# CHAPTER 1

# BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

# 1.1 PROTECTED WILDLIFE AREAS IN ZIMBABWE

Zimbabwe is a country that has a diverse range of wildlife resources. These resources need to be conserved and utilised on a sustainable basis in order for the country to realise maximum benefits. Of these resources, the Ministry of Environment and Tourism (1998) estimate that there were 175 species of mammals, 164 species of reptiles and about 600 bird species. The majority of these animals are kept in protected areas, which comprise approximately 15% of the country's surface area. Of this, 13% has been set aside as the Parks and Wildlife Estate under the Parks and Wildlife Management Authority (PWMA). Of the 13% under the PWMA 7% consists of national parks and the remainder is comprised of safari areas, recreational parks, botanical gardens and reserves and sanctuaries. The other two percent of the country that is under protection consists of gazetted indigenous forests which are managed by the Forestry Commission. These forests also support a substantial number of wildlife species.

# 1.2 HISTORICAL BACKGROUND TO WILDLIFE CONFLICTS IN PRIVATELY PROTECTED AREAS.

Environmental conservation through the establishment of protected areas has in many cases resulted in conflicts over the protected resources between owners and managers of these areas and surrounding communities. In Zimbabwe many of the protected areas were established during the colonial era. The main piece of legislation that demarcated these areas was the Land Apportionment Act of 1931, which allocated land along racial lines. Wildlife management on private lands for commercial gain got a boost from the Parks and Wildlife Act of 1975. According to Chenje *et al* (1998) this Act granted authority to landholders to manage and benefit from wildlife on their properties with a minimum of government intervention and first to take up this challenge were commercial farmers in all agro-ecological regions of the country. The Parks and Wildlife Act (Revised edition, 1996:423) under Part 1, Section 2 states that appropriate authority in relation to any land, in the case of alienated land, means "the owner thereof; ...the purchaser or leasee unless

the agreement otherwise provides; and includes any person appointed to be an appropriate authority for the land by such owner, purchaser or leasee, as the case may be..."

The skewed distribution of land and other natural resources continued well after the attainment of independence in 1980. As Moore (1992) aptly states, even the regional political economy of the colonial era in which land alienation and taxation forced many into labour tenancy and wage labour migration continued into the 1990s. Although the government passed the Land Acquisition Act in 1992 which broke the 'willing buyer, willing seller' constrains of the 1980 Lancaster House Constitution and permitted the expropriation of 'designated' white owned farms under certain conditions, the pace of land reform still remained agonisingly slow. Marongwe (2002) attributes this continued skewed land and other natural resources distribution to the lack of financial resources for compensating white commercial farmers and the long court proceedings of contesting white farmers which slowed down the pace of land reform.

To add on to this, Zimbabwe's economy performed poorly under the World Bank-initiated Economic Structural Adjustment Programme (ESAP) which resulted in industry failing to absorb surplus labour and in some cases, scaling down and even completely closing down. A huge part of the labour force was off-loaded onto the land thereby creating a potentially conflict brewing situation. Furthermore, as Moyo (2000) states, Zimbabwe's ESAP failed to integrate land reform into its design and hence no resources were allocated for land acquisition although the World Bank itself placed emphasis on market based reforms. Standards of living amongst the general populace in Zimbabwe have progressively declined from the time of ESAP's inception.

The events of February 2000, which saw the rejection of the Governments draft constitution in a referendum by the majority of the electorate, worsened the situation. The ruling party had campaigned for a 'Yes vote' whilst the opposition had campaigned for a 'No vote'. The rejected constitution had a clause that would enable the government to acquire land from private holders without paying for the land for the purposes of resettlement. This triggered the February 2000 countrywide land occupations. Impatience had grown amongst the disadvantaged groups, which resulted in the occupation of commercial farms and protected state and private lands throughout Zimbabwe in the year 2000.

#### 1.3 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

The land occupations of 2000 changed the demographic composition of the areas around Imire Safari Ranch. However, land occupations in this ward have a much longer history dating back to the attainment of political independence in 1980. But the most notable occupations came in 1998, which resulted in the occupation of Nurenzi, Imire, Welton, Markwe and Numwa farms by the Svosve people from the nearby Svosve communal lands, who are under the neighbouring Marondera district in terms of administration. The 1998 land occupiers were later evicted from the farms by the government. They did not return until February 2000 after the constitutional referendum and occupied all farms in Watershed East Ward except Imire Safari Ranch. The Farms were subsequently acquired by central government for resettlement purposes under the Accelerated Land Reform Programme but the battle for wildlife resources within Imire Safari Ranch still persists.

The wildlife conflict between Imire Safari Ranch and the surrounding community has resulted in threats to wildlife diversity and actual reductions in wildlife numbers that are within the ranch. Many conflict management mechanisms can be adopted but their effectiveness and relevance depends on the situation at hand. There is therefore need to individually assess each conflict situation in which conflict management mechanisms may be used in order to enhance sustainable wildlife utilisation.

# 1.4 JUSTIFICATION OF THE STUDY

Conflict management assessments (CMAs) are important in all cases in which conflict management is needed so as to assess the relevance and effectiveness of the different approaches that can be employed. Warner and Jones (1998) state that CMAs are vital before intervening or altering management strategies because they determine whether intervention or alteration is warranted or not. Wehr (2001) states that conflict assessment enables the systematic collection of information about the nature and dynamics of a conflict, which enables the employment of correct or the best management strategies.

Although many studies have been carried out concerning wildlife conflicts and their management in Zimbabwe, they were done in a different political, social and economic situation to the one that has characterised this country since the land occupations of 2000. Most assessments focused on the CAMPFIRE programme and other similar situations, which mainly involved local communities and state owned resources, rather than privately owned protected areas. Furthermore, the local communities in these situations consist of individuals and families that have been together for generations with well-established institutional structures. However, this study focuses on a community that consists of individuals and families that were in different places and socioeconomic situations before the year 2000. Some of the people came from urban areas, communal areas, and resettlement areas while some were resident within the study area.

Lack of conflict management assessment may result in wrong management strategies that are detrimental to the environment as well as political and social stability. Most present day conflicts relate to the environment in a general way as they are inevitably about access to resources. Tevera and Masocha (undated) state that environmental stress has become a recognised source and effect of political tension and military conflict which have widespread impacts on communities whose sustenance is directly depended on natural resource utilisation. It is therefore important to study 'local scale' conflict situations before they rapidly develop into national, regional or even international conflict situations.

# 1.5 OBJECTIVES

# 1.5.1 General Objective

The general objective of the study is to define the wildlife conflict between Imire Safari Ranch and the Watershed East community of Hwedza and suggest management strategies for sustainable wildlife production.

#### 1.5.2 Specific Objectives

- 1] To define the nature and dynamics of the wildlife conflict between Imire Safari Ranch and its surrounding community.
- 2] To identify internal and external factors perpetuating the conflict.

3] To suggest appropriate conflict management recommendations that will enable sustainable wildlife production and management.

#### 1.6 CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

#### 1.6.1 Definition of Terms

Definitions of the term wildlife differ from very broad to narrow definitions. Of the broad definitions, Bennit (1937) refers to wildlife as the ecology of all vertebrates and their plant and animal associates. But Hunter (1990) states the fact that in many places revenues of wildlife management have come primarily from hunting licences, fees and taxes on guns and ammunition has weakened such definitions. In virtually all countries, separate licences are issued for the appropriation of resources like timber products and fisheries. This effectively makes term wildlife exclude plants aquatic resources. In Zimbabwe, the Parks and Wildlife Act (Revised Edition, 1996:423) interprets the term as "all forms of animal life, vertebrate and invertebrate which are indigenous to Zimbabwe and the eggs and young thereof...". This study will take this definition because the cases considered as poaching in this study are considered in accordance with Zimbabwean law.

Conflict is another key term used in this study. Marongwe (2002:12) cites Coser (1956) and Widstrand (1980) who define conflict as "a form of social interaction, a struggle over claims to scarce natural resources; in terms of power and status, in which the aim of the opponent is to neutralise, injure or eliminate rivals". O'Connor (2003) gives a similar definition by stating that conflict is the opposition of two or more parties, one of whom have perceived incompatibility of values, interests or goals and one or more of whom attempt to persuade neutralise, injure or gain advantage over the others party or parties. The conflict between Imire Safari Ranch and the surrounding community can thus be taken as a struggle over wildlife resources in which each of the conflicting primary parties has the aim to gain positively from the outcome.

#### 1.6.2 Conflict Genesis

Conflict theorists like Marx (1848) and Weber (1948) state that conflict has always been a part of society. The former states that all history is the history of class struggles whilst the later states that

conflict is eternal and history is a multiple sided process of conflicts on many fronts. According to Abercrombie *et al* (1980) most conflicts go by unnoticed because they are kept in check by the direct coercive power of the state through the use of the police, army and the judiciary and by hidden coercion through unemployment, poverty and imprisonment.

According to Mamimine *et al* (2001) conflict is perceived as an artefact of human needs denied, resource competition, lack of equality, justice and fairness, and governments' 'fines approach' to conservation policy of the expropriation of lands and the forced relocation of communities. All these result in resource scarcity. This scarcity can be grouped into three forms, which are: supply-induced, demand-induced and structural-based scarcity. The first two forms are a result of renewable resources not being given sufficient time to recuperate and excess demand is created, or when population growth leads to increased demand over a resource. However, structural-based scarcity is a result of skewed distribution of land and resources. Marongwe (2002) states that Zimbabwe's land and natural resource conflicts can be viewed in the context of structural-based scarcity.

In their initial stages, conflicts are usually latent. Nzongola-Ntalaja (2002) states that group conflicts eventually come to light when an individual or a group faces a threat, real or imagined, to its interests, security or its very existence as a group and solidarity is mobilised from those in similar positions. These identity-based conflicts also tend to increase during times of economic and political crisis because these are the times that threats to interests, security and existence are felt greatest. The skewed distribution that results in structural-based scarcity is a culmination of policy, institutional and programme failures in distributing resources in a more equitable and socially acceptable manner. This study will take the wildlife conflict between Imire Safari Ranch (ISR) and its surrounding community as a conflict with its roots in structural-based scarcity that eventually came to light during a time of economic and political tension.

#### 1.6.3 Conflict Assessment and Conflict Escalation Guides

Conflict assessment guides are important for third parties wishing to study a particular conflict. They are comprehensive, can be used for environmental, social and political conflicts and they stress open-ended, participant based data collection from primary parties in the conflict. Wehr

(2001) presents two conflict assessment guides which are the Wehr Conflict Mapping Guide and the Hocker-Wilmot Conflict Assessment Guide. Both conflict assessment guides are useful in carrying out systematic and comprehensive studies of conflicts.

Wehr (2001) states that the Wehr Conflict Map should include the following; a summary description, conflict history, conflict context, the conflicting parties, issues at hand, dynamics, alternative routes to solutions and conflict regulation potential. Hocker and Wilmot (2000) present the Hocker-Wilmot guide which provides a set of questions on the following: nature of the conflict, styles of conflict, goals, tactics, assessment, self-regulation and attempted solutions. Both assessment guides act as checklists, use questionnaires as the basic tool for data collection and are useful for conflict analysis. The conflict assessment guides are shown in Appendix Two as presented by Wehr (2001).

