level.

Project documents such as the validation report, verification report and due assessment reports were important in showing the selection criterion against which the project has been evaluated to ensure that it meets Climate friendly principles. The documents also revealed that the project is important in preventing deforestation therefore keeping the carbon locked in the atmosphere. Due assessment reports showed that the project has no more than positive impacts on the environment and that stakeholders at the community level, were engaged with no significant objections expressed. Court applications were availed to the researcher by some villagers with the HRDC blaming them for settling illegally in Chundu Ward 8. The documents showed that clearly there are issues of unclear land tenure which would have an effect on REDD+ implementation in Hurungwe. The use of secondary sources for this piece of work was relevant as it gave a clear picture of what to expect on the ground and a sense of the tensions that stakeholders might have. Though there was a sense of tensions the majority of the reviewed secondary sources were flowery providing only a positive picture of the project.

3.4.3 Participant Observation

The study also used participant observation as a method. This method involves the researcher in the lives of respondents to gain a deeper understanding of action (Stewart and Kamins, 1993). Participant observation took the form of taking part in the events relating to REDD. Thus, the researcher attended and took part in a workshop organized by Transparency International. The workshop was held in Harare at Mukuvisi Woodlands on the 22nd of October 2014. The reason for conducting the workshop was that organizers identified the potential of corruption and the risks of implementing REDD. Therefore it was important to address transparency, accountability and potential linkages, partnerships that would improve effective communication, integrity and strengthened public sector-civil society partnerships. The workshop drew Ministry of Environment, Water and Climate officials, CGA, FC, academics, journalists, NGO's and councilors in districts of project implementation. Debates on what has been received by community beneficiaries were raised. Mbire and Binga RDC's shared their experiences with Mbire showing its satisfaction with the project as they have received inputs for 300 farmers, bicycles and 60 boreholes rehabilitated. This was not the case for Binga as they claimed that they have not received much from the project and even officials are not aware of what REDD+ is. The debates showed that the range of actors had different expectations from the project.

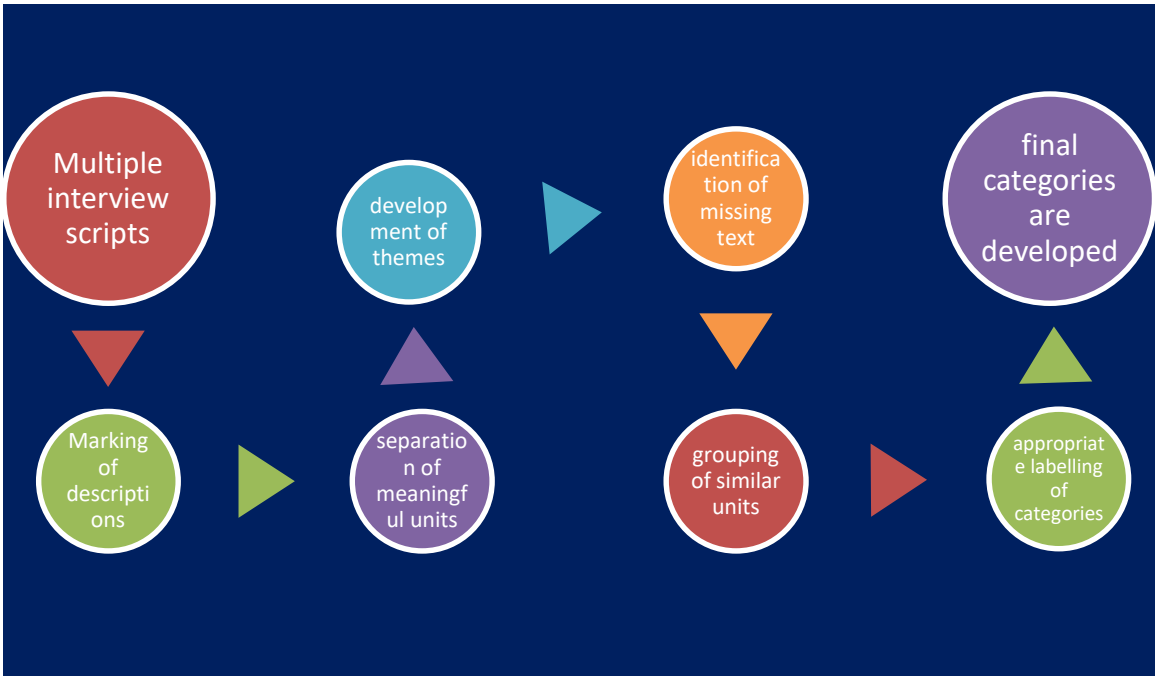
After observations in Harare, the researcher proceeded to Hurungwe on the 29th of October 2014, where she stayed with a lead CF female farmer. One week was spent in Hurungwe and this enabled the researcher to cover a number of areas in which REDD+ activities are being implemented. The villages included Chisawuka, Tushera, Kapako, Kawara, Muchidza and Kabidza Villages. Participant observation also took the form of transect walks which were used to identify livelihood strategies and plots of carbon. This could well pass as direct observation as defined by Crabtree and Miller (1992) where the researcher just observes activities. The transect walks were done following an uphill gradient because carbon plots were in this direction, away from areas of occupation. One plot was identified in Chisawuka village and the other in Kabidza. The plots were not clearly marked but youths who had been employed during the plotting helped in identifying the areas. For livelihood options, transect walks were from Chisawuka Village in the North West direction towards Chitake river in the North South. Here tobacco farmers were met and tobacco seedling beds were observed. The researcher however did not manage to see

women in gardens because the gardens were also further away and most people were devoting their time to preparing tobacco seed beds. This method was mainly used to achieve objective two which was to identify local livelihoods and how REDD+ initiatives would affect these. However the method was not able to review all that was required because of the long distances that had to covered. On a day the researcher would walk for an average of 20km in temperatures that were above 30^0C. Despite the distances walked, provided that there are modes of transport to cover long distances; transect walks are a method which can be useful in identifying what is being done in project areas.

3.5 Data analysis and processing

For the purposes of this study, qualitative data was analyzed using thematic analysis. Thematic analysis is a qualitative investigative technique for identifying, scrutinizing and reporting patterns within a data set (Braun and Clarke, 2006). It is a technique which goes beyond counting explicit words and focuses on identifying and describing explicit and implicit ideas (Anderson, 2007). The technique requires extensive involvement and interpretation of data from the researcher. When using this technique, data is read and re-read to look for keywords, trends, themes or ideas; codes are generated to signify themes (Denzin and Lincoln, 2005). During the thematic analysis process, transcripts were read and re-read and the data generated was on the actors, their roles and interests. Meanings attached to REDD+ were grouped into three themes which were REDD+ as an expansion of forests, a donation and making money. The diagram below illustrates the steps that were undertaken in thematic analysis process.

Figure 2: Thematic Analysis steps



Adapted from Anderson 2007

3.6 Limitations of the study

The study was restricted by the fact that REDD+ in Zimbabwe is still relatively new as it started on the 1st of July 2011. The KCRP has been operational for only three years being run by CGA alone and thus there are no other differently funded REDD+ projects to compare with. At national level not much has been done and although there is a climate change office that has been established most of the information can only be obtained from the REDD+ focal person. The other limitation was that of time which was possibly beyond the researcher because of the time frame of the study. Resources were not comprehensive as distances had to be covered on foot thus all the originally intended areas could not be covered. With more time and resources the researcher intends to deal with the restrictive matters at a higher degree level in the future.

3.7 Ethical Considerations

When conducting social science research, it is important to be cognizant of the moral principles and rules of conduct that will assist in ensuring maintenance of high standards of work without causing any harm to the research participants (Boyce and Neale, 2006). These ethical considerations range from informed consent, voluntary participation to confidentiality. The respondents were informed through the village head about what the research aimed to achieve.

Wherever possible the participants were informed by the researcher of the exact nature of the study and presented with relevant identification documents of the researcher. Once the participants had been given the information and unclear questions to the participants had been answered, the participants consented to be part of the research. There were no participants who refused to be part of the research because most of the community beneficiaries were pleased that there was someone to monitor and give feedback to CGA on some of the challenges they were experiencing in the project implementation Participation in the study was therefore voluntary. Information obtained was not shared for other purposes rather than academic purposes. It seems that Hurungwe is a highly politically charged district and a no go area for the opposition parties. Any person who comes in the area with no proper documentation might be taken to be setting agendas which are otherwise linked to opposition parties. It is a volatile area as big men compete for control of the diverse people found there thus the issue of ethics is profound. To protect the respondents the researcher surrendered all cover letters and interview guides to them for further reference in case of any confrontation with people in authority or politicians. Some of the respondents asked for the letters following intimidation and attacks therefore the researcher is duly responsible for all the intimidation and attacks that respondents might have incurred during and after the course of the study.

3.8 Conclusion

As evidenced in this chapter, challenges are clearly encountered in conducting research with problems ranging from bureaucracy and politics being at the fore of challenges that impact on research. A detailed analysis of the various methods that were used for the study shows that although challenges are encountered, there are always different advantages of using various tools as they give the chance to gather adequate information and complement each other where other methods fail to produce the desired results.

Chapter 4: Presentation of findings and discussion

4.0 Introduction

This chapter presents the findings and analysis of the research as described in earlier chapters. The analysis of the data will show the recurrent themes that were developed from the findings. The data will be presented in a manner that will help to answer the key research objectives and questions. The first section of this chapter looks at the multiple actors in REDD+ and outlines their different interests in the project. The second section outlines the livelihoods of local communities and how they are being modified through REDD+. The last section presents the different meanings that various actors attach to REDD+.