The assessment guides can be used in conjunction as they can play complementary roles and can form a strong theoretical framework for environmental conflict assessment. Since they are flexible, they can be made to suit wildlife conflict situations by altering, adding or subtracting some stages. Within wildlife conflict assessment, they can be further narrowed down to assess conflict management strategies and provide a conceptual framework for this study as they enable conflict analysts to see some order and regularity in conflicts. The assessment guides can also be used in studies for the processing, analysis and the logical presentation of data obtained.

Glasl's Nine-Stage Model of Conflict Escalation (1997) was used after the conflict assessment to determine the stage reached in the conflict between Imire Safari Ranch and its surrounding community. According to Jordan (2001) conflict escalation models are valuable as diagnostic tools for the conflict facilitator as they give an awareness of what conflict steps one should take to prevent a conflict from escalating out of control. The models also show that there is an internal logic to conflict relationships which provides a theory to conflict escalation on which to conclude conflict assessments. Glasl's Nine-Stage Model is used in this conflict study to identify the stage at which the conflict over wildlife resources between Imire Safari Ranch and its surrounding community is at. A summarised version of this model is shown in Appendix Three.

# 1.7 DESCRIPTION OF STUDY AREA

# 1.7.1 Location and Spatial Extent

Imire Safari Ranch lies within Watershed East Ward which in turn is in the Hwedza District of Mashonaland East Province of Zimbabwe. The safari ranch is approximately 32 kilometres south of Marondera town and 105 km south-east of Harare City. Figure 1.1 shows the geographical location of the study area within Zimbabwe in relation to Marondera Town and Harare City.

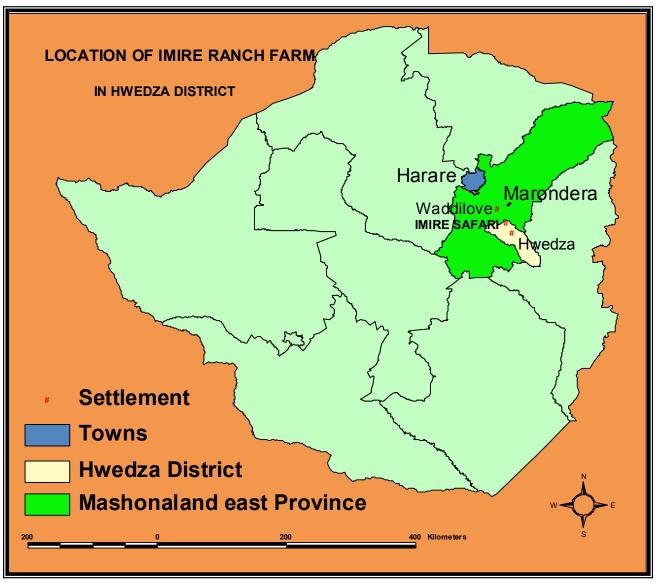


Figure 1.1 The location of Imire Safari Ranch in Zimbabwe

The following farms surround ISR: Sheffield, Nurenzi, Leeds, Bristol, Corby, Inoro, Markwe, Wells and Journeys End. ISR covers three farms namely Welton, Imire and Numwa farms that all in all cover 4500 hectares of which 3500 hectares are fenced. Figure 1.2 shows the location of ISR within Watershed East Ward.

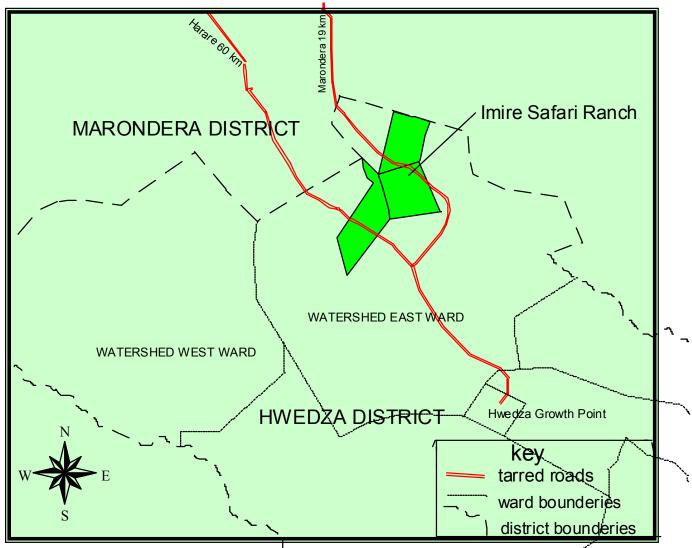


Figure 1.2 Location of Imire Safari Ranch in relation to Hwedza growth point

#### 1.7.2 Imire Safari Ranch wildlife resources

Amongst the animals that are kept at the ranch are sables, warthogs, elephants, zebra, hippopotamus, buffalo and wildebeests. The ranch is also home to several rhinocerous, which belong to the Zimbabwe Parks and Wildlife Management Authority (PWMA). Appendix One provides statistics from the wildlife census that was conducted at the ranch in December 2003. ISR practices wildlife conservation together with cattle ranching with the number of cattle standing at

650 as of December 2003. The natural vegetation that characterises the area is mainly miombo woodland and savanna grassland. However, large areas of the ranch are covered by exotic tree species especially the eucalyptus and the wattle.

# 1.7.3 Services provided by the ranch

The services being offered by ISR are in line with the provisions of the Parks and Wildlife Act (Revised Edition, 1996:423). The Act describes the purposes of a safari area as "to preserve and protect the natural habitat and the wildlife therein in order that facilities and opportunities be afforded to the public for camping, hunting, fishing, photography, viewing of animals, bird watching or such other pursuits that may be permitted in terms of this act". Visitors include foreign and domestic tourists, primary school children on educational tours mainly from Marondera and Hwedza districts as well as individual scientific researchers. The ranch has 4 chalets with capacity to accommodate 16 people. There is a wide range of bird species that attract bird watchers as well as a lodge meant for visitors and some staff quarters within the ranch. The ranch also runs a general dealer shop, butchery and a bottle store for its employees and the surrounding community.

# 1.7.4 Demographic Characteristics

The demographic characteristics of the study area have changed rapidly over the past 5 years. All the commercial farmers within the ward have since left together with some of there workers and the farms have been subdivided and given to 'new farmers' under the A1 and A2 resettlement models. Using the 1992 and the 2002 population census results, the population of the area increased from 6212 to 7129 over the past inter-censal decade representing a population increase of 14%. However there has also been much change in terms of human population movement within the ward and into and out of the ward since the August 2002 census. Table 1.1 shows further information on the human population in Watershed East Ward in the years 1992 and 2002.

Table 1.1 Demographic changes in Watershed East Ward between 1992 and 2002

Year	Males	Females	Total	Number of	Average
			population	households	household size
1992	3426	2786	6212	1783	3.4
2002	3294	3835	7129	1751	4.1
Percentage change	-2	16	14	14	10

Source: Central Statistical Office (1993, 2002)

#### CHAPTER TWO

#### LITERATURE REVIEW

#### 2.1 INTRODUCTION

Natural resource conflicts have effects on natural resource evaluation and development as they disrupt the utilisation of resources for the economic benefit of communities and national economies. This chapter reviews literature related to conflict theories and environmental conflict management studies that have been carried out todate in the developing world with special reference to sub-Saharan Africa and Zimbabwe. Wildlife conflict management policy shifts in Zimbabwe after the attainment of political independence in 1980 will looked at as they are of paramount importance in putting this study into context.

#### 2.2 THEORIES OF CONFLICT

Reimann (2000) states that the field of conflict management has remained largely devoid of theorising and as a result most research in conflict management has not been systematically theory-driven. This is evidenced by its literature, which suggests approaches and strategies not based on a broad or explicit theoretical concept of conflict. However there are two theories of conflict in social science that can be used in which arguments on conflict management could find a framework within which to situate both practice and theory. These are the Marxist theory of conflict propounded by Marx (1848) and the Weberian theory of conflict put forward by Weber (1948) although the later can be taken as a refinement of the former.

These two theories have some basic features that are similar. They both assume that:

- There is a fixed amount of power in any society that is concentrated in a relatively small minority of people.
- ➤ Those who are powerful are powerful at the expense of the powerless.
- The powerful use their power to further their own sectional interests.
- The more resources a group has the more powerful it is thus cumulatively increasing its power and resource control relative to other groups and classes in society.

There are two major differences between these two theories of conflict. First there is no agreement as to what the source of domination is. To Marx (1848) it is the ownership of the means of production while for Weber (1948) domination results from relations of power with three possible sources which can be economic, social and political. But as if succumbing to Marx's argument, Weber states that as a general rule economic power provides the resources needed for the sustenance of the other two types of power. Secondly, Marx believed that revolution and the establishment of a communist society would eventually end inequalities. On the other hand, Weber states that conflict is eternal although it would take new forms because revolutionary works never cease.

# 2.3 LAND REFORMS, POLITICS AND PROTECTED AREAS

The protected area concept was adopted worldwide since the establishment of the Yellowstone National Park in the United States of America in 1872. According to Gathua (2001) the protected areas that emerged were under strict conservation that totally excluded human exploitation of resources and, moreover, many of the protected areas had been set aside at the cost of displacing local communities and their traditional and cultural practices. At independence African, Asian and Latin American countries inherited this preservationist type of conservation in the form of national parks for wildlife and forest reserves for plant species. This has been one of the major reasons why protected areas are prime targets in 'peasant led' land reforms throughout the developing world.

In response to the demands for restoration of resources dispossessed during colonial times, many African countries now have constitutions that provide the right to land reform and equitable access which at the same time aim to provide environmental conservation and protection. As resettlement programmes have taken shape, the environmental protection sections of these constitutions have tended to be overlooked. Some members of resettled communities have encroached onto protected areas to pan gold, poach, illegally fish and indiscriminately exploit forest products. Moyo (2000) attributes this scenario to too much technical emphasis on agriculture that has in many cases failed to yield the desired results leaving those resettled with no choice but exploit resources in protected areas to earn a living.

Reconciling land reform and biodiversity conservation policies especially in contested geographical areas is a major challenge as most of the land reform exercises are done without adequate preparations and consultations. According to Maringa (2003) and Kepe *et. al* (2001) there is need to negotiate the often conflicting goals of biodiversity conservation and land reforms as well as attempt to create a favourable interaction between people and natural resources in their vacinity. However, according to Nzongola-Ntalaja (2002) African environmental and development policies in the years after political independence have caused the manifestation of latent conflicts on the continent. The embracing of development strategies developed elsewhere led to the breakdown of the 'united front' against colonialism and created a large gap between the rich and the poor.

Protected game ranching areas have always been controversial in Zimbabwe. Saruchera (2001) states that this is because of the highly visible disparities between the 'empty ranches' stocked with 'wild' animals separated by electric fences from poor communal areas. This could be described as the Zimbabwean 'land question' in microcosm and was an obvious source of conflict. Politicians were quick to take advantage of the resentment within local communities to gain political mileage. According to Wolmer *et al* (2003) the ranches are regarded as 'white self-indulgence' and attempts by large-scale commercial farmers to hide and privatise wildlife which the government views as a national heritage and challenging the states control over wildlife. The politicians have even gone regional. Wolmer *et al* (2003:4) quotes the Minister of Environment in the 1990s stating "We are aware of such Machiavellian plots to privatise wildlife resources from Kenya to South Africa".