4.1 Objective 1: To identify the interests of multiple actors in REDD+

The first objective was aimed at identifying the diverse interests of multiple actors in REDD+. The stakeholders that were identified were six, both formal and informal and these included government institutions, private sector, NGO's and communities in project areas. The different stakeholders share similar interests in some instances but these interests are generally divergent in terms of operations. Interests of the stakeholders identified ranged from conservation of the forests and wildlife, making profits, accessing funds, improving livelihoods of community beneficiaries through employment and empowerment as well as development of project areas. In the section below these interests are examined in detail.

4.1.1 Hurungwe Rural District Council (HRDC)

The principal role as indicated by the rural district council (RDC) is to act on behalf of the communities with regards to development and the general welfare of the communities in a given district. The 1988 Rural District Councils Act [Chapter 29:13] which was later revised in 1996 saw the district administrator (DA) effectively developing into the principal advisor to Council, implementer, controller and monitor. The local communities were diminished to viewers of government and donor funded projects in areas of control (Zimbabwe Institute, 2005). The act gives power to the RDC as an appropriate authority to control the utilization and management of natural resources including trees, management of veld fires, conservation of natural resources, land for grazing and agriculture in communal lands (Maphosa, 2002). This is clearly stated in Section 71 subsection 6 of the RDC act which stipulates that the RDC has to take procedures necessary for the protection or improvement of natural resources. To ensure this, local authorities

pull together revenue from payers through levies, rates and rents from local communities (EFA, 2000).

The RDC Act contains information that states that RDCs have complete authorization over any proceedings that occur in areas of their jurisdiction. Council has power to sign contracts and agreements with project developers. Because RDCs in Zimbabwe have a constrained resource base and because what is allocated to them on the national budget cannot cater for the needs of the various districts, they are encouraged to make use of natural resources in their areas to improve service delivery (Mawere et al, 2014). Grants are from the central government and these grants are for management costs such as paying for regular expenditure like loans, salaries and wages (Zimbabwe Institute, 2005).

For HRDC, its frequently stated primary interest is conservation of the natural resources in their area as they say they are a conservationist Council. Of importance to the HRDC is biodiversity conservation and REDD+ is helping them with the implementation of activities that reduce biodiversity destruction.

> "*We are a conservationist Council and we are interested in the positive ideology which aims to enhance other ecological activities. For example in the past we had CAMPFIRE which meant protection of our animals and more food for our animals, now we have REDD+ which helps in reduction of deforestation.'' HRDC official, Magunje HRDC offices, 29/10/2014.*

However the interests of HRDC are purportedly hindered by damaging human activities in Chundu. People living in the communities are regarded as behind the detrimental effects of biodiversity loss and deforestation because of tobacco farming and illegal hunting. It was clearly stated that human activity was the reason behind environmental problems in the area.

> *"It is no secret that human activity is the reason behind deforestation. Farmers in the periphery are into tobacco farming and engage in deforestation largely because they use firewood to cure their tobacco. Some are illegal hunters aiming to get meat from wild animals and they necessarily cause wildfire to trap the animals.'' HRDC official, Magunje HRDC offices, 29/10/2014.*

According to the HRDC, activities being implemented through REDD+ are the solution. As indicated by the HRDC, they are in support of the activities listed in the Kariba REDD+ PDD (2012) that are associated with reducing deforestation and these include conservation farming (CF), beekeeping, hydra form brick making, fire management, social forestry, alternative sustainable building materials amongst others. Activities such as community gardens were stated to be of importance by the HRDC as they help to reduce illegal hunting. The rationale or mathematics of it as an informant described it the idea of community gardens, is that once people have adequate relish they will see no need in going into the forest to hunt.

> "*The mathematics behind this is to reduce biodiversity destruction. It is not about conservation farming or getting boreholes per say, it is about getting people to do conservation farming and improving the biodiversity component for example not poaching." HRDC official, Magunje HRDC offices, 29/10/2014.*

However, what can be inescapably gathered is that, of importance to the HRDC is not that people have more food but that they are no longer going into the forests to temper with wildlife and trees. Reasons behind the emphasis of conservation and biodiversity loss can be linked to the fact that HRDC sees conservation as an avenue of getting more revenue for the authority. Community beneficiaries showed disgruntlement because for them no money is coming back to benefit the communities but money is being utilized in class formation and bureaucratic purposes.

> *"These people in Council offices are getting money. Surprisingly we don't see any development in our communities. But we heard that some of the HRDC officials have hotels in Kariba and they travel oversees every holiday. So we ask ourselves where they are getting money. It is money that is supposed to be coming to communities." Community member, Nyambira Village, 29/10/2014.*

HRDC stated that it was interested in the KCPR project because it is a non consumptive deal whereby nothing is taken away from the communities.

> "*It is a good deal because these people are just selling air. They are not taking anything away from the communities because even if there is a tree it is left standing; unlike in CAMPFIRE where animals were taken away from the communities and they would not benefit much". HRDC official, Magunje HRDC offices, 29/10/2014.*

From the above it is clear that KCRP is a good project because money is just coming without any work done by Council. However, the idea of selling air is just a narrative which aids in fulfilling the interests of the HRDC. In effect land on which livelihoods are dependent on is being prioritized for carbon business.

In terms of revenue breakdown, according to the HRDC official 20% goes to the private owner, 20% to RDC, 50% to communities and 10% goes towards the longevity fund. The 10% is held in reserve by the Council and is not directed to any other activities. The longevity fund is particularly for community and project sustainability and it will be used after the KCRP for continuous activities that can be engaged in after the 30 year project. Engaging in the KCRP has been functional for Hurungwe district. To begin with HRDC now enjoys a good and progressive image amongst stakeholders.

> *"We have received praise from other stakeholders. They did not know about the importance of REDD+ so because of our ingenuity we are now enjoying the benefits of our engagement in the project." HRDC official, Magunje HRDC offices, 29/10/2014.*

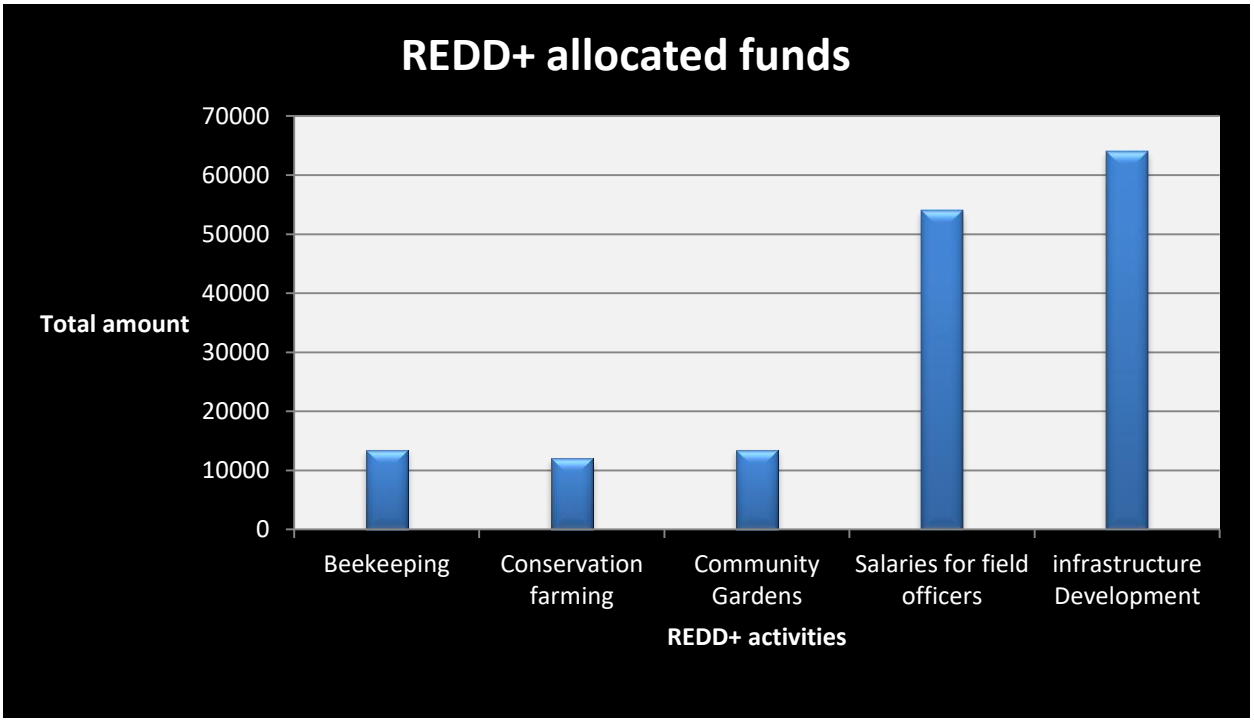
Secondly the project is functional in unlocking other funds.

> "*As a country we were laid back whilst other countries were getting money from the UN REDD fund*." *HRDC official, Magunje HRDC offices, 29/10/2014.*

HRDC therefore strategically sees this as an opportunity to access funds which have been however limited to them. Due to the fact that HRDC is affiliated to KCRP which partners with internationally recognized organizations and companies such as South Pole they have also been able to access loans for the benefit of the Council.

According to the RDC, the funds received through REDD+ have been useful in the implementation of community projects. The graph below shows the money received for the past three years from the private company, Carbon Green Africa (CGA) and how it has been allocated.