Since the year 2000 political power in conflicts over wildlife has markedly shifted from landowners of privately protected areas to local communities and their leaders. According to a study by WWF-SARPO (2001) in the Save Valley Conservancy, the power dynamics of negotiation between the conservancy landowners, the government and local authorities have shifted as shown by the attitudes of the landowners since the beginning of 2000. Before 2000 the conservancies outreach programmes were attempts to ward off poaching and resource conflicts but now the new land offers by the conservancy are a last ditch effort to bargain for the very survival of the conservancy as an entity and to shore up their threatened commercial interests.

#### 2.4 WILDLIFE CONFLICT MANAGEMENT IN SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

On a regional scale, Chenje and Johnson (1994) state that conflicts over wildlife resources in the SADC region are mainly caused by land hungry people encroaching on wildlife conservation areas. Examples of such areas are the Mkomazi Game Reserve in Tanzania and the Kasungu National Park and the Maswa Game Reserve in Malawi. Various governments in the region are instituting conflict management mechanisms through enabling legislation. In Zambia, game hunters pay 14% of the market value of the wild animal to the local community and in Malawi locals can collect non-timber forest products in protected areas. In South Africa locals receive a percentage from wildlife based tourism and in Tanzania locals receive 25% of all trophy fees. Hyden (1999) notes that such conflict management strategies are a result of assessments and recognition that civil society is as an important an actor as the State and that its inclusion guarantees that the concept of security will be defined in terms that reflect local society's interests.

Koro (1998) makes an analysis of the Tchuma Tchato project, which stated in 1994 in Mozambique's Tete province between a safari operator and the local community around. After an assessment of the protectionist approach that was being employed to deter poachers and trespassers, the safari operators found out that this approach was not working and it intensified the conflict over wildlife resources rather than solve it. The safari operator then reviewed the conflict management strategies by taking in the locals as business partners and giving 33% of profits to them. Like the CAMPFIRE programme in Zimbabwe, the local communities involved in the Tchuma Tchato project apply 'social fencing' against poaching which is regarded as the greatest threat to wildlife ranching.

However, there are limitations to the above conflict management strategies that CMAs can bring to light. Gathua (2001) carried out an assessment of how community conservation in Kenya's Amboseli National Park has influenced the local people's perceptions to wildlife conservation. The community based conservation strategy was introduced as a tool against poaching as well as poverty alleviation. The assessment concluded that it is difficult the locals to perceive that they are getting any benefits from wildlife because the money they received from the park was by far outstripped by the costs they were incurring from problem animals. There is therefore need for

management institutions to come up with other mechanisms that distribute benefits in a manner that local people can relate to wildlife. Studies by Dube (2000) on CAMPFIRE presented also came up with the same conclusion.

# 2.5 CONFLICTS OVER WILDLIFE RESOURCES IN ZIMBABWE

To avoid or minimise conflict, protected areas in Zimbabwe should prove their worth to local populations. Studies by Child (1995), Mamimine *et al* (2001) and Wolmer (2003) on people and wildlife in Zimbabwe concluded that for sustainability to be achieved, protected areas should generate immediate tangible benefits to justify their existence politically and economically. If benefits do not exceed a certain threshold expected by locals, the result is that they will be seen as playgrounds for rich tourists in a sea of hungry peasants. Child (1995) further states that sustainable benefits are closely linked to accountability which has been almost none existent in Zimbabwe's wildlife management industry and has frustrated efforts of local communities towards economically beneficial wildlife conservation.

It has also been difficult to find 'win-win' situations in Zimbabwe's wildlife conflict situations. Burgess and Burgess (1997) state three reasons why: irreconcilable moral differences, individualism and environmental issues being used as tools for political dominance. The conflict between Gairezi Ranch north of Nyanga National Park and the Tangwena people was a conflict that encompassed all these aspects. The area on which the ranch was established belonged to the Tangwena people before they were evicted by the Rhodesian government in 1972 for causing 'natural resource degradation' in the area. To resolve the conflict that ensued immediately after the attainment of independence in 1980, the government resettled the Tangwena people back on the ranch. In an analysis of the conflict Moore (1992) states that a host of competing forces beyond and within Gairezi produced the local terrain of environmental resource struggles and these are still in force as evidenced by the continued conflict which is now between the Tangwena people and the Nyanga National Park.

Moore (1992) concluded that Zimbabwe's post independence natural resources conflicts are fuelled by state conservation policy that continues to demonstrate historical continuities rather than departures from its colonial heritage up to 1990. Child (1995) states that if proper management

strategies are adopted, protected areas can generate human welfare while still fulfilling the fundamental goal for which they were created. Although protected areas in Zimbabwe are fast becoming important catalysts of development in some of the remotest and most disadvantaged rural areas, there is need for continual assessments to refine management strategies to enhance benefits.

# 2.5.1 The CAMPFIRE Programme as a Wildlife Conflict Management Mechanism

The CAMPFIRE programme was introduced in Zimbabwe by the government in collaboration with NGOs and was aimed at reducing wildlife conflicts by ensuring that local communities are empowered to benefit from wildlife resources in their areas. The programme was meant for communal areas that still had abundant wildlife resources. Appropriate authority was awarded to the respective RDCs. The villages and wards involved in the management of wildlife resources fall under the RDCs as sub committees. CAMPFIRE has been described as a highly successful form of CBNRM programme (Child, 1995,1996; IUCN, 1997; Wolmer *et al*, 2003). According to Chitsike (2000) this success can be attributed to the creation of an enabling legal framework by government, which includes:

- □ The 1982 amendment of the Parks and Wildlife Act (Chapter 20: 14) awarding appropriate authority to RDCs.
- □ The 1984 Prime Minister's Directive which laid the basis for the establishment of Ward Development Committees and Village Development Committees.
- □ The 1988 Rural District Councils Act (Chapter 29: 13) giving power to RDCs to manage natural resources in communal areas.
- □ The 1999 Traditional Leaders Act (Chapter 29: 17) which aims at restoring the power of traditional chiefs.

More than twenty RDCs are now involved and these include Guruve, Tsholotsho, Beitbridge, Nyaminyami, Hurungwe, Chipinge, Chiredzi, Bulilima, Mangwe, Muzarabani and Nyanga.

In Zimbabwe much literature has been written on CAMPFIRE. Dube (2000) carried out a study in Masoka ward of Guruve District and found out that the main conflict management strategy that was being employed was financial payoffs to the community by safari operators. The money was used to improve social infrastructure like schools, the clinic, fences and the purchasing of a grinding mill. The locals also bought 2 tractors to improve their agriculture. Despite all this, Dubes studies found

out that 57% of the Masoka community perceived that the costs they incurred outweighed the benefits from the CAMPFIRE programme. According to Hyden (1999) what locals believe is very important as people make decisions based on what they perceive and not necessarily the truth.

Other studies on wildlife conflict management strategies of the CAMPFIRE programme have concluded that legal shortcomings in the national legislative framework are undermining management strategies like benefit sharing. Chitsike (2000) states that the lack of legal rights of appropriation of wildlife resources for villages and wards is resulting in them half heatedly conserving the wildlife resources in their areas as they feel that they are being short changed by rural district councils who hold the legal rights. Anorld and Townson (1998) also state that some conflict management programmes have failed because of paying insufficient attention to devolution and local capacity building for effective resource management. Although the CAMPFIRE programme and other community based natural resources management programmes have been hailed in high esteem, the studies by Dube (2000), Chitsike (2000), UNEP (2002) and Maringa (2003) managed to expose some serious weaknesses within the programmes that warrant policy and legislative interventions.

# 2.5.2 Effects of the Post-2000 Events on Wildlife Conflict Management

Given the limited temporal space, the literature on wildlife conflict management in Zimbabwe after 2000 is relatively small. A study by WWF-SARPO (2001) on the effects of the farm occupations in the Save Valley Conservancy has shown that benefits offered to surrounding communities have increased markedly. There are now greater efforts towards the creation of 'CAMPFIRE-style' concession areas were safari hunting and tourism revenues accrue to the local community as the concession holders. However, Wolmer *et al* (2003) states that there is still hope by the conservancy landowners that this change can remain largely symbolic with the CAMPFIRE-type deals helping to dilute the whites only image of the conservancy.

The above Save Valley Conservancy study together with another by Mombeshora *et al* (2001) on land claims in the Gonarezhou National Park reveal that wildlife related conflicts still continue unabated despite current efforts to manage them. Wolmer *et al* (2003) however notes that conflict management strategies offering 'CAMPFIRE-style' concessions have enjoyed better success in the

Gonarezhou National Park than in the Save Valley Conservancy. This can be attributed to the fact the land and wildlife resources being contested in the former belong to the state rather than to private hands. Secondly, in the former proposals of combining wildlife management with resettlement came the settlers themselves rather than from reactive landowners. Thus this post 2000 literature suggests a rapid shift in negotiating powers between the two main groups in the conflict from game ranch owners to local communities.

# 2.6 CONSEQUENCES OF LACK OF CONFLICT MANAGEMENT ASSESSMENTS

Conflicts that go for long without assessment may end up being magnified out of proportion. Cock (1991) cites the growth of the ideology of 'green politics' which links the struggle against poverty and injustice with the struggle against abuse of the environment. The magnification might even go beyond national boundaries resulting in conflict internationalisation. Rogers (1999) cites the example of the conflict between the Tanzanian government and the pastoralists residing in the Mkomazi Game Reserve in which the George Adamson Wildlife Preservation Trust of the United States of America supported the government and the pastoralists were evicted. Rogers (1999), Hjort-Af-Ornas and Lundquist (1999) and Suliman (1999) argue that such organisations base their constructions of natural resources on Western ideas about the separation of nature from humanity. After the implementation of management strategies they propound, local communities are usually left in worse poverty than they were in before.

In Southern Africa, countries like Namibia and South Africa, it is possible that natural resource conflicts will increase in the near future. Zimbabwe already serves as an example of political, social and economic disruption that that can be caused by violent conflicts over wildlife. According to Tevera and Moyo (2000) conflicts over natural resources including wildlife resources have dogged South Africa since the mid 1990s and are likely to intensify since there are few agreed upon mechanisms for equitable resolution. The conflicts surrounding wildlife resources point to the need for appropriate instruments of proactive resolution and the starting point would be conflict assessment studies of individual conflict situations.

#### 2.7 THE PARADIGM SHIFT IN PROTECTED AREA MANAGEMENT.

As the different case studies illustrate, there is a shift in the protected area concept from the 'fences and fines' approach to 'social fencing' in which local communities are being incorporated into the management of wildlife resources. Generally there is a shift towards CBNRM programmes for state-protected natural resources and a shift towards benefit sharing mechanisms for privately protected biodiversity. Wynberg (2003) states that biodiversity conservation has moved from the realms of 'save the rhino' to focus on critical importance of communities, indigenous peoples and their livelihoods to human rights, political dispensations and global trade issues. In Southern Africa CBNRM programmes are now in virtually every country with examples other than CAMPFIRE being Namibia's LIFE, South Africa's Peace Parks and Zambia's ADMADE.

This shift in conflict management approaches in wildlife conservation has also been reflected at the international level. The IUCN (2003) notes two distinct outcomes from the 2003 World Parks Congress held in South Africa. First is the recognition that protected areas should be seen within the context of the larger landscape rather than isolated entities. Second there is movement towards a much more participatory, inclusive model of protected areas in which indigenous and local communities are seen to be critical participants and their initiatives given due recognition. As Wynberg (2003) aptly states, biodiversity is no longer confined to die hard conservationist and wildlife enthusiasts because it has been recognised that biodiversity issues affect us all as they encompass politics, culture and economics.

#### 2.8 WILDLIFE MANAGEMENT POLICIES

#### 2.8.1 The General Movement Towards Alternative Conflict Management (ACM)

There is general movement from litigation as a form of environmental conflict management towards the promotion of alternative dispute resolution mechanisms known as alternative conflict management mechanisms (ACMs). According to Lewins (2001) whilst litigation is a process of 'deciding, announcing and defending' ACM attempts to create value from conflict situations and build consensus. The ACMs include negotiation, facilitation, arbitration, mediation, arbitration and conciliation. The above approaches place emphasis on informality and direct

participation, reduction of written rules and evidence as well as encourage face to face relations. These qualities make ACM negotiated settlements more satisfactory than those reached from legal means.

# 2.8.2 Wildlife Policy Developments in Zimbabwe

Besides the 1982 amendment of the Parks and Wildlife Act, Zimbabwe's wildlife policies were also relayed through the 1989 Policy for Wildlife, the Wildlife Regulations of 1990 (statutory instrument 362) and the Parks and Wildlife Amendment Act of 2000. On the regional front, Zimbabwe is a signatory of the Southern Africa Convention for Wildlife which later evolved into the SADC Wildlife Protocol of 2001 that can be described as an offshoot of the United Nations Convention on Biological Diversity of 1992 to which Zimbabwe become a signatory in 1994. Evaluations of the above polices on their effectiveness in wildlife conflict management by Chitsike (2000) show that they have gone some way in improving Zimbabwe's conservation status but lack of adequate finance, technical expertise, devolution, decentralisation as well as delegation to enhance success levels.

There has been a notable shift towards a new discourse of 'wildlife models' for land reforms in Zimbabwe since the farm occupations of 2000. Wolmer (2003) cites key organisations through which this emerging discourse has been expressed. These include the Ministry of Environment and Tourism (2001) which has expressed interest in implementing a 'CAMPFIRE approach' on resettlement areas. The UNDP (2002) which has suggested improvements in environmental policy to include 'new settlers' in natural resource enterprises especially ecotourism. The WWF-SARPO (2001) is urging for a wildlife-based model for affirmative action and community participation that will enhance Zimbabwe's international conservation image and attract donor support while at the same time making up a complementary approach to land reform.

According to Wolmer *et al* (2003) a wildlife based land reform policy has the ability to reconcile Zimbabwe's land redistribution exercise and wildlife management because it has the ability to satisfy key stakeholders in the current conflicts over wildlife resources if implemented in time and correctly. To members of the local communities, it is a chance to get more agricultural land as well as repossess ancestral lands lost during colonial times. To the existing wildlife industry, it is a

chance to protect dwindling asserts, to the indigenous elite it is an opportunity to enter the potentially lucrative wildlife industry under the 'twin flags of land reform and indigenisation' and to the Ministry of Environment and Tourism and NGOs the development means increased potential to attract donor funding. Some of the 'new settlers' themselves have shown interest in attaining 'appropriate authority' so that they can legally exploit and sell wildlife for commercial gain. However, Wolmer *et al* (2003) states that despite all these potential benefits and developments, central government has been very inconsistent in its position on land reform in privately owned protected areas with officials from councillors right up to cabinet ministers speaking with different voices.

Despite these differences the wildlife policy trajectory in Zimbabwe seems to be headed towards a wildlife based land reform policy as evidenced by the drafting of the Wildlife-Based Land Reform Policy by the Ministry of Environment and Tourism and other interested stakeholders whose first draft appeared in January 2004. Wilson (2000) states that policy tends to minimise deviation from the defined course of action and to work for the 'common good' of a defined group of stakeholders. But, as Nzongola-Ntalga (2002) states, successful conflict transformation through policy is only possible when violence has subsided and when those in the process of governance are responsive, accountable and effective. However, Choumba *et al* (2003) argues that the policy is already doomed to fail because AREX, the PWMA and the DNR who are ironically the very people who might be expected to argue for throwing off the technocratic yoke inherited from the colonial regime to return to emancipatory 'freedom farming and environmental conservation' have embraced the colonial models of landuse planning with many of their accompanying regulations.

# 2.9 CONCLUSION

Wildlife conflicts can be tackled from different angles but there should be first and foremost studies of each individual case in order to determine which angle is most appropriate. Mamimine *et al* (2001) state that natural resource conflict assessments should aim to understand the internal logic of an illegal act, rewards for non-conformity to rules, by-laws and laws and the mindset of a desperate man. Carney (1998) stresses the importance of widespread genuine stakeholder consultation and long term political sustainability in order to come up with proper and relevant strategies that will

ensure that surrounding communities, employees and tourists act as guardians of biodiversity. Moore (1992) brings in a cultural dimension by stating that to understand resource conflicts requires tacking back and forth between the local and the global scenarios but at the same time recognising that resources are not only crucial for material reproduction of households but also the symbolic reproduction of communities.

# CHAPTER THREE RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

#### 3.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter focuses on the research methods that were used in this study, justifies them and then highlights the constrains faced during the study. The participatory rural appraisal (PRA) method was used and it included a questionnaire survey, key informant interviews and a review of secondary data sources. Madzudzo (2001) terms the use of all these three PRA methods in one study as the triangulation of data collection methods and is aimed at minimising bias in 'socio-environmental' research. This was a non-intervention study, as it was carried out in only six months making it impossible to monitor outcomes of the given recommendations.

#### 3.2 STUDY SITE SELECTION

The site of the study was selected using purposive sampling, which is a non-probability sampling method. In the sampling process, personal judgement was used to decide Imire Safari Ranch and the Watershed East Ward as the study area although there are many other safari areas affected by the land reform exercise throughout Zimbabwe. The conditions in the study area best serve the purpose and objectives of the study as the situation at Imire represents many other similar situations throughout Zimbabwe.

#### 3.3 PRIMARY DATA COLLECTION METHODS

# 3.3.1 **Questionnaire interviews**

Questionnaire interviews were targeted at members of the public who reside within Watershed East ward who are referred to in this study as the local community. The selection of the respondents to the questionnaire interviews was done through stratified random sampling method. In the sampling process, individual farms that form the immediate surroundings of Imire Safari Ranch were taken as individual strata. Questionnaires were then allocated to each individual farm in relation to the

number of households on the farm. All in all 95 questionnaires were administered. There was stratified allocation of questionnaires to each farm according to its approximate population. Random selection of respondents was then conducted on each farm and interviews carried out until the allocated questionnaire schedules for that particular farm were exhausted. No two or more members of the same household were interviewed, as their responses would likely be similar. Table 3.1 shows the names of the farms, the type of resettlement model, the approximate number of households on the farms and the number of questionnaires allotted to each farm.

Table 3.1 Farms included in the study and allotted questionnaires

Name of farm	Resettlement model	Number of households	approximate number of individuals	Allocated questionnaires
Nurenzi	A1	47	193	9
Sheffield	A1	88	361	19
Leeds	A1	79	324	16
Corby	A1	48	197	9
Journeys End	A2	11	45	2
Wells	A2	15	61	3
Bristol	A1	49	201	9
Inoro	A1	58	238	11
Markwe	A1	56	227	11
Imire	*	30	123	6
Total	A1=7	481	1970	95
	A2=2			

Source: Hwedza district registrar (2003).

Household heads were chosen as the respondents. The father or the husband was most preferred to be the respondent. If the male head was not available for any reason then the mother or the wife would be asked to respond and if she was also not available then another individual older than eighteen years in that particular household would be asked to respond.

Contents of the questionnaire were designed using Wehrs Conflict Map and the Hocker-Wilmot Conflict Assessment Guide as presented by Wehr (2001). Only certain aspects from these two assessment guides were chosen for this study and these are shown in Table 3.2. The full conflict assessment guides are shown in Appendix Two. The questionnaire had both open ended and closed-ended questions and all the respondents to the questionnaire interviews were assured that their

answers were to be kept private and confidential for ethical reasons. The questionnaire used in this study is shown in Appendix Four.

#### 3.3.2 Key informant interviews

Key informant interviews were held with key stakeholders in the conflict. Individual questions were designed for the ZRP, Hwedza RDC natural resources officer, the PWMA Mashonaland East acting provincial warden, Watershed East Ward councillor and the ISR secretary. The key informant interviews were also designed using the Wehrs Conflict Map and the Hocker-Wilmot Conflict Assessment Guide with the inclusion of those aspects shown in Table 3.2.

Table 3.2 Aspects of conflict assessment guides included in the study

Wehrs conflict map		Hocker-Wilmot guide		
	conflict history		power relations	
	geographical context	A	methods and tactics used	
	conflict parties		attempted solutions	
	conflict issues			
	dynamics			
	current management mechanisms			
~	internal limiting factors			
	external limiting factors			

Source: Wehr (2001)

#### 3.4 SECONDARY DATA COLLECTION

Secondary data relating to the conflict between Imire Safari Ranch and the surrounding community was collected to complement the primary data. The collection of records from Imire Safari Ranch on poaching, police records from ZRP Hwedza and poaching reports from the PWMA Mashonaland East provincial offices made up the secondary data acquisition exercise.

# 3.5 DATA PROCESSING AND ANALYSIS

Qualitative data from key informant interviews and secondary data was grouped under different topics that were in line with the specific objectives. This data was then sifted to remain with only that data that is relevant to the study which was then compiled and written in a logical manner and presented in Chapter Four. As for the quantifiable data from the questionnaire closed questions and

secondary data it was feed into digital tables using a digital spreadsheet programme. The tables consisted of columns of those attributes that were of interest to the study and were to be compared and contrasted. For example, to find out the extent of the conflict in terms of depliting wildlife numbers in Imire Safari Ranch, a column of the number of animals killed was paired with a column of the total number of animals still alive on the ranch and percentages worked out. Spatial databases collected during the study were changed into digital format through scanning and then on screen digitising was done to extract the information needed in the study using geographical information system software packages. A single spatial database was then integrated into Chapter Four to further expand on certain findings of a spatial nature in order to enhance the presentation of results.

In data analysis the comprehensive Wehr and Hocker-Wilmot Conflict Assessment Guides were pivotal in determining categories in which the processed data was placed in the presentation. Glasl's Nine-Stage Model of Conflict Escalation was used to determine the stage at which the conflict is at through comparing results obtained in the study with the various stages of the model. The Wehr and Hocker-Wilmot Conflict Assessment Guides are shown Appendix Two and a summary of Glasl's Nine-Stage Model of Conflict Escalation is illustrated in Appendix Three.