Figure 3: Allocated funds from REDD



Source: Field work data 2014

To date the HRDC has received more than US$150,000.00 with most of the money being directed towards infrastructure development. Money does not go through the Council but Carbon Green Africa (CGA) is told what communities require and the funds are then directed towards the "community listed activities." It would appear that the project is of value to communities and there is a sense in which it caters for the needs of the communities. For instance, water is a problem in the area and boreholes run dry in the dry season, and so investment in infrastructure is quite noble. What is problematic is the nature of the intervention since the infrastructural development is top down with no community input. The boreholes are not collectively managed and it is clear that once the donor withdraws, no maintenance will follow and water will dry up. Allocation of funds towards infrastructure development seems to benefit the RDC more than the people in that it helps further their interests by controlling communities. Salaries for field officers have been allocated about US$54,000.00 for the past three years. Salaries receive the second highest allocation as indicated by the bar graph and this can be attributed to the fact that field officers are important in helping the RDC pursue its interests. Field officers are responsible

for ensuring that community beneficiaries practice sustainable farming methods, do not engage in deforestation and avoid veld fires. Such activities are important for the conservation and biodiversity components of the project. Ensuring that the environment is well managed will ensure that more revenue is accrued. Other community projects have received roughly US$40,500.00 and these include beekeeping, conservation farming and community gardens. The money that was said to have been directed towards community projects does not tally with what beneficiaries claim to have received. A CGA official pointed out that beneficiaries do not receive hard cash but rather they receive inputs. For the past three years the beneficiaries have received a 10kg bag of seed, a 50kg bag of fertilizer and a hoe. This was distributed to 200 farmers practicing conservation farming. For those in beekeeping they received two boxes for their hives and one uniform which would be utilized by every beekeeper in the project when harvesting their honey. Non accountability of how funds are dispersed is a demonstration of how once one party's interests are fulfilled the other group is of no relevance.

Community beneficiaries also shared in the sentiments that HRDC is interested in the money they are getting from CGA. They felt that HRDC is getting a lot of money from the initiative and they are willing to do anything at the expense of the local community. Some of the respondents said they have been labeled "squatters" and have received eviction orders with the most recent being received in April 2014 by one community member. Such land revisions allow for more land to be used for biodiversity and conservation purposes whilst having negative results for people who have a history of occupancy in the area. This is congruent with what Peluso and Lund (2011) identified. They identified that REDD+ has become an opportunity used by elites and the state to define ownership in ways which permit them to assume control even if the areas have a long history of land occupation. These land tenure revisions have negative implications for SFM in Hurungwe because people feel that they cannot look after the resources when they are being labeled as squatters. As a result they might at times engage in activities that are detrimental to the environment as a way of trying to disqualify the Council from pursuing their interests.

4.1.2 Forestry Commission (FC)

The role of the Forestry Commission is directed by the Forestry Act [Chapter 19:05 amended 1999] and the Communal Lands Forest Produce Act [Chapter 20 of 1987] where the sole

purpose of the commission is with regards to the administration, management and regulation of state forests. The duty of the Forestry Commission is to support the sustainable management of forests and the expansion of the states forests. Consequently FC sees KCRP as a mechanism to facilitate the expansion of forests rather than for livelihoods development. That the FC sees KCRP as an expansion mechanism is clear from the activities. In an interview, an officer stressed that they are concerned with raising awareness about REDD+. Even more important he said that they emphasized increased planting of trees and also the monitoring and verification methods to ensure that the project resulted in its objectives.

No idea stresses the point that FC sees in KCRP a forest expansion mechanism than the statement that;

> *"Every piece of land qualifies, provided that you can condone people out. We need millions of open land for us to sequester carbon.'' FC official, FC offices Harare, 21/10/2014.*

As can be seen from this statement, the prerequisite for increased benefit is more forests because large pieces of land are required where no cultivation is allowed and people must not stay inside forests to allow for the regeneration of forests.

Kariba REDD+ consequently has a real potential of exposing people living in potential areas at risk of being displaced for the benefit of the project and also having their livelihoods altered. It is fitting to note that Traynor and Campese (2014) also made the observation that REDD+ can lead to risky effects for people living in the concerned REDD+ areas as they mention economic, cultural and physical displacement. They further argue that the rights of people may be undermined through restricted access to forests and increased land grabbing. Thus though the interest of FC is for the conservation of forests, the narrative of more forests for benefits has a real possibility of undermining the rights of local people through the project.

4.1.3 Community Beneficiaries

From the fifteen key informant interviews held with beneficiaries it was revealed that community beneficiaries have high expectations but these are diverse. The interests of the communities can be divided into three major interests which are infrastructure development, empowerment, and

poverty reduction through donor aid. In the sections that follow the research looks at the diverging expectations and also comment on the logic of the divergence.

4.1.3.1 Infrastructure Development

Chundu is neglected and seems to be legging behind in terms of infrastructural development. Following five days of moving in the area, observations were that, the roads in the area are not developed; schools are far away, neglected and with others having no proper buildings. One community member said;

> *"As you can see the children are learning in a thatch structure. We need proper buildings*." *Community member, Chisawuka Village, 31/10/2014.*

It was noted that, there are a few boreholes which are functioning in the area and to access water others have to walk for long distances. Limited access to water also affects other activities such as preparing composts for conservation farming. One farmer said;

> *"We need about 2,000 litres of water for our composts to mature but the problem is that we only depend on one borehole. If it is down we walk for up to four kilometers away to get water." CF lead farmer, Chisawuka Village, 30/10/2014.*

Whether it is for water or education, for these communities, it seems as if government has to some extent let them done. For these local people particularly the indigenous Korekore, KCRP constitutes their hope for improved infrastructural development Expectations amongst some community members is that through Kariba REDD+ they will have their roads improved, schools built and boreholes rehabilitated. This is clear from the statement by one community member;

> *"We would want CGA to rehabilitate some of our boreholes and provide us with more water." CF farmer, Nyambira Village, 30/10/2014.*

Of course it is not possible that KCRP will flood the entire area equally. Local politics may result in other areas getting more resources than others. Already Mahwawu which lies in the periphery of the ward has received more than enough. Mahwawu Secondary School was reported to have received stationery, boards and was promised a block of houses for the teachers. One community member said all this was linked to patronage;

> *"Mahwawu has benefitted a lot, we ask ourselves why? Maybe it is because this is where the chief is. When money comes obviously the elite such as chiefs or councilors get*

political mileage. It is better to have smaller projects so that we all benefit." Community member, Kabidza Village, 31/10/2014.

His assertion could well be true; the village is privileged to host all traditional heavy weights including famous spirit mediums and the chief, therefore benefits are for the chief's custom as he is the figure of authority. Bohm and Dabhi (2011) agree with this observation saying that elites are the dominant beneficiaries in carbon. Nevertheless, the majority of the people see KCRP as an opportunity to bring development in an area neglected by the state.

4.1.3.2 Kariba REDD+ as Aid

For some villagers in Chundu, KCRP is a mechanism for donations. For some villagers the project is about donating beehives and giving them agricultural inputs. One villager said;

"We know that CGA is here to give us things like agricultural inputs and beehives. They are our donor." Villager, Tushera Village, 30/10/2014.

For villagers the inputs that were given were donations and were not to be matched with commitment on their part as evidenced by what one farmer said;

"We do not have any contributions that we can make to the project. We are looking to them (CGA) to benefit, we want to receive free agricultural inputs."

It is important to note that even when villagers received inputs, they did not always use the inputs for project purposes. Others received inputs such as maize seed for CF purposes which they however planted using their usual methods of farming. Where they cheated, they nevertheless continued to use KCRP as a basis for their actions. Two farmers who cleared huge tracts of land claimed they were doing so in order to grow maize. The use of such deceptive tactics clearly demonstrates that to meet their interests beneficiaries have to be tactful and witty. Alawattage and Wickramasinghe (2009) also discovered that different groups who are relatively powerless use ordinary weapons such as what Scott terms "false compliance." These weapons typically avoid any direct symbolic altercation with elite or authority norms. As a result such strategic weapons are being employed in Chundu to defend the interests of locals.

4.1.3.3 Employment and empowerment

Community members said they were interested in being empowered by the project. One woman said;

"Through KCRP we are now able to make composts using leaves, grass, twigs and manure instead of using fertilizers. We are able to harvest more and cut down on fertilizer costs. This is invaluable knowledge we did not have in the past." CF, Nyambira village, 30/10/2014.

The idea that local communities are encouraged to use their local resources to improve food security was identified as empowerment. Villagers felt that they have been empowered with knowledge because in the past they did not fully utilize their resources to cut down on costs due to inadequate knowledge. For villagers the project particularly empowers women who are now able to feed their families through improved harvests. This was also identified by Gomwe (2014). It was identified that women are empowered through community gardens and CF plots which have enabled participants to be identified as competent and autonomous women in society. It was further clarified that self reliance has improved as women now have control over their earnings in a male dominated society. The project has therefore empowered women to stand on their own thus increasing levels of independence and self reliance. Although beneficiaries are empowered in this regard the scientific complexity of the project is not clear. This allows for easy manipulation of the locals and they can be misled pertaining to what they really deserve to get from the project.

Those who thought the project was about capacity building and employment cited that they hoped the project would train them in proper beekeeping and accessing markets for their honey. These trainings would enable the people to survive in the world beyond the project. Furthermore, the perceptions that the project would employ youths and develop them to survive in the world were clear. One young man said;

"We hope that when they prepare fireguards and repair roads they will call us to work. It is the only way we can get some money." Villager, Chisawuka Village, 1/11/2014.

Communities' feel that youth should be employed to implement activities such as fire management, identifying plots for REDD+ projects using Global Positioning System (GPS) amongst other activities. Other community members are already employed as field officers and are earning money which has significantly improved their lives. There were other people who however did not think that it was a good thing to be employed by the project which worked against community interests and was linked to the process of appropriation of land and alienation

of community members. One traditional leader remarked that individuals selected from the community as employees were working with all the external stakeholders in the project such as HRDC, CGA and Sustainable Agricultural Technologies (SAT) to appropriate their land. He said;

> *"CGA is employing people we trust to work for them. We trust these people because they are residents of Chundu but our worry is that these same people will help the white people remove us from our homes just like with CAMPFIRE." Traditional leader, Tushera Village, 1/11/2014.*

The worries of villagers are justified with other scholars such as Sud (2014) identifying that alienation of fellow villagers on farm lands and rights to their plots is exacerbated by local actors possessing social networks and relations with sellers. However, this aside, there still remains a large following of people who regard the KCRP as an employment source particularly for the youth.