# 3.6 CONSTRAINS FACED DURING THE STUDY

The major constraint encountered during the study was the limited nature of theory and literature that specifically focuses at environmental conflict management in the context of land reform exercises. The researcher had to make do with the limited material available but this might have compromised the depth of assessment and analysis of the conflict under study. Some of the secondary data from key stakeholders was incomplete. For example, both ISR and the ZRP did not have records the ages of those poachers who have been caught so far, marital status or employment records whilst records for poaching before June 2001 were not available from both the ZRP and the PWMA.

The research was carried out by one individual, which made the researcher too central and instrumental in the study as all the outcomes from the research hinge on the individuals' skills, rigour and competence in conducting fieldwork. The large spatial extent of the study area meant the

researcher had to endure long distances from one questionnaire respondent to another. Accessibility was also a major problem as the farms do not have good access roads into the inner farm sections which resulted in the researcher resorting to purposive sampling in cases were movement into the inner farm sections was considered too risky and dangerous. This introduced a bias, as only readily accessible individuals were interviewed leaving out those on remote parts of the farms.

The timing of the data collection period made it difficult to collect primary data from the questionnaire interviews as well as secondary data from key organisations such as the Hwedza RDC. It took long to get data and sometimes faced outright refusal on political grounds as the data collection coincided with a wave of negative publicity on Zimbabwe's land reform exercise in the international media. This political tension might have caused some bias by some respondents for fear of political persecution. Besides the political tension, the data collection exercise also coincided with the rainy season with some of the selected respondents refusing to answer the questionnaires stating that they were busy with their farming activities. The rain interrupted some appointments that forced the researcher to alter the data collection and data processing plans.

A larger sample size, greater spatial coverage and a greater level of statistical accuracy would have been desirable in order to get a clearer picture of the conflict at hand but time and financial resources were not permitting. Despite all these constrains that the researcher faced the data that was collected regarding the conflict under study is enough to meet the laid down objectives.

#### **CHAPTER FOUR**

# RESEARCH RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

#### 4.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter focuses on the presentation of findings obtained through the research methods highlighted in Chapter Three as well as a discussion of these research findings. The results presented in Sections 4.2 and 4.3 are from the questionnaires administered to the local community only whilst the results from the other sections also includes data collected from the other stakeholders as well as secondary data sources.

#### 4.2 PROFILE OF LOCAL COMMUNITY RESPONDENTS

#### 4.2.1 Sex, age and marital status

Of the 95 respondents to the questionnaires, 72% were male and 28% were female, 57% were married, 27% single, 6% divorced and 1% respondent indicated that she was a widow. In terms of age, 31% of the respondents were 41 years of age or above. Twenty-nine percent of the respondents were between the 31 and 40 years, 19% were between 21 and 30 and 4% were 20 years or below. All of those in the last age group were male and single.

#### 4.2.2 Level of education and income sources

The levels of education attained and the income sources of the local community respondents are show in Tables 4.1 and 4.2 respectively

Table 4.1 Educational levels of questionnaire respondents

Level of education attained	percentage of respondents
Primary: up to grade 7	22.1
Secondary: up to the 4 <sup>th</sup> and 6 <sup>th</sup> forms	50.5
Tertiary: post secondary qualification	8.4
other	
never been to school	6.3
did not complete primary	11.6
no response	1.1
total	100

**Table 4.2** Sources of income of questionnaire respondents

Source of income	percentage of respondents		
formal employment	25.2		
farming	47.3		
farm labouring	10.5		
unemployed (no clear source)	11.6		
other			
hunting (illegal)	3.2		
welding	1.1		
vegetable and fruit vending	1.1		
Total	100		

# 4.2.3 Length of stay in Watershed East Ward

Twenty-eight percent of the respondents started residing in Watershed East Ward before the year 2000 and 100% of those who indicated that their main source of income was hunting belonging to this category. The other 72% of respondents indicated that they were not residing in Watershed East Ward before the year 2000 and the places which they were residing in at that time are shown in Table 4.3.

Table 4.3 Areas of residence of respondents before 2000

Area of residence before 2000	Percentage of respondents			
resettlement area				
Zana	13.2			
➢ Skipton	7.4			
Mawire East	2.9			
communal area				
Hwedza	25			
Svosve	19.1			
Hwedza growth point	13.2			
urban area				
Marondera	4.4			
Harare	7.3			
> other	5.9			
other areas	2.9			
Total	100			

# 4.3 AWARENESS OF WILDLIFE MANAGEMENT ISSUES

Twenty-six percent of the respondents expressed knowledge of the Parks and Wildlife Management

Authority (PWMA) and all managed to state at least one of its functions. The other 74% expressed ignorance over what the PWMA was. Fifty-eight percent expressed ignorance over the existence of the Parks and Wildlife Act and its provisions although all of them knew that hunting was a criminal offence. Of the other 42% who knew of the existence of the Act, 27% of them stated that the piece of legislation should either be amended or should be done away with to allow people greater access to wildlife resources in their areas. All of respondents involved in illegal hunting within Watershed East ward indicated that they did so with the full knowledge that hunting without a license was a crime under Zimbabwean laws.

On the role of the Rural District Council (RDC) in wildlife management in the district 51% respondents said they did not know what its role is with regards to Imire Safari Ranch whilst 10 said they were not sure. All respondents said they were not aware of the new Hwedza RDC by-laws concerning environmental conservation in all communal and resettlement areas in the district that were presented to the Ministry of Local Government, Public Works and National Housing for approval in 2003.

#### 4.4 CONFLICT HISTORY

The primary parties in the conflict are ISR represented by its owners and management against poachers from the local community and others from beyond the borders of Watershed East Ward. The aim of the former is to protect and conserve the status of the wildlife resources within Imire Safari Ranch (ISR) as it is, that is privately owned by an individual with the exception of the rhinocerous that belong to the Parks and Wildlife Management Authority. The aim of the local community is to get a share of the wildlife resources under the protection of ISR so that they also have a chance to utilise them for their daily dietary needs, for obtaining income and as a buffer during years of below normal rainfall seasons. These aims have always been central in the conflict since this 'new community' came into being after the 2000 land occupations and the subsequent resettlement process that took place on the farms around ISR.

Secondary parties include the PWMA, not only by virtue of it being the custodian of all the Parks and Wildlife Estate in Zimbabwe but also because of the fact that the authority derives money from

concession hunting and also has a rhinocerous conservation programme being undertaken by ISR. The Hwedza RDC also falls into the secondary party category as the ranch lies within its administrative jurisdiction and it derives some money in the form of land unit tax. Political leaders in the ward represented by the councillor are also secondary stakeholders in the conflict as it presents challenges or opportunities that might enhance or discredit their political positions. Last are the Zimbabwe Republic Police (ZRP) as they are mandated to stamp out criminal activities through law enforcement so as to protect citizens and public and private property and thus should be treated as a secondary party to this conflict. Researchers and other passive members of the community can be described as the third parties to the wildlife conflict between ISR and poachers. They are all interested in the events unfolding in the conflict but neither have a direct nor indirect stake in the conflict at hand.

All the key informants who include ZRP Hwedza, the RDC, the councillor and the PWMA and ISR management stated that the conflict between the ranch and poachers has always been there but escalated after the year 2000. Both Imire Safari Ranch records and ZRP reports show an increase in incidences after the poor rainy season of the year 2002 to 2003. This is also supported by 58% of the local community respondents who pointed out that they got involved in hunting because they wanted to supplement their diet and income due to reduced harvests during the 2001 to 2003 drought period. Figure 4.1 illustrates this trend.

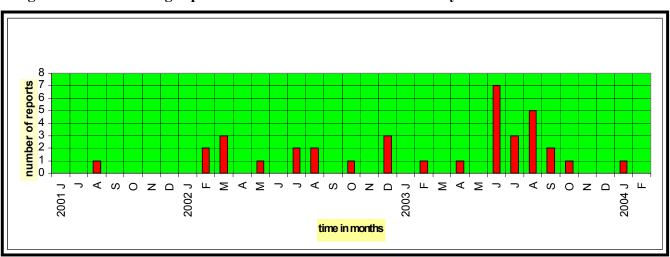


Figure 4.1 Poaching reports between June 2001 and February 2004

Source: ZRP Hwedza Docket Movement Book and Criminal Record Book (2001-2004).

All of those caught poaching within ISR were male. The ZRP and the councillor for the ward also pointed out that it was not only the drought that had caused an increase in poaching activities in the ward as some relatively 'wealthy' members of the community had been implicated in these activities. The results from the questionnaire interviews also confirm this as two respondents out of the 35 who indicated that they were involved in hunting activities indicated that it was purely for purposes of adventure whilst eight indicated that it was for adventure, food and income. Table 4.4 shows the number of animals that were killed between June 2001 and February 2004 within the bounds of ISR.

Table 4.4 Number of animals killed between June 2001 and February 2004

Name of animal	Number killed	Total number	Percentage killed
impala	7	433	1.6
warthog	3	22	13.6
eland	3	35	8.6
blesbuck	2	43	4.7
sable	2	45	4.4
giraffe	2	18	11.1
kudu	2	25	8
waterbuck	1	20	5
reedbuck	1	31	3.2
Total	24	672	

Source: Imire Safari Ranch and PWMA Mashonaland East Office (2004)

The conflict had by the end of February 2004 had little impact on the wildlife populations within Imire Safari Ranch. Table 4.4 indicates that 24 animals had been killed by that date which is a small number as compared to the number of animals in the ranch as shown by the December 2003 Imire wildlife census in Appendix One. However, both the ZRP and Imire Safari Ranch admitted that the history of the conflict has not been properly documented as many incidences go unreported because of high travelling expenses to the police station, lack of incentives for whistle-blowers, fear of victimisation and the potential inconvenience to ones activities as a state witness. The ZRP also did not rule out the possibility of false reports about the conflict, which can be made for various unknown reasons as ISR or the local community may try to tannish the others image in order to win sympathisers in the process.

# 4.5 GEOGRAPHICAL CONTEXT OF THE CONFLICT

# 4.5.1 Origins of Poachers

According to the councillor of Watershed East Ward, the poachers do not only come from his ward but also from places as far afield as Harare and Chitungwiza. The ZRP Criminal Record Book, which shows the places of residence of criminals, brought to or caught by the police, verified this. Of the 41 incidences recorded between June 2001 and February 2004, in 65.8% of the cases the perpetrators were caught and their places of residence recorded. Table 4.5 shows the places of residence, the approximate distance of these places from ISR and the number of poachers caught.