4.1.4 Private Companies

Carbon Green was identified to be the leading private company in the KCPR project in Hurungwe. The Kariba REDD+ PDD (2012) describes CGA as a trust which receives net income on the trade of Verified Emission Reduction (VER's). The revenue is distributed as per revenue sharing contract to ensure equitable distribution; including management of community and project sustainability funds. The name of the company paints a picture of maintaining the integrity of the environment. Pictures on the project document also give an imagery of a company which is concerned with conservation of trees and improved forest cover with expanses of forests being shown on the PDD. As a private company investments and profits are at the core for CGA and as such narratives of REDD+ are pushed too far and at whatever cost in order to get the project funded and profitable. Engagement of scientific quasi people as consultants who are credible and internationally recognized also helps to further the interests of CGA. This was reiterated by an HRDC official when she said;

> *"If you look at the PDD there are a number of multi-verifiers. The work being done by CGA was found to be satisfying according to the VCS, CCB, Code REDD+ and UNESCO standards. These are internationally recognized bodies which can blacklist a company if things are not done by the book. So it means CGA has done a great job." HRDC official, Magunje HRDC offices, 29/10/2014.*

The role of CGA is to aid in the generation of carbon credits through certifying REDD+ projects by its network of partners (PDD, 2012). The network of partners includes Black Crystal which is responsible for the biodiversity component of the project and is involved on the ground measurement of carbon stocks (Ibid). The HRDC confirmed that Black crystal did a baseline where carbon stocks in woodland, open land and non forests were measured. South Pole was another partner which was identified to be responsible for overseeing the development of appropriate design and measuring techniques which are in line with Verified Carbon Standards (VCS) and CCBS. All these roles and responsibilities are clearly stated in the project document which was identified by the HRDC as the manual which would help convince buyers of the carbon credits that the project is viable. From the key informant interviews it was further identified that CGA is particularly responsible for the technical aspects of the project. Responsibilities are to generate carbon credits, implement biomass plots and measurement of woodland plots. CGA indicated that the biomass plots are allocated by a computer and as such no issues of land revision or tenure can be problematic. The official said;

> *"We cannot say there will be deliberate revisions of land tenure, besides everything is done randomly by the computer. Those who are likely not to receive our support are those who are in the buffer zone targeted by the computer." CGA official, CGA Harare Offices, 12/11/2014.*

This is a narrative clearly of detaching themselves from all the possible negative impacts that the communities might encounter through the project. The idea of private companies strongly denying claims of revisions or evictions was also observed by (Nel and Hill 2013) when he indicated that villagers are portrayed as encroachers into forests areas and this is a means of disqualifying groups to benefit from the project.

The stated interest of CGA is to reduce deforestation, uplift communities in terms of food security, whilst also making money for the private organization. Making profits was also identified to be amongst the key interests of CGA by the HRDC. Other scholars such as Li (2011) also note that corporate actors who bear capital in these carbon projects are particularly seeking to make profits and poverty reduction is not the key concern of an investor.

CGA is made up of a group of individuals who were in the hunting industry and have had a previous working relationship with HRDC. The relationship with the HRDC was observed to be very good. The HRDC was also happy with the relationship because they indicated that CGA is aware that HRDC is the land authority. Leach et al (2010) also allude to the fact that it is vital to understand where authority lies, identify actors and institutions which are essential and these include government, public and private institutions. This knowledge is essential in targeting the right people who are in the right places at the appropriate time for the pursuance of interests. In this regard, CGA has strategically positioned itself to form networks which are utilized to drive attainment of interests. The alliance between CGA and HRDC is one which is unlikely to be expected basing on the fact that the staff composition of CGA is white people who have been in the past associated with agenda change in Zimbabwe. The HRDC also made an allusion to the fact that in the beginning there were allegations of associating with a group of people who would be likely linked to the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) in Zimbabwe. However the HRDC pointed out that this has nothing to do with national politics and the alliance is for the benefit of improving conservation and livelihoods thereby indicating that alliances are of relevance in attaining interests of actors. Geertz (1973) also made the same observation and states that interlocking is made possible to strengthen claims to resources whereby one group realizes that to access resources alliances must be formed and established.

Funds for the HRDC have been made available through the REDD+ project in Hurungwe. There is direct disbursement of funds to HRDC by CGA and this boosts the financial capacity of a Council which was poorly financed in the past. HRDC said that in the past they would utilize money acquired from CAMPFIRE to carry out other activities as required by the Council. The money was then paid back later and this did not please the communities. Lessons from CAMPFIRE have given a twist to the benefit sharing mechanism whereby money for the communities no longer goes directly to Council but to the communities in the form of inputs. However communities are not convinced that this is what is taking place. For them, whatever proceeds come are for the benefit of the elite and Council. One respondent said;

> *"Vanhu vari mumaoffice umo mekanzuru vari kudya mari. Hazvisi zvekuda kubatsira isu asi ivo vakatongowana mari vofara."*

(People in Council offices are really spending money. It is not about helping us local people but their primary concern is getting money and then they are happy.) *Villager, Chisawuka Village 02/11/2014.*

Strategically CGA has come in at the right time where economically many RDC's are struggling financially and with the direct injection of cash to the Council, this allows for them to establish positive relationships which are used to pursue interests in carbon business.

As mentioned earlier CGA is made up of individuals who were in the hunting industry and had hunting concessions in the area. However it was indicated that hunting was no longer doing well in Zimbabwe and they saw an opportunity where other interventions would be implemented. Such observations were also made by Dzingirai (*forthcoming*), where entrepreneurs', following the shifts in the political environment in the 2000's, had to change from hunting and tourism to generate income as such the business of carbon was explored. It can however also mean that it is an opportunity that will allow for increased biodiversity conservation which can later be utilized by the hunters.

4.1.5 Non Governmental Organization (NGO)

Environment Africa (EA) was the NGO which was working on the ground in the KCRP. The role of EA was to implement community development projects, create awareness mostly on forest management and training people on sustainable woodlot management and fire management. Fire management was reported as an important component with pollution caused by veld fires contributing about 20% towards the depletion of the ozone layer. As an environmental organization EA's interests were in land degradation reduction, ensuring that people were aware of the dangers of stream bank cultivation and also reducing emissions of carbon. EA affirmed that their core business in the project was ensuring that the environment was well kept whilst also making certain that people's livelihoods were improved through income generation. An officer at EA indicated this when she said;

"Our role was also to improve the livelihoods of local communities. For example beekeepers did not know that honey is very marketable and as a country we are failing to meet supply demands. This was then an opportunity for them to make money whilst ensuring that the farmers do not continually use open fires when extracting honey." EA officer, Mutoko, 14/11/2014.

Improved livelihood strategies were not the only concern for EA but they were also interested in the protection of the rights of local communities. This was affirmed by an official;

> *"We played a civic role and we were watchdogs as well. We questioned people in authority and we wanted them to be accountable for their actions. This was for the benefit of the communities." EA official, EA offices Harare, 27/10/2014.*

Evidently, Mugyenyi et al (2005) articulate that environmental watchdogs make an impression that balancing livelihoods and preserving nature by prohibiting human rights abuse are key. Although EA held that they argued for the rights of local communities it is noteworthy that at the first sign of disgruntlement with the funding partner they pulled out of the project. No organization would work for free, particularly in this contemporary capitalized world. However, the organization's action does indicate profit motive as the basis of engagement with REDD rather than defense of human rights and the environment. Similar conclusions have been arrived at by McAfee and Shapiro (2010) where they clearly state that market oriented projects such as REDD+ clash with priorities of reducing poverty amongst the poorer communities.

Most of the work which was done on the ground by EA was in partnership with the HRDC and other government institutions. EA indicated that it was working with AGRITEX officers, who provided EA with farmers to work with in conservation farming projects; Environmental Management Agency (EMA) was responsible for fire awareness and FC was also responsible for fire awareness and establishment of woodlots.

> *"We had a very good working relationship with other stakeholders. With EMA we were working on fire awareness and FC helped us with the establishment of woodlots*." *EA officer, Mutoko offices, 14/11/2014.*

EA indicated that fire awareness was a major interest because more than 20 fires would be recorded in a period and fires are usually associated with honey harvesting, clearing land for subsistence farming and hunting. Hurungwe has grasses which are easily prone to fire and this allows for the wide spread of fires by farmers who are practicing beekeeping. Farmers were said to use naked flame for honey extraction and this was the cause of many veld fires in the area. This was the reason why EA was engaged in activities that helped to reduce land degradation. Unlike other stakeholders who identified the reasons for deforestation and degradation to be directly linked to tobacco curing, for EA deforestation was as a result of veld fires particularly

caused by beekeepers. As a result it was important to teach locals about the importance of avoiding fires.

A number of activities since the inception of the project were implemented by EA in Hurungwe. These activities included:

- Resuscitation of 10 boreholes;
- Distribution of 180 beehive boxes to 60 farmers;
- Conservation farming training;
- Beekeeping training; and
- Distribution of 10kg maize seed, 50kg fertilizer, a hoe and culpie for intercropping live mulch. These inputs were given out once to 200 farmers in Hurungwe.

The pictures below show the traditional hives that farmers in the area used and are still using, together with the boxes that were distributed by EA as evidence of the activities that were implemented by EA in Chundu.

Figure 4: Beekeeper showing a traditional beehive

Figure 5: Beekeeper showing hive from EA

Source: Field work data 2014

These activities were meant to reduce deforestation in the area which was also reportedly caused by collecting firewood for the purposes of tobacco curing and debarking for the purposes of preparing traditional beehives. Increased conservation efforts were also aimed at reducing land degradation whilst supporting livelihoods and food security initiatives.

4.1.6 Traditional Leadership

Traditional leaders are guided by the Traditional Leaders Act [Chapter 29:17] which confers them with the power to preside over rural communities and make sure that the environment is properly managed. Traditional leaders are interested in KCRP as it stresses the importance of land and forest conservation. Chiefs and other traditional leaders are excited about the project because it allows for the preservation of forests which are presumed to be the abode of ancestral spirits and also provide them with traditional medicines and access to agricultural inputs. One village head said the project is important because it allows for the preservation of our trees. In the past we did not go to clinics but we would rely on trees for medicine such as "*mudyamhofu''* (Swartzia Madagascartiensis) and ''*murunganyama" (*Ekebergia arborea). The narrative of conservation is pursued by traditional leaders because accordingly, REDD+ will save trees and land but in practice chiefs are not concerned about these. Their concern is that the land remains unsettled for their own purposes. That traditional leaders want the land for political purposes but

advance the narrative of conservation and this can be linked to the idea that chiefs are still commanding and have the power to allocate land as a means of garnering support from locals (Dzingirai, 1996).

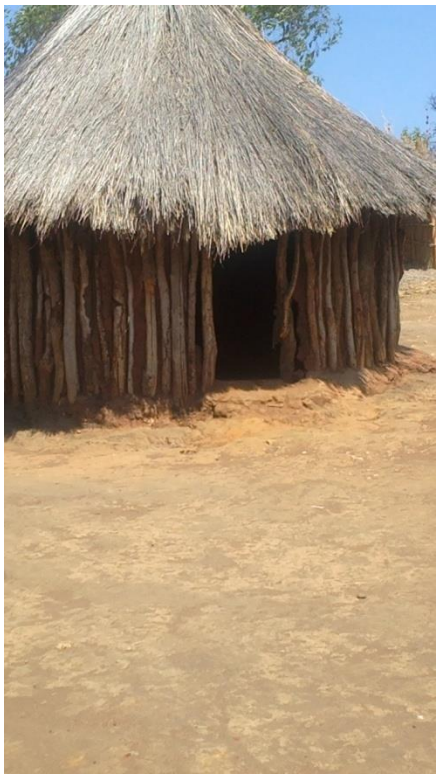
4.2 Objective 2: To identify how local livelihoods are affected by REDD+ initiatives.

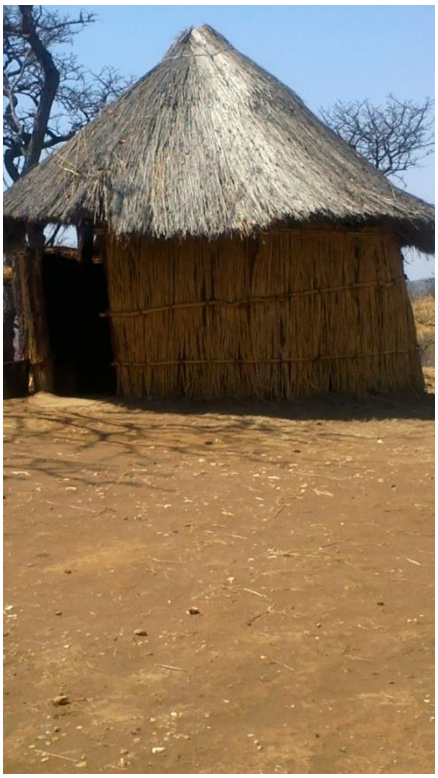
People in Chundu ward 8 depend on forests for a number of reasons. Fuel wood, grass for thatching homes, poles for gardens and houses, medicines and meat are all obtained from the forests. Forests are also cleared for subsistence farming and wood is collected for curing tobacco. The second objective identified the livelihood strategies employed by the community beneficiaries. Various livelihood strategies are employed but the most commonly practiced activities were stated to be subsistence farming, beekeeping, gardening and working on other people's plots (*maricho*). What was also identified were the modifications that REDD+ has brought to these livelihood strategies. These modifications though positive in theory, have not managed to yield the expected results. The themes that emerged under this objective were enhancement of livelihood strategies, redefining labour processes and disempowerment through exclusion.

4.2.1 Forest Use

The use of forests and forest products is of importance in Chundu. Like many other rural communities according to the World Bank (2004), 90% of rural communities depend on forests for food, fuel, shelter and pastures. In Chundu, people rely on forests particularly for fuel wood, grass for thatching houses, poles for garden fences and building homes as well as wildlife for meat.

Figure 6: Houses made of poles thatch





Source: Field work data 2014

The pictures above show two types of houses, the first one being made of poles and the second one being made of grass. Implications of the use of poles and grass to make shelter are that these methods are unsustainable and cause pressure on forest resources. As clearly depicted in the picture, poles are subject to being destroyed by terminates hence it means that after every few months or years there is need to harvest more material in order to build homes. According to the HRDC the use of poles and grasses for making shelter is unsustainable and implies continued deforestation and degradation. After the realization of this, REDD+ initiatives in the area aim to ensure that communities use building material which is resilient to external conditions and threats. Through REDD+ sustainable building materials are being encouraged with hydra form brick making being a priority. Communities also depend on the forests for food. Meat is obtained by hunting and small animals such as rabbits are caught for relish. Community beneficiaries indicated that most of the veld fires in the area are caused by people trying to trap

wild animals for meat. This has resulted in degradation and deforestation in Chundu as evidenced by the picture below.

Figure 7: Area affected by veld fire

Source: Field work data 2014

REDD+ activities are therefore being implemented in areas of relevance as there is evidence of deforestation and degradation in the Chundu. Although there is evidence of the project being implemented in the appropriate areas, local livelihoods are being constrained particularly for those who depend on hunting. One young man said;

> *"We used to hunt in the forest where they have pegged their plots but now we cannot do so because we cannot access these areas. We have not heard anyone being reprimanded for going there but the warnings are just enough to keep us out." Villager, Chisawuka Village, 31/11/2014.*

The above statement is a clear indication that forest dependent livelihoods are affected by REDD+ as there is inhibited access to forests. Not only do people receive warnings but through field observations it was observed that there are armed anti poaching squads armed and

traversing areas in search of poachers who are local people and these definitely implies that people will not easily access forests which were once a common good.

4.2.2 Subsistence farming

Hurungwe as compared to other districts implementing REDD+ has better rainfall patterns and this allows for agricultural activities (Kariba PDD, 2012). Maize is the major crop planted by almost 98% of households and it is mainly for household consumption. Other crops that are grown include soya beans, cow peas, beans and tobacco. Some of the farmers reported that in good seasons they can sell up to a tonne of maize and the money acquired is used for the day to day running of the household, such as paying for school fees, buying other food stuffs and cropping material for the next season. Tracts of land are cleared for agricultural purposes as evidenced by the picture below. This results in trees being cut down and burnt for the purposes of agriculture.

Figure 8: Land clearing for agriculture

Source: Fieldwork data 2014

This is consistent with what Holmes (2008) also identified. He argues that rural communities depend on agriculture and utilization of natural resources to meet the basic household needs. REDD+ activities with the aim of reducing deforestation and land degradation are therefore

implementing activities that have less detrimental effects to the environment. CF is one such activity that some of the farmers in Chundu ward 8 are now engaging in. Farmers volunteered to be part of the CF project and through the assistance of the AGRITEX officer ten farmers were selected in each village. These farmers work under the direction of the lead farmer who is someone who is hardworking, committed and able to attend workshops. Each group is supported by the project proponents for two years then another group of ten is identified. The researcher however observed that there is potential for elite capture in some of these activities. Some lead farmers have been benefitting from the project even after their term has been up. One lead farmer is the mother of an agricultural extension officer and has been receiving inputs for the past three years. Justification of her extended term in office was that she had been identified as committed towards the project and she was the one who managed to attend trainings. This has allowed for her to benefit whilst other members are yet to benefit from REDD+ activities. There is also a possibility that new forms of authority can be created with lead farmers and beekeepers being at the centre of these new forms of power. One of the respondents pointed out that some inputs such as slashers, racks and hoes were given to the coordinators to distribute but these were not distributed. At the same time members could not ask why inputs had not been distributed because they feared a lot of issues related to witchcraft. Such power dynamics will also influence access to resources and drive pursuance of interests by other beneficiaries.

The selection process of farmers seems to be a bottom up approach but the activities according to the community beneficiaries are not what they ask for hence a top down approach. Some reported that there is no form of consultation with people living in potential carbon areas. To the beneficiaries, CGA and HRDC just come and tell the chief and village heads what activities are to be done. CGA and EA nevertheless had differing views on this. According to them the projects that are introduced are mainly from the community beneficiaries themselves therefore it is a bottom up approach. EA indicated that before community projects were introduced a baseline project was conducted to determine the appropriate activities that would be initiated. In Chundu, EA stated that a number of activities were identified by the community and these were ranked. Below is the list of activities in their order of priority:

1. Beekeeping;
2. Conservation farming;

3. Hydra form brick making; and
4. Supporting conservation of shrines.

Accordingly, communities chose these activities for them to be implemented in Chundu however it is clear that they do not understand these as community owned. Rather they understand these as HRDC, and CGA owned initiatives. This is because information flow at community level is poor. Others reported that when CGA comes they do not talk to people in the communities rather they talk to village heads who then pass information to others. This was also identified by Vermeulen and Cotula (2010) in Tanzania and Mozambique where they found that what is identified as community consultation is usually confined to village elders, elites and officials with little efforts being made to include other significant groups in the communities.

For farmers who are practicing CF, CF is about soil conservation and they are encouraged to utilize small pieces of land for agricultural purposes using hot compound compost which they have been taught to make. CF ensures that farmers utilize small plots of land which are usually 25 lines X 50m. On these plots farmers are encouraged to practice mulching which ensures that soil moisture is retained. This is important because due to changes in climate, rainfall patterns have been erratic therefore preservation of soil moisture allows for better harvests. To some this is a positive modification to their livelihood strategy. Livelihoods were said to have improved with farmers getting as many as 18 bags of maize per plot compared to nine bags in the past. Surplus can therefore be sold to meet other household needs. However others feel that in reality proponents of REDD+ projects are intending to disempower them and enhance poverty by promoting CF and slowly disengaging the use of technology and ox drawn power for farming. CF is a laborious process as individuals have to dig holes and measure the required area for cultivation. Other community members who are not into CF in the area highlighted that people who are engaging in the projects are those who are stranded and desperate for inputs, and if it were not the case people would not engage in CF.