Table 4.5 Places of residence of poachers caught

Distance from Imire	Name of the place	Total number of poachers caught on farm/area	Total number of poachers from that area caught
0km	Imire	3	3
up to 20km	Corby farm	2	
	Shaka farm	3	
	*Ruware ranch	1	
	Idube farm	1	
	*Fair Adventure farm	1	
	Nurenzi	2	
	Inoro farm	1	
	Sheffield farm	4	15
20-30km	*Mawiri East resettlement	1	
	*Hwedza growth point	3	
	Chemhanza farm	2	6
30-40	*Rujeko Marondera	1	1
40km and	*St. Mary's Chitungwiza	1	
above	*Highfield Harare	1	2
Total		27	27

<sup>\*</sup>Places outside Watershed East Ward

Source: ZRP Hwedza Criminal Record Book (2001-2004)

# 4.5.2 Spatial Distribution of Poaching Activities within ISR and Watershed East Ward

The distribution of the 24 incidences in which animals where killed within ISR seems to be evenly distributed to all sections of the ranch except the highly protected endangered animal section and the Welton Southern section. The worst affected section of the farm in terms of animals killed is the Imire section, which is to the north of the ranch bordering Inoro, Nurenzi and Markwe farms. Figure

#### 4.2 illustrates the distribution as well as the animals killed.

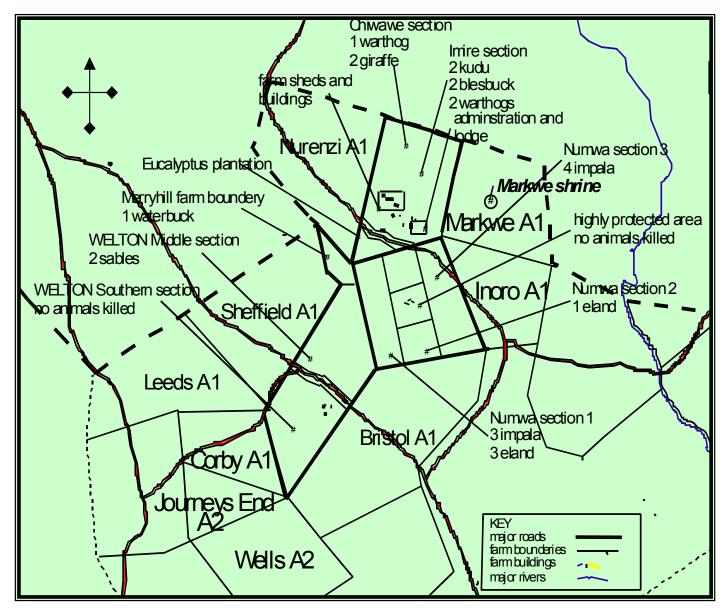


Figure 4.2 The spatial distribution of poaching incidences within Imire safari ranch from June 2001 to February 2004. (Source: *Imire Safari Ranch report to the PWMA*, 2004)

ZRP records show that the problems of illegal poaching and hunting are not only confined to ISR but are widespread throughout other farms in the ward on which 'new farmers' have been allocated land for farming. Figure 4.3 shows the other farms in the ward and the number of incidences that occurred on each that were reported to the ZRP.

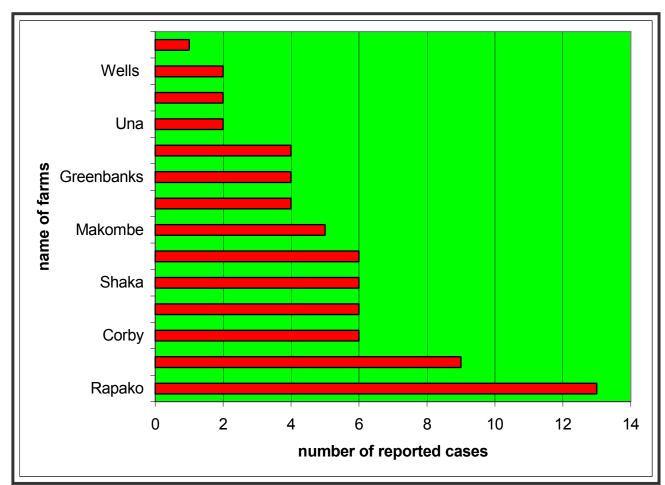


Figure 4.3 Reported cases of poaching on other farms within the ward

Source: ZRP Hwedza Docket Movement Book and Criminal Record Book (2001-2004)

According to the ZRP, cases of poaching are probably much more than those shown in figure 4.3 because the animals on these farms now have almost no protection at all since the departure of the former commercial farmers. A December 2003 wildlife survey by the Hwedza RDC in collaboration with the Catholic Development Commission revealed that the zebra population in Watershed East Ward had declined by approximately 20% compared to the zebra population that had existed before the farm occupations of 2000. The RDC estimates that approximately 200 zebras are now left within the ward excluding those in ISR. According to the ZRP and PWMA poaching activities are probably more intense on these other farms as protection for the animals on these farms is almost non-existent.

#### 4.6 CONFLICT DYNAMICS

#### 4.6.1 Farm Activity Disruptions by Wildlife within the Ward

All the respondents on Leeds, Wells and Nurenzi farms indicated that they were having problems with animals that are destroying their crops. These animals include zebras and warthogs which normally move into their fields especially during the night and destroy their crops. Seven percent of these respondents indicated that they at one time hired a well-known 'hunter' in the area to shoot at the animals in order to scare the rest away but the problem persisted. Besides these two no other respondents indicated to have killed any animals that entered their fields. The RDC also highlighted that there was a case at Bolton farm which is also in Watershed East Ward in which 24 zebras were killed after they had allegedly destroyed crops in fields belonging to several farmers who were resettled on this farm. However, none of the local community respondents stated that they have encountered any problem from an animal from within the bounds of ISR.

#### 4.6.2 Weapons and Tactics

Imire Safari Ranch records, ZRP records and the local community revealed that several weapons and tactics are used in the conflict to kill or injure animals. The weapons used in the illegal hunting exercises include snares, axes, catapults and guns. Besides the use of guns to kill animals, they were also used in two cases of direct confrontation in clashes between the ranch management and guards against poachers at the ranch. Gun fire was exchanged on two nights in August and September of 2003 with the later almost proving fatal as one guard was shot and taken to Mt St Mary's hospital where he later recovered. All of these direct clashes occurred during night-time. Seventeen of the respondents that indicated that they were involved in hunting activities stated that they sometimes go hunting during the night or early in the morning. All respondents who admitted to be illegal hunters stated that they sometimes go hunting at night.

# 4.6.3 Key Stakeholder Relations

There is a general movement towards bipolarisation by the different stakeholders in the conflict: ISR on one hand and the local community on the other. The PWMA and ZRP indicated that they have better relations with the ranch than with the local community, the councillor and the RDC. The local community indicated better relations with their councillor and the RDC. This bipolarised

situation is not surprising as the PWMA, the ZRP and ISR have all never had direct face to face dialogue with local community unlike the RDC and the councillor. Figure 4.4 illustrates the ratings that the different stakeholders gave each other in terms of their relations on a scale of one to five from very poor, poor, fair, good and excellent respectively.

Figure 4.4 Pairwise ranking matrix of key stakeholder relations

Imire ranch					+ + **
councillor				+ + + * *	++++
ZRP			+ + **	+++++++++++++++++++++++++++++++++++++++	+ + * *
RDC		+++++++++++++++++++++++++++++++++++++++	+++ + ***	+++++++++++++++++++++++++++++++++++++++	+++++++++++++++++++++++++++++++++++++++
PWMA RDC	+ + + **	++++++	***	+++++++++++++++++++++++++++++++++++++++	*
	RDC	ZRP	councillor	Imire ranch	Locals

Depicts the highest score of 5 indicating an excellent relationship and \* Depicts the lowest score of 1 indicating a very relationship poor indicated by a stakeholder against the other who shares the same interaction box in matrix. the The local community respondents had a choice of only two responses that are good or bad. Responses from the community local were grouped together with cases were 0-20% of respondents indicated a good relationship being equated to \* or + and 80-100% being equated to \* \* \* \* \* or + + + + +.

# 4.6.4 Power Dynamics

The two primary parties in the conflict indicated some reliance on power from other sources. Eighty-two percent of the local community respondents indicated that they think the survival of ISR was in their hands. The most prevalent reason accounting for 51% of these people was that the new farmers have power in their numbers and are more powerful politically. The ranch on the other hand felt that its survival does not depend on the local community but rather on 'top government officials' at district and provincial level as well as the PWMA as the local community had tried to take the ranch over several times since 1998 without success.

#### 4.7 THE CULTURAL DIMENSION TO THE CONFLICT

Of the 40 respondents who stated that they want the ISR to be taken over by the Government for resettlement, 50% of them stated that the ranch should be taken over because it is very close to the Markwe shrine also known as *Mudzimudzangara* and that there are some ancestral graves within the ranches boundaries. Given that the all those who indicated concern over cultural historical issues were male, they represent a potentially powerful group within the surrounding community that has the power to alter the course of events within the conflict. All the respondents who shared these sentiments were male and 80% of them were above the age of forty years. But the ranch, the PWMA and the councillor for the ward expressed ignorance over any known cultural or historical sites of 'significance' that are within the boundaries of ISR. However, the RDC indicated that it has contacted the National Archives, which promised to come and make some studies at the Markwe shrine and also look for similar sites of cultural and historical significance in the area including the area under ISR. Figure 4.2 on page 34 shows the location of the Markwe shrine in relation to Imire Safari Ranch.

### 4.8 ATTEMPTED CONFLICT MANAGEMENT STRATEGIES

Various stakeholders in the conflict have tried to keep the conflict under control. The RDC has tried to extend the voluntary Intensive Conservation Committee concept into the resettlement areas without success due to the lack of finance, trained personnel and incentives for whistle-blowers. The ZRP has tried to enforce the provisions of the Parks and Wildlife Act but efforts have been hampered by lack of adequate vehicles, personnel and the high political tension still prevailing in the resettlement areas. ISR owners have been involved in efforts to help the 'new farmers' with tractors for ploughing their fields but appear to be overwhelmed by the number of farmers needing their services as there is only one tractor being used for this purpose. This came into being after an informal agreement with the councillor. The questionnaire interviews reviewed that none of the respondents has ever received this assistance.

#### 4.9 SUGGESTED SOLUTIONS TO THE CONFLICT

# 4.9.1 The RDC, the Councillor and the Local Community

Although the RDC and the councillors do not have much say in the activities of ISR, they have come up with by-laws that are aimed at encouraging wildlife conservation as well as the protection of private property within the district. Some sections of these by-laws include prohibition of fence cutting and the killing of any animal without a licence. To raise the required finances for wildlife conservation, the RDC has since applied to the PWMA that it be granted permission to sell 100 zebras of the approximately 200 zebras that are left in Watershed East Ward and use the money to rehabilitate the other 100 and start a safari operation within that ward. However, the first application was returned to back to the RDC from the provincial PWMA offices because of wrong wording. The title of the letter had stated that the RDC was requesting to 'cull' 100 zebras that gave the wrong impression to the PWMA who are against the idea of culling. The second letter has since been approved at provincial level by the PWMA and is waiting final approval but the RDC states that the 'unnecessary' delays by the PWMA might hamper there intended project as the wildlife numbers are fast declining.

Local community respondents' suggestions on what should be the way forward regarding the ownership regime of the wildlife resources within ISR were limited into four broad categories and the results are shown in Table 4.6.

Table 4.6 The way forward as indicated by local community respondents

Suggestion category	Percentage of respondents
CAMPFIRE-style*	28.4
complete ownership by locals	11.6
maintenance of current ownership regime	29.5
total Government take-over	30.5
Total	100

<sup>\*</sup>CAMPFIRE-style represents those who suggested a partnership with the current owners

Of the 19 women interviewed eight opted for the total take-over of Imire Safari Ranch by the Government, six for the maintenance of the current ownership regime and five for the total hand over of the ranch to the local community whilst nil opted for the CAMPFIRE approach. Those

members of the local community with tertiary education did not show any general orientation as two indicated for the removal of the owners, two for the CAMPFIRE-style, two for the take-over by the government and two for maintenance of the current ownership regime.