Although CF seems to be a noble idea relating to avoidance of land degradation it can be indirectly used as a mechanism of land appropriation through REDD+. The use of small plots ensures that community beneficiaries utilize a reduced amount of land for farming. It also means that encroachment into forests is reduced as there will be no land clearing for the purposes of

agriculture. Borras et al (2010) indicate that various mechanisms of land appropriation such as violence, force, narratives and market power are utilized for appropriating land for the purposes of REDD+ initiatives. The idea of identifying land as over utilized in Hurungwe for purposes of agriculture is a narrative which allows for appropriation of land. However, in this case changes in ideology and situational manipulation seem to be the mechanisms that are also used in further alienation of communities. Peluso and Lund (2011) allude to the fact that mechanisms of land grabbing can be subtle and have great potential to exclude others from the land. Apart from different mechanisms that are employed new crops, new labour processes and objectives for farmers are being introduced, challenging earlier land controls. This is also the case in Hurungwe whereby new labour processes are being introduced to exclude others in the competition of accessing resources and land control.

4.2.1.3 Tobacco farming

During the field work the researcher observed that most of the people in Hurungwe were preparing their tobacco seed beds. Some of the respondents highlighted that ideas of conservation farming are noble but crops like maize do not bring in money compared to tobacco. Tobacco farming is a common practice in Zimbabwe. Ash (2012), highlights that most of the world's tobacco farming occurs in developing countries and Zimbabwe is the second largest producer of tobacco in Africa. As such rural communities have identified the opportunities associated with tobacco farming and are therefore engaging in it. In Hurungwe, tobacco farming is considered to be the major reason for deforestation with trees being cut down for the purposes of tobacco curing. However tobacco farming is not blamed on the adjacent big farms mainly because it is easier to manipulate those living in poorer conditions. The majority of stakeholders in REDD+ initiatives in Hurungwe identified tobacco farming as the major driver of deforestation. Pictures below are evidence of tobacco farming in Hurungwe.

Figure 9: Tobacco Nursery and curing barn

Source: Field work data 2014

The barn utilized by tobacco farmers in Chundu requires five chords of firewood which are 1meter X 1meter. However others have three barns per household meaning that they would require 15 chords of firewood. To reduce levels of deforestation associated with tobacco farming, measures have been put in place through the Council and alternative energy sources have been identified. Coal is one alternative and farmers are given 20 bags of coal by the contractor to utilize for tobacco curing. The problems that were identified were that; the coal is not sufficient enough and it would mean that firewood would be required to add to the coal. Tobacco growers were concerned with having fans which would help to reduce the amount of firewood utilized during tobacco curing. Another observed challenge was that farmers sell the coal to others in times of need therefore it is difficult to control deforestation if alternatives are not sufficient enough. The HRDC is regulating the use of wood through statutory Instrument 116 and has drawn up a memorandum of understanding (MOU) which each contractor should possess. Some of the obligations of tobacco contractors and tobacco farmers under the MOU are:

- To supply alternative energy sources like coal, bamboo;
- To provide a monitoring plan that ensures coal supply is used by farmers rather than being sold;
- Ensure removal of tobacco stalks within prescribed dates; and
- Ensure avoidance of unnecessary deforestation.

To ensure that these obligations are met, Council has partnered with AGRITEX, Forestry Commission and EMA. These partnerships allow for management of resources in the area. It is however rather puzzling that HRDC is calling for the use of coal which also contributes to green house gases. Nevertheless, it can be a means of pursuing their interests by ensuring that less trees are cut and more carbon is sequestered in order to get more revenue from the carbon project.

Through REDD+ initiatives alternative livelihood strategies such as growing paprika and chilli aim to be introduced. This is regarded as 'smart farming' as it has less detrimental effects to the environment. The challenge with such alternatives is that markets are hardly sought for communities thus they find it difficult to get profits from such activities. They therefore engage in activities which are profitable for them thus affecting sustainable forest management. Incentives for managing forests well should therefore outdo what communities are currently engaged in for REDD+ to be effective.

4.2.1.4 Beekeeping

Beekeeping is another livelihood strategy that farmers in Chundu have practiced for a long time. When REDD+ was introduced, farmers who were already practicing beekeeping were selected to benefit from the project. To date about 60 farmers have received hives from CGA and EA. Beekeepers used traditional hives which they made by using bark from trees as evidenced by the photograph below.

Figure 10: Debarked Tree

Source: Field work data 2014

The hives that are made from tree barks are detrimental to the environment because debarking does not allow for the regeneration of trees and many trees are lost. To harvest their honey farmers also used naked flame and this often resulted in veld fires. To ensure that livelihood strategies such as beekeeping did not have negative effects beekeepers were taught about the importance of preserving their trees by avoiding veld fires. Trees are important because they produce flowers which provide nectar for the bees and trees such as *munondo* and *musasa* were considered to produce flowers which generate nectar for the bees. Provision of beehives was considered to be an enhancement to the already practiced beekeeping livelihood strategy. EA indicated that beekeepers lives were improved by the enhancement of the livelihood strategy. It was indicated that one 500g bottle of honey was sold at either US$4 or US$5 and each farmer would harvest at least 15kg of honey per year. Ideally if a farmer has four hives they are likely to earn US$300 per year. It was identified that the vegetation in Chundu allows for beekeepers to harvest honey for three times a year indicating that a beekeeper can earn up to nine hundred dollars a year using four beehives. EA indicated that farmers in the past could not sell their honey because of the exorbitant prices they pegged for the honey. To ensure that beekeepers would benefit two trainings were conducted, one on basic beekeeping and the other on advanced beekeeping. Advanced beekeeping touched on aspects related markets for honey, advertising, pricing, processing and packaging. Theoretically this is a very good concept and allows for the enhancement of local livelihoods.

The problem which was however noted was that for the past two years the hives provided have not yielded anything. Some of the beehives are not in a state where bees can be captured as they are disintegrated. One beekeeper said;

> *"We do not know what type of wax they put in these boxes before they give them to us. It seems as if they put substances which repel the bees; that is the only explanation as to why we have not harvested anything." Beekeeper, Kawara Village, 2/11/2014.*

As a strategy to improve livelihoods of beekeepers there is evidence of failure on the part of the beekeepers and project proponents. It was reported that since beekeepers were given boxes no one has come to monitor and even capacitate them on the proper utilization of the boxes. Some of the beekeepers echoed that CGA has never been in contact with them, with others having received boxes through the village head's secretary.

> *"The hives were given to the secretary and he then distributed them to us. Since we were given the boxes no one has come to see the boxes. We don't know whether eventually when we manage to get honey from the hives we are supposed to give it to the secretary so that he gives it to CGA." Beekeeper, Chisawuka Village 30/10/2014.*

CGA however indicated that there is no guarantee for one hundred percent occupancy in the beehives and also that farmers who were failing to harvest any honey might possibly have not attended trainings and workshops. EA and CGA alluded to the fact that the researcher should have visited other areas in Chundu Ward 9 where there are two active beekeepers. This was evidence that enhancement of livelihood strategies is at a small scale. The picture below shows a hive that has lain idle for the past two years with no honey being produced from the hive.

Figure 11: Disintegrated beehive

Source: Field work data 2014

It is clear that REDD+ initiatives affect local lives by revising access and control to land, redefining labour processes and generally disempowering local communities. Although it is asserted that through the KCRP livelihoods are improved there is no doubt that in Chundu only a handful has had their livelihoods enhanced and improved. One village head said out of the 90 people in his area only seven farmers had benefitted or received inputs through the REDD+ project. This indicates that only 7% of community members have benefitted from the project to date. Clearly REDD+ initiatives have an impact on local livelihoods, with the impact largely being unconstructive for local communities.

4.3 Objective 3: To investigate how the different meanings attached to REDD+ affect the sustainability of the project.

Different actors attach different meanings to REDD+ and these meanings have an impact on the sustainable management of forests. Varied meanings are often linked to the relationship actors have with the resources as well as contests of power. The themes that emerged under the third objective included REDD+ as a means of expanding state forests, REDD+ as a donation and REDD+ as a means of making money. These meanings have implications for sustainable forest management in Hurungwe and also the meanings have a bearing on the success or failure of the

REDD+ project in Hurungwe. The meanings therefore offer opportunities and challenges for the proper implementation of the KCRP.

4.3.1 REDD+ as a means of expanding forests.

REDD+ is seen by the HRDC and Forestry Commission as a means of expanding forests. It is important for the two actors to expand the forests because forests are the key to more money being received by the government departments. HRDC sees that there is potential for expansion thus the regular eviction notices to residents in Chundu Ward 8. To justify the illegal settlement of people in the area, the HRDC has labeled them as squatters although some have stayed in the area for more than 30 years. One beekeeper said;

> *"We are surprised when they call us squatters because some of us were born here. The HRDC labels us as squatters when they know that the white men are coming and present us with eviction orders. This shows they are working together and want to evict us for the benefit of trees and animals." Beekeeper, Chisawuka Village, 30/10/2014.*

The above is a reflection of how parties engage in different mechanisms to fulfill their interests in REDD+ activities. Nel and Hill (2013) identifies that the dominant narrative of intrusion into forest areas by communities vilifies locals as environmental delinquents and paints the private companies as redeemers of the environment. Narratives are created to justify why certain actions are being executed. This was also identified by Vermeulen and Cotula (2010) when they stated that land is usually viewed as underutilized, idle or overpopulated as a narrative of trying to turn waste land into productive land for carbon business. The FC is the other party which sees REDD+ as a means of expanding forests. For them there should be limited cultivation and no forest clearance to allow for the regeneration of forests. What is important for FC is that carbon is stored and every piece of land qualifies. Due to the strong interest in conservation of forests people might be left to suffer with unclear tenure rights. The meaning attached to REDD+ by HRDC and FC places them on a collision course with communities in particular. They become hostile to the project and engage in activities that will definitely discredit the other party. This was evidenced when the HRDC official said;

> *"The fire that you people caused when the auditors were around created problems for us. We then just had to say the people had seen a lion." HRDC official, Magunje Office, 29/11/2014.*

The above statement is clear evidence that community members knowing what is at stake for the other party try to engage in activities that are detrimental to the project as a way of discrediting the other parties involved. Forestry Commission has a role in creating fire awareness and the fact that fires were seen during the audit might paint a picture that people are not being taught about managing fires. This therefore has negative implications for the sustainable management of forest in Chundu. Forests will continue to be destroyed in large hectares in the bid to disqualify the other parties.

4.3.2 REDD+ as a donation

This is generally a meaning that is attached to REDD+ by the community beneficiaries. Community beneficiaries identified that REDD+ is all about receiving inputs such as beehives, seeds and fertilizer. One farmer said;

> *"CGA is our donor. They came to stop hunger in our village. We like them because they give us maize seeds and fertilizers." Villager, Chisawuka Village, 31/10/2014.*

The idea that REDD+ is a donation has detrimental effects for the project in that it sets communities on a collision path with funders who expect communities to manage their forest resources for the benefits of carbon sequestration and effectively engage in activities linked to the project such as CF. Communities do not have an understanding of this and at times do not know the importance of conserving the forests and the role that they are supposed to play in carbon projects. One man said;

> *"We heard that they want to reduce deforestation and degradation but this message is not for us. It's primarily for those who are into beekeeping.'' Villager, Tushera Village, 3/11/2014.*

It is clear that expectations are for villagers to receive inputs without them putting much effort. This was also echoed by a CGA official who said they had to travel to project areas a week before auditors had come to inspect gardens, CF and beekeeping activities. The communities then view this as if they are being bothered and harassed to work. This was clearly stated in one interview;

> *"The people they work with from SAT are making us work. We now refer to SAT as "hamusati" meaning you haven't seen anything yet. These people just want to use us instead of giving us more." Villager, Tushera villager, 3/11/2014.*

Partners expect commitment from the beneficiaries but there is disenchantment at local level with cooperation reduced amongst beneficiaries. This is what was also observed by an EA official;

> *"Beneficiaries lack commitment. Some do not attend meetings and trainings because what they only want are the inputs linked to CF and beekeeping. You will notice that those who had the zeal are the ones who improved their livelihoods." EA official, Mutoko Offices, 14/11/2014.*

This has an effect on the management of forests because local communities have a differing view of why they should make any contributions towards the project. With no realization of the importance of implemented activities, communities are likely to engage in unsustainable forest management practices.

Neglect by the state as evidenced by the poor infrastructural development in the area and limited access to agricultural inputs makes communities view REDD+ as a donor who has come to give handouts. However the fact that only a handful benefit after every two years provides a basis for power struggles and conflicts not only amongst the funders and communities but amongst the people themselves. Those who are yet to benefit can be likely to engage in activities that will ensure that those who are gaining from the project will not yield as much as desired thus increased deforestation and degradation activities. Sandbrook et al (2010) makes an allusion to the fact that aid has led to power struggles and communities reconfigure local politics and interests.

4.3.3 REDD+ as a means of redefining land use and tenure

At the center of REDD+ are issues related to revisions of land tenure and appropriation of land. Larson et al (2013) indicate that concerns directly linked to insecurity of forest tenure rights and insecure tenure rights might mean that more dominant actors gain rights to the land in the interest of gaining REDD+ benefits. This is the case in Chundu whereby HRDC regularly serves community members with eviction orders and labels community members as squatters. There is a history of land conflicts in the area which some have dated back to 1993 where chief Chundu felt that citizens had acquired land unscrupulously without the approval and authority of the HRDC in terms of section 8 (1) of the Council Land Act number 20. This is still continuing with other villagers receiving eviction orders even up to date. In a request for further particulars from

the HRDC, Zimbabwe Human Rights Association questioned why people in Chundu Ward 8 were being said to be illegally occupying the land when some of them had lived there for over 30 years. Significantly this is a way of redefining tenure and further alienating communities for the benefit of the project.

Identified plots can be either in the forest where there is no human occupation or as indicated by some of the informants the area identified might be in the middle of someone's field. Although people in the communities are not yet removed from their plots through the REDD+ project, there is an issue of redefined land use and land processes. One informant indicated that if the given area falls onto the plot of an individual, they are required to engage in sustainable farming practices such as CF which are non detrimental to the environment. The idea behind CF is probably to ensure increased harvests however a CGA official indicated that;

> *"CF reduces fertilizer use and the yield is actually triple. However the purpose is to reduce the amount of land people want." CGA official, Harare offices, 12/11/2014."*

Reduction in the amount of land used and revision of agricultural practices entails that more forests will be preserved and this will benefit the private company as more carbon is stored. This is similar to what Borras et al (2011) observed in their study. Their observation was that while people are likely to remain on their farms, primary livelihood strategies are revised. There is no clear realization by the local communities that their land is being appropriated thus the reason why many are still in favour of REDD+ because unlike CAMPFIRE there are no forcible evictions from their plots.

Others indicated that selected plots in the forests are usually unoccupied. These plots are regularly monitored by CGA to ensure that there is no evidence of deforestation. Although mechanisms such as violence or force have not been used in Chundu, respondents pointed out to the fact that in the pegged areas people are no longer allowed to get in and access forest resources. People are told not to attempt anything on the plots and are given warnings. This therefore is an indication that REDD+ has the potential of alienating locals from the forests that they have been dependent on.

4.3.4 REDD+ as a money making mechanism

Different actors see REDD+ as a mechanism of making money in order to develop their own bureaucratic agendas. What happens to local communities is a secondary concern to the different stakeholders as making money is the primary concern. This was to a great extent made clear by EA who played the role of a watch dog in the project, particularly focusing on identifying whether human rights needs were met. Although they claimed to agitate for the human rights of people whose land was at the risk of being taken, it was not urgent enough for them to remain in the project. This was said by one official in an interview;

> *"The funding partner said they could no longer fund us so we decided to look for other projects that would give us money." EA official, EA Harare office, 21/11/2014.*

At the beginning of the project the partnership was important because according to Barth (1966) groups realize that to access resources they have to engage in partnerships which will ensure access. Conflicts relating to funding therefore resulted in the partnership between CGA and EA being severed. This affects the project in the sense that community development programs that were being implemented by EA are no longer being carried out by people who have the capacity of community development. One EA officer said,

> "*We are still in touch with some people in Hurungwe and they say things are no longer the same, they have deteriorated because those heading up the project are hunters with no community development expertise. I don't think it will even run for the 30 years. EA official, Mutoko Offices, 14/11/2014.*

Observations in the field revealed that to some extent the sentiments being echoed by EA were true. For farmers who have received hives these hives have become dismantled and farmers are resorting to traditional methods of beekeeping which do not allow for the regeneration of trees. One farmer said;

> *"I prefer using the traditional hive because I can get honey from it unlike the ones we received from the white men. Not even a single bee has entered these boxes. They have not trained us so we are not yet yielding results so it's better for me to use tree bark."Beekeeper, Muchidza Village, 31/10/2014.*

Since there is no realization of lucrative benefits from the project people are resorting to traditional methods of using forest products which might affect the sustainability of the project.

4.4 Conclusion

Meanings attached by the different actors indisputably have an impact on local livelihoods and project sustainability. For the elite, nongovernmental organizations and government actors the meaning of conservation and biodiversity entails that forests are well kept as profits and funds are accessed from this. Strategies and mechanisms are employed by the powerful to ensure that there is sustainable management of forests and these are likely to include revisions of land tenure and local use rights. For the other actors particularly the project beneficiaries, if there are benefits to be derived from the project, there is surely hope that they engage in practices which are not detrimental to the environment. However with the realization that offered alternatives are not lucrative, community beneficiaries are likely to disregard the importance of REDD+ initiatives.

CHAPTER 5

Summary of findings, Conclusion and Recommendations

5.0 Introduction

Basing on the research findings of this study, the present chapter attempts to answer the question of whether REDD+ is an opportunity or a threat to local livelihoods and sustainable forest management. The summary of research findings is presented under each objective and thereafter conclusions from the study in respect to scholarship and theory are drawn. Recommendations of how to improve REDD+ implementation are also outlined in this chapter.

5.1 Summary of findings

With respect to the first objective, it was observed that multiple stakeholders in REDD+ initiatives exist with clearly diverse and divergent interests. The actors can be characterized as state, private, nongovernmental organizations and local community actors. Conservation is an interest that was of paramount importance to the majority of stakeholders for instance FC, HRDC, EA and CGA. Although conservation and improving biodiversity are the mostly stated interests by actors, it is clear that these actors are working behind the guise of conservation to pursue other interests. State actors like HRDC and FC are interested in conservation but with the aim of expanding forest land in order to attain revenue from carbon projects. Private companies particularly CGA like any other private company seek to make profits and this is evidenced by the shift from CAMPFIRE and hunting after the realization that the hunting industry was no longer lucrative enough. The intervention of the carbon business therefore had and still has promising opportunities. For NGO's their stated interest is also in protecting the environment whilst at the same time advocating for the rights of local communities and improving their livelihoods. However, at the first sign of dissatisfaction with the funding partner EA decided to pull out at the expense of human rights and improving livelihoods of communities. Therefore for the above mentioned actors, conservation is only important because it brings about business, profits and revenue. For community beneficiaries, interests are greatly linked to reducing poverty, development and enhanced food security.