# 4.9.2 Imire Safari Ranch, the ZRP and the PWMA

A representative of ISR stated that immediate action should be taken by the PWMA to save the remaining animals on the surrounding farms so that they can be used for the benefit of the local community through helping them establish their own ranching activities. The ranch itself is prepared to help in such a cause together with other relevant authorities like politicians, government officials and the ZRP who should step up their efforts towards combating crime in the ward and district. The ranch does not view the institution of a CAMPFIRE approach as feasible as the area covered by the ranch is 'small' vis-à-vis the number of families resettled on the surrounding farms.

The police advocated for some tangible benefits to be given to the local community in order for them to realise the value of the ranch and help in protecting it from poachers. A new neighbourhood watch committee should be put in place to replace the one that was there before the year 2000 and ISR should assist in the setting up and maintenance of the committee. Cooperation with the local community would help them because manpower and logistics are unlikely to be enough to fully enforce the Parks and Wildlife Act in the near future.

The PWMA suggested that dialogue be increased between the two primary parties in the conflict especially on how they can both financially gain from the wildlife resources in Watershed East Ward. In the dialogue process the community should be represented by an elected committee rather than by the councillor or other political leaders. The committee would be run along the lines of CAMPFIRE community committees and would be responsible for consultations on both sides. However the PWMA highlighted that the idea of moving people now is not feasible as politics is still a bit warm in the new resettlement areas.

#### 4.10 FACTORS LIMITING MANAGEMENT OF THE CONFLICT.

# 4.10.1 Internal Limiting Factors

The study showed several factors acting within the ward that are or will limit the application and effectiveness of wildlife conflict management mechanisms. The level of awareness of wildlife management issues by the RDC and the local community is low which makes it difficult for these stakeholders to come up with or participate in a wildlife conflict management arrangement. There is no wildlife or natural resources management expert within the structures of the Hwedza RDC and the councillors who make the by-laws are not knowledgeable either. This tends to limit the effectiveness of wildlife management at district and ward level. Negative attitudes by the local residents to the presence of wildlife in the ward can be attributed to the destruction of crops by some animals and the lack of knowledge of the potential revenue associated with its conservation.

The bipolarisation of the main parties in the conflict militates against peaceful management of the conflict especially considering that the weakest relationship is between the local community and the PWMA as shown in Figure 4.4 page 37. This can be attributed to the fact that the PWMA has never approached the 'new local community' on issues relating to wildlife management in their new areas of residence. The PWMA actually stated that they would only respond to issues that would have been raised by the members of the local community themselves and ISR.

Divisions manifest themselves through the uncoordinated nature of current plans of action that are currently being implemented to manage the conflict. The tillage assistance programme by ISR and the councillor and the RDC wildlife ranch development projects are being undertaken without consultation or involvement of the local community members. Such actions are tantamount to a repeat of the same mistake of overlooking contributions by local communities that have characterised most failed natural resource management programmes instituted during the colonial era.

There are also divisions amongst the local community members on various issues regarding wildlife ranching at ISR and in the ward in general. The major division on gender grounds was shown by differences in attitudes towards cultural factors shaping the conflict in which none of the women

interviewed expressed that ISR should be taken on cultural restoration grounds. Cultural perceptions also differ according to age with a greater percentage males over forty years of age expressing greater concern over the cultural meaning of leaving the ranch as it is. All active poachers are male and a lesser percentage of women are knowledgeable of wildlife conflict management issues.

Illegal hunting is widespread across Watershed East Ward and is not confined to one or a few places within ISR. The distribution across the ward tends to stretch the resources of the ZRP and the PWMA whilst widespread distribution within the ranch tends to over-stretch the ranches security personnel and resources. Thus the geographical distribution of the conflict tends to limit the effective enforcement of the Parks and Wildlife Act as a wildlife conflict management tool. The involvement of poachers from as far afield as Harare and Marondera shows that solutions to this conflict needs to cross not only ward boundaries but also district and provincial boundaries making it a mammoth task that can only be overcome by effective nation-wide wildlife conflict management mechanisms.

# 4.10.2 External Limiting Factors

The depressed economic situation in Zimbabwe is perpetuating the conflict as it encourages poaching activities through the creation of a large market for cheap game meat. This large market is created due to the relatively lower prices of game meat as compared to other sources of meat and game meat dietary supplements for those directly engaged in the business and their families. The depressed economic situation has also seen some of ISR employees being involved in these illegal activities as ZRP and ISR records show that three ISR employees were also caught on the wrong side of the law between June 2002 and February 2004.

The recurring nature of below normal rainy seasons in Zimbabwe could mean a cyclic repeat of high poaching incidences during drought years. Droughts tend to exacerbate economic problems as the country's economy is agro-based and the 'new community' around ISR heavily relies on rain feed agricultural activities for employment and income. A poor rainy season leaves them in desperation and this will force them to use the environmental resources nearest to them with a ready market to earn a living.

Blench (1998) aptly states that the continued strong government bias towards crop agriculture militates against other forms of land use in new resettlement areas. Whilst in Zimbabwe a wildlife based land reform policy is in the pipeline, their has been no effort to educate the 'newly resettled' local communities on what it entails, its benefits and how wildlife ranching can be harmonised with crop based agriculture.

#### 4.11 THE STAGE OF CONFLICT ESCALATION

The wildlife conflict between Imire Safari Ranch and its surrounding community can be said to be in stage seven of Glasl's (1997) Nine-Stage Model of Conflict Escalation in which there are limited destructive blows from the two primary parties in the conflict. This conflict has been placed in stage seven because of the similarity between events obtaining in the conflict as gathered by results from this study and the seventh stage of Glasl's model.

In Glasl's model the seventh stage is the stage at which the parties want the other to be 'eliminated' because that party is being viewed as a threat or an obstacle. Forty-two percent of the local community respondents indicated that they either want ISR to be taken over by the government or it should be completely run by the local community as illustrated by Table 4.2 on page 39. On the other hand the ranch is not prepared to share the wildlife within its boundaries with the local community. The destructive blows of the poachers are becoming more and more forceful as evidenced by the use of guns, and direct confrontation with ISR guards by poachers. Retaliatory action by the ranch has also involved the use of guns on two of the incidences in August and September 2003. Both primary parties indicated that they are prepared to suffer loses if there are prospects that the enemy will also suffer.

The incorporation of some employees of the ranch into the poaching activities by the poachers undermines the ISR control and security functions. According the Hwedza ZRP reports eleven percent of the incidences in which poachers were caught within ISR involved the ranches employees as shown on Table 4.5 on page 33. One of these incidences even involved the ISR chief of security. On the other hand the informal tillage programme agreement between ISR and the councillor may be taken as an attempt to undermine the potency of the local community poachers

by soliciting the support of the political leadership in the ward by ISR officials.

The conflict situation has not yet reached the later stages of stage seven in which the conflict outcomes turn into a lose-lose situation. As illustrated by Table 4.4 on page 32 and Appendix One the wildlife populations within the ranch have been affected in a small way when comparing the number of animals killed up to February 2004 to the total number of animals within ISR. Whoever emerges victorious at this stage will gain from these wildlife resources. At the same time, stage six has already been surpassed as threats of action have turned into concrete action in the form of poaching within the ranch. The rapid increase in poaching cases in the second half of 2003 as shown in Figure 4.1 signal this early part of Glasl's stage seven. Thus this conflict can be described as being in the first stages of Glasl's seventh stage.

#### CHAPTER FIVE

#### CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

#### 5.1 SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

#### 5.1.1 The Nature of the Conflict

The two primary parties in the conflict are very different in terms of wildlife management knowledge with Imire Safari Ranch management being the knowledgeable ones and the local community being the less knowledgeable. The conflict is embedded in cultural differences between the local community and the ranch together with the Parks and Wildlife Management Authority. A bipolarised situation is now obtaining with the PWMA and the ZRP siding with the ranch whilst the RDC and the councillor are siding with the local community. Poaching by members of the local community is targeted mainly at animals that can be used as food by the local community except in two cases were giraffes were killed.

#### **5.1.2** Conflict Dynamics

The forces shaping the conflict are both from within and from outside Watershed East Ward and Hwedza Rural District although the majority of poachers emanate from Watershed East Ward. Relations between the different stakeholders are generally weak due to lack of face to face dialogue. The weak relations have also spilled over to the formulation and implementation of conflict management strategies by individual primary and secondary parties. Whilst the PWMA is expected to play a pivotal role in managing the dynamics within this wildlife conflict, the authority has been the least active of all the secondary stakeholders. It has never approached the local community, the RDC or the Watershed East Ward local leadership in relation to the current conflict over wildlife resources.

# 5.1.3 Internal and External Limiting Factors

The bipolarised scenario, limited wildlife management knowledge and the gender and cultural differences amongst the local community were sited as the factors acting within the ward and the district that will militate against the implementation of any wildlife conflict management strategies.

These internal factors are generally influenced by external forces, which the study identified. Significant external limiting factors relate to the depressed economic situation in which the country finds itself in and the recurring nature of lower than expected rains needed for agriculture and the general bias in central government policy towards crop-based agriculture in its land reforms.

#### 5.2 CONCLUSION

The effect of the current conflict between Imire Safari Ranch and its surrounding community on wildlife numbers and diversity has been minimal so far. However, the study shows that there is a great potential for the conflict to escalate from the current early stages of Glasl's stage seven into the latter stages and into the eighth and ninth stages. Such an escalation would see the conflict becoming more and more intense and degenerating into a lose-lose scenario as the wildlife numbers within the ranch would have declined to levels that not commercially viable for exploitation. Thus there is a great need for all stakeholders to immediately take on board the recommendations given in this chapter. Divisions amongst stakeholders and within the local community are of major concern to the peaceful management of the conflict which the Parks and Wildlife Act through the use of police power cannot solve. Grassroots consultation and stakeholder dialogue are therefore needed to direct local and national wildlife management policy in Zimbabwe's new resettlement areas.

#### 5.3 RECOMMENDATIONS

The following recommendations are aimed at addressing the internal and external limiting factors to the management of the conflict over wildlife resources that were presented in Chapter Four. If taken if taken into consideration, the recommendations are expected to change the nature and dynamics of the wildlife conflict between Imire Safari Ranch and its surrounding community.

#### 5.3.1 Immediate Dialogue Between Stakeholders

There should be immediate dialogue amongst all primary and secondary stakeholders. Dialogue that can produce a win-win scenario for the primary stakeholders in the conflict is possible as the conflict is still in the early parts the seventh stage of Glasl's Nine-Stage Model of Conflict

Escalation in which each of the primary parties can still derive economic benefits from the resources in contention. Since there is still something to bargain for, dialogue between ISR and the local community should be initiated as soon as possible. The RDC, PWMA and the ZRP should also be represented, as they are key secondary stakeholders in the conflict. The coming together of these parties will dilute the bipolarised situation by bringing representatives of the various parties face to face. The expertise of the PWMA in conflict management will be greatly needed at this point so as to set the right tone and trust between the different stakeholders especially the primary parties. This first interaction is also important, as it will determine whether alternative conflict management mechanisms like mediation and facilitation will be needed.