The second objective sought to identify how local livelihoods are affected by REDD+. It was observed that villagers in Chundu ward 8 largely depend on the natural capital which comprises

of land and forests for survival. Forest resources such as fuel wood, poles for garden fences and grass for thatching homes are of importance to local communities. Others derive their protein component from small animals such as rabbits which are hunted in these forests. The land is mainly used for subsistence farming with maize being the major crop grown for subsistence. Others are engaging in tobacco farming which the HRDC clearly states as the major cause of increased deforestation and degradation in Chundu Ward 8. Despite these claims, community members feel that tobacco farming significantly contributes to improved incomes. REDD+ essentially has the role of improving and enhancing livelihoods of local communities. Farmers were however engaging in livelihood strategies such as beekeeping even before the project but methods of harvesting through use of open flames were not sustainable and had damaging effects to the environment. Improved beekeeping and CF are some of the activities that have been introduced through REDD+ with the hope of farmers getting profits and better yields respectively, and at the same time doing these activities in a manner which is not detrimental to the environment. While there are claims to the importance of reducing poverty through REDD+ initiatives, this is not a priority for major project proponents. Livelihoods in Chundu ward 8 have not improved for many as proposed projects have not yielded results since the inception of the project. Issues related to lack of capacity building, poor coordination and communication with project partners as well as lack of transparency further entrench local beneficiaries in poverty as they are not clear about what is owed to them as the goal of most of the stakeholders is to make profits and accrue revenue for bureaucratic purposes. The implications for sustainability of the REDD+ project are that people will not see the need to conserve and manage forests which bring no enhanced benefits to them as not much has been improved or gained. For those who have gained, they are only a handful with the greater populace still to benefit from the project.

Finally as regards the last objective, it was observed that meanings attached by different actors are evidently diverse. Due to the fact that the meanings are irreconcilable, actors are set on collision paths which have a negative impact on the project. The HRDC and FC identify REDD+ as a means of expanding forests and the only way to do this is by evicting villagers from their areas of occupancy. Regular eviction notices are served to members in Chundu Ward 8 with them labeled as squatters and delinquents of the environment through their unsustainable use of forests and forest resources. This sets HRDC on a collision path with communities who in turn

become hostile to the project in a bid to disqualify the other party. Communities attach the meaning of REDD+ as a donor where the donor has a responsibility if giving them agricultural inputs. This interest collides with the funder's expectation on community commitment to manage forests well. Kariba REDD+ by some of the community beneficiaries is perceived as a means of redefining land use and tenure. Due to the regular eviction orders there is insecure tenure and locals are finding no reason to conserve resources in an area where they have no proper claim to land. Redefining land use through conservation farming minimizes the amount of land used thereby further alienating people from their forests. Apart from community beneficiaries the majority of actors see REDD+ as a money making mechanism in order to develop bureaucratic agendas. This is evident for HRDC, EA, CGA and FC. Interests and meanings of different actors are not even good for them because in the long run they affect the project and limit what really has to be fulfilled by the project.

5.2 Conclusions

The question which this research tries to answer is whether REDD+ is an opportunity or threat to livelihoods of those who live on the margins. The answer to this is negative, for two reasons. Firstly, from the data presented, REDD+ is a threat to rural communities. There is a possibility of land tenure revision for those that agree to take part in it. These land tenure revisions target the exclusion of local communities who usually have managed forests for their benefit. Those seeking the displacement of communities do so by emphasizing the importance of increased biodiversity and conservation which offer opportunities for acquiring more revenue. In many cases of Africa, such revenue is important for otherwise underfunded local governmental structures. Secondly, REDD+ cannot be an opportunity for people because in addition to withdrawing benefits, it limits existing livelihoods for communities. It criminalizes livelihoods for those in communal lands. In the case study we saw how investors quickly established a reaction force to forbid subsistence of wildlife. Thus for countries like Kenya and Uganda hoping to further experiment with REDD, the data from the case study does not promise good news.

Why REDD+ is a threat to local livelihoods and sustainable forest management in this study is not unexpected. Land tenure revisions, evictions of local communities, appropriation of land,

redefining land use and limited livelihood options are all strategies used to acquire resources which in NRM cannot be acquired by all groups in society. The anthropologist F.G. Bailey (1977) and Salisbury (1977) clearly reminded us long back that it is the nature of individuals and groups to compete over resources, particularly in the context of scarcity. Powerful actors are therefore likely to be at the helm of such projects employing practical strategies that tend to exclude local communities or otherwise weaker actors in acquiring resources. This is the point that is supported by Scoones and Leach in their forthcoming edited book on political ecologies of carbon. They argue that in the competition of resources, global elites increasingly have to create criminals out of peasantry and in the process justify themselves and their intervention as redemptive. The narrative of redemption supported by alliances with the state prepares for the eventual displacement of the peasants from their lands. However, from that point of displacement, peasants transform themselves as enemies of the state, ready to subvert projects of disenfranchisements such as REDD. In the section below the study ends by suggesting how such destructive transactional energies can be directed to ensure a win-win situation for all.

5.3 Recommendations

Although interests are diverse and divergent there is an opportunity for REDD+ projects to be successful in Zimbabwe. The following are the recommendations offered.

1. De-emphasize personal interests and expectations of various stakeholders by focusing more on the social good rather than individual good.

Actors in the Kariba REDD+ project have interests and expectations which relate to personal gains through acquisition of revenue and funds. The interests of various actors are likely to be detrimental to everyone involved thus limiting the potential of achieving REDD+ goals. Emphasis should therefore be placed on how to improve local livelihoods rather than pursuing individual interests.

2. Give voice to local communities to enable proper bottom up implementation of project activities.

Community members remain passive in development project because there is no proper bottom up implementation. Due to this communities still do not benefit from REDD+ initiatives. There is need to engage communities in all levels of project implementation.

3. Attend to issues relating to rights and equitable distribution of benefits to produce better outcomes.

Issues relating to rights and distribution of benefits to communities are not clearly emphasized by the project. There is need to address these issues to ensure better outcomes for communities. Equitable distribution of resources will improve livelihoods of rural communities thereby fulfilling the goal of reducing climate change effects and livelihood options.

4. Policy makers should better conceive REDD+ as a sphere of competition rather than stability.

REDD+ is characterized by competition and complex negotiations hence it is good to perceive it not as a win-win situation as this hides tensions that have to be resolved for the common good. Policy makers should therefore understand the complexities attached to REDD+ and cater for this in policy implementation.

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Appendices

Appendix 1

Key Informant Interview Guide: Project Proponent

1. What is the focus of REDD?
2. Who are the partners in REDD?
3. What are their roles and contribution to the project?
4. What is the nature of benefits accrued by these partners?
5. As an organization what are your expectations of the project?
6. What is your relationship like with other implementing partners as well as funding partners?
7. What is the organizational strategy in implementing REDD? Probe on whether they operate from Harare or whether they have sub offices in project areas. (Look for Justification).
8. How does the organization work with communities? Probe on whether they form new structures, groups or organizations.
9. What are the stipulated benefits for communities? What has the organization done so far? Probe on livelihoods, consider sequencing.
10. What is considered during beneficiary selection?
11. How are people drawn and what are their responsibilities?
12. Are the projects being implemented in appropriate areas, areas of need?
13. From your own point of view is there a change in the lives of beneficiaries?
14. What has been achieved to date? Probe on numbers, workshops.
15. Prior to the project was there evidence of deforestation? If yes what can this be attributed to?
16. Are there any changes in deforestation rates and what can these be attributed to?
17. In terms of sustainability, do you feel that REDD+ initiatives will fulfill the dual purpose of reducing carbon emissions and poverty? What measures are in place to ensure this?
18. How do you see the future of the project?

Appendix 2

Key Informant Interview Guide: Community Beneficiaries

1) What is your history of involvement with REDD+ in Zimbabwe? Why, when and how was the project introduced to you?
2) In what ways are people in communities involved in the project?
3) What are your current livelihood strategies?
4) Have there been any changes in these livelihood strategies since the introduction of KCRP?
5) Would you say the Project is achieving the intended results and objectives?
6) What activities are being implemented by the partner organizations? (PROBE FOR ACTIVITIES). Comment on Adequacy.
7) What contributions are the beneficiaries making towards REDD+ initiatives?
8) How relevant and appropriate is the initiative to people's lives?
9) How is the level of cooperation and relationship between implementing partners and the beneficiaries?
10) Are you as beneficiaries satisfied with the relationship(PROBE FOR REASONS)
11) What benefits are people getting or deriving from this Project or interventions?
12) What are the major key issues that have emerged from the Project so far?
13) From your experience what do you consider to be the STRENGTHS and CHALLENGES of the initiative?
14) How has the external environment affected the implementation of REDD+ initiatives in the area? (PROBE FOR SOCIAL, ECONOMIC, POLITICAL, AND CLIMATIC environment?)
15) In addition to the current activities what others do you think should have been included for people to maximize on benefits?
16) What do you consider to be the ACHIEVEMENTS of the REDD+ initiatives?
17) What factors do you think contribute to these achievements?
18) What could be done differently to maximize the impact of project activities to achieve more impact?
19) What do you think should be done by implementing partners to ensure that the project is sustainable?

Appendix 3

Key Informant Interview Guide: Traditional leaders

1. What do you understand by REDD+?
2. How was REDD+ introduced in your community?
3. What are your interests/expectations from the project?
4. Before the project, was there any form of consultation from the project proponents?
5. Do you think REDD+ is of any importance to you?
6. Has your community derived any benefits from the project?
7. How are the benefits shared?
8. Is there any transparency in how the benefits are shared?
9. Apart from livelihoods, what other aspects have been enhanced through the project
10. Who are the project partners?
11. What is your relationship like with these partners?
12. Are the projects being implemented in areas which are appropriate?
13. What are some of the challenges with REDD+ implementation in your area?
14. What do you think should be done to improve the project?