# 5.3.2 Simultaneous Wildlife Management Consultation and Education

Initial dialogue whether successful or not should be immediately followed by an educational campaign and grassroots consultation process within the new resettlement areas with special emphasis on concepts like CAMPFIRE and wildlife based land reform. The education process should start at the RDC level going downwards with the PWMA taking a pivotal role. The PWMA and the Hwedza RDC are expected to spearhead this process at the other lower levels of administration. The aim of the process will be to demonstrate to the locals on the economic potential wildlife ranching, educate the locals on the policies, laws, by-laws and regulations governing wildlife management in Zimbabwe and the district. The consultation process will solicit their views, opinions, comments and contributions towards management of the available wildlife resources and cultural issues in their ward. Both the consultation and education should be done with the help of the political leadership at the ward and district levels.

#### 5.3.3 Revival of the Intensive Conservation Committees (ICCs).

The revival of the intensive conservation committees (ICC) at ward level should come immediately after the education and consultation process. In Watershed East Ward the ICC will play a dual role of coordinating wildlife conservation outside Imire Safari Ranch and representing the community at the dialogue table with other stakeholders on the current wildlife conflict and issues to do with the sharing of benefits. To encourage local participation as well as put the ICC at the same level as other ward structures and enhance transparency, members of the local community will elect members of the ICC at community meetings at the same time as elections for other ward structures.

# **5.3.4** Integration of ISR into the New Community

There should be a deliberate move by Imire Safari Ranch to integrate itself into the new community by proving its worthiness to the local community and the Hwedza RDC by providing tangible benefits to these two parties. The ranch in consultation with these two parties can start by identifying projects, which it can get involved in within Watershed East Ward. Unlike the informal tillage agreement with the councillor, all projects aimed at helping the local community and the RDC should be formalised and publicised. Some enterprising local community members should be given the chance to market their wares within the bounds of the ranch to visitors at a designated point. Tangible social and economic benefits will help change attitudes of the local community towards the ranch especially its management. This will enable the ranch to use such conflict management concepts as 'social fencing' in which the local community will actually help in warding of poachers to augment the efforts of ranch guards and ZRP patrols. However this entails a greater commitment of financial resources towards conflict management by the ranch.

# 5.3.5 Improved Record Keeping

The PWMA, ZRP and ISR should have comprehensive databases on poaching activities. All incidences of poaching on the ranch and details of the poachers, the target animals and provide more precise data on the spatial distribution of poaching incidences in order to monitor the nature and trends of the conflict. Improved records will give better data, which after processing and analysis can enable the prescribing of the appropriate conflict management strategies.

# 5.3.6 Wildlife-Based Land Reform Policy

The PWMA through the Ministry of Environment and Tourism and other stakeholders involved should ensure that the Wildlife-Based Land Reform Policy is being formulated is implemented in the next two to three years. This policy should provide the basis and procedures from which the PWMA and local authorities to work from and a point of reference that is at the moment lacking. It should also be accompanied by some flexible general guidelines to wildlife conflict management and training to local communities resettled where wildlife is abundant as well as to the RDCs, traditional leadership and law enforcement agents where necessary.

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# **APPENDIX ONE**

# 2003 IMIRE SAFARI RANCH WILDLIFE CENSUS RESULTS

Animals	Numbers
impala	424
tsessebe	61
wildebeest	57
zebra	57
sable	43
blesbok	41
eland	32
reedbuck	30
buffalo	29
nyala	27
kudu	23
waterbuck	19
wathorg	19
giraffe	16
duiker	15
oribi	14
steenbok	10
rhinocerous	6
elephant	5
hippopotamus	3
hyena	3
ostrich	6 5 3 3 3 2
crocodile	
lion	1

#### APPENDIX TWO

#### CONFLICT ASSESSMENT GUIDES

The Wehr Conflict Mapping Guide and the Hocker-Wilmot Conflict Assessment guides can be combined or altered to specifically address one's assessment goals.

#### WEHR'S CONFLICT MAP

In his book Conflict Regulation, Wehr (1979) provided a "Conflict Mapping Guide" to give "both the intervener and the conflict parties a clearer understanding of the origins, nature, dynamics, and possibilities for resolution of conflict". The map should include the following information:

#### **Summary Description** (one-page maximum)

**Conflict History**. The origins and major events in the evolution both of the conflict and its context. It is important to make this distinction between the interactive conflict relationship among the parties and the context within which it occurs.

**Conflict Context**. It is important to establish the scope and character of the context or setting within which the conflict takes place. Such dimensions are geographical boundaries; political structures, relations, and jurisdictions; communication networks and patterns; and decision-making methods. Most of these are applicable to the full range of conflict types, from interpersonal to international levels

**Conflict Parties.** Decisional units directly or indirectly involved in the conflict and having some significant stake in its outcome.

**Primary: parties** whose goals are, or are perceived by them to be, incompatible and who interact directly in pursuit of those respective goals. Where the conflict parties are organizations or groups, each may be composed of smaller units differing in their involvement and investment in the conflict.

**Secondary: parties** who have an indirect stake in the outcome of the dispute but who do not feel themselves to be directly involved. As the conflict progresses, secondary parties may become primary, however, and vice-versa.

**Interested third parties**; those who have an interest in the successful resolution of the conflict. Pertinent information about the parties in addition to who they are would include the nature of the power relations between/among them.

**Issues.** Normally, a conflict will develop around one or more issues emerging from or leading to a decision. Each issue can be viewed as a point of disagreement that must be resolved. Issues can be identified and grouped according to the primary generating factor:

- Facts-based: disagreement over what is because of how parties perceive what is. Judgement and perception are the primary conflict generators here.
- *Values-based:* disagreement over what should be as a determinant of a policy decision, a relationship, or some other source of conflict.
- *Interests-based*: disagreement over who will get what in the distribution of scarce resources.
- *Non-realistic*: originating elsewhere than in disparate perceptions, interests, or values. Style of interaction the parties use, the quality of communication between them, or aspects of the immediate physical setting, such as physical discomfort, are examples.

- **Dynamics**. Social conflicts have common though not always predictable dynamics that if recognised can help an intervener find the way around a conflict. The intervener must seek to reverse some of these and make them dynamics of regulation and resolution. They include the following:
- Precipitating events signalling the surfacing of a dispute.
- *Issue emergence, transformation, proliferation.* Issues change as a conflict progresses--specific issues become generalised, single issues multiply, impersonal disagreements can become personal feuds.
- *Polarisation*. As parties seek internal consistency and coalitions with allies, and leaders consolidate positions, parties in conflict tend toward bipolarisation that can lead both to greater intensity and to simplification and resolution of the conflict.
- Spiralling. Through a process of reciprocal causation, each party may try to increase the hostility or damage to opponents in each round, with a corresponding increase from the latter. Also possible are deescalatory spirals, in which opponents reciprocally and incrementally reduce the hostility and rigidity of their interaction.
- Stereotyping and mirror-imaging. Opponents often come to perceive one another as impersonal representations of the mirror-opposite of their own exemplary and benign characteristics. This process encourages rigidity on position and miscommunication and misinterpretation between conflict parties.

Alternative Routes to Solution(s) of the Problem(s). Each of the parties and often uninvolved observers will have suggestions for resolving the conflict. In conflicts within a formal policymaking framework, the options can be formal plans. In interpersonal conflicts, alternatives can be behavioural changes suggested to (or by) the parties. It is essential to identify as many "policies" as possible that have already surfaced in the conflict. They should be made visible for both the conflict parties and the intervener. The intervener may then suggest new alternatives or combinations of those already identified.

**Conflict Regulation Potential**. In and for each conflict situation are to be found resources for limiting and perhaps resolving the conflict. The mapping process notes these resources, albeit in a preliminary way. They may include the following:

- Internal limiting factors like values and interests the conflicting parties have a common, or the intrinsic value of a relationship between them that neither wishes to destroy, or cross pressures of multiple commitments of parties that constrain the conflict.
- External limiting factors like a higher authority who could intervene and force a settlement or an intermediary from outside the conflict.
- *Interested or neutral third parties* trusted by the parties in conflict who could facilitate communication, mediate the dispute, or locate financial resources to alleviate a scarcity problem.
- Techniques of conflict management, both those familiar to the different conflict parties and third parties and those known to have been useful elsewhere. Such methods range from the well-known mediation, conciliation, and rumour control to fractionating issues and extending the time range to encourage settlement

#### THE HOCKER- WILMOT CONFLICT ASSESSMENT GUIDE

This guide is composed of a series of questions designed to focus on the components of conflict discussed in part I of this book. It can be used to bring specific aspects of a conflict into focus and serve as a check on gaps in information about a conflict. The guide is best used in tote so that the interplay of conflict elements can be clearly highlighted.

#### **Nature of the Conflict**

1. What are the "triggering events" that brought this conflict into mutual awareness?

- 2. What is the historical context of this conflict in terms of (1) the ongoing relationship between the parties and (2) other, external events within which this conflict is embedded?
- 3. Do the parties have assumptions about conflict that are discernible by their choices of conflict metaphors, patterns of behaviour, or clear expressions of their attitudes about conflict?
- 4. Conflict elements:
- 5. How is the struggle being expressed by each party?
- 6. What are the perceived incompatible goals?
- 7. What are the perceived scarce rewards?
- 8. In what ways are the parties interdependent? How are they interfering with one another? How are they cooperating to keep the conflict in motion?
- 9. Has the conflict vacillated between productive and destructive phases? If so, which elements were transformed during the productive cycles? Which elements might be transformed by creative solutions to the conflict?

#### **Styles of Conflict**

- 1. What individual styles did each party use?
- 2. How did the individual styles change during the course of the conflict?
- 3. How did the parties perceive the other's style?
- 4. In what way did a party's style reinforce the choices the other party made as the conflict progressed?
- 5. Were the style choices primarily symmetrical or complementary?
- 6. From an external perspective, what were the advantages and disadvantages of each style within this particular conflict?
- 7. Can the overall system be characterised as having a predominant style? What do the participants say about the relationship as a whole?
- 8. From an external perspective, where would this conflict system be placed in terms of cohesion and adaptability?
- 9. Would any of the other system descriptions aptly summarise the system dynamics?

#### Power

- 1. What attitudes about their own and the other's power does each party have? Do they talk openly about power, or is it not discussed?
- 2. What do the parties see as their own and the other's dependencies on one another? As an external observer, can you classify some dependencies that they do not list?
- 3. What power currencies do the parties see themselves and the other possessing?
- 4. From an external perspective, what power currencies of which the participants are not aware seem to be operating?
- 5. In what ways do the parties disagree on the balance of power between them? Do they underestimate their own or the other's influence?
- 6. What impact does each party's assessment of power have on subsequent choices in the conflict?
- 7. What evidence of destructive "power balancing" occurs?
- 8. In what ways do observers of the conflict agree and disagree with the parties' assessments of their power?
- 9. What are some unused sources of power that are present?

#### Coals

- 1. How do the parties clarify their goals? Do they phrase them in individualistic or system terms?
- 2. What does each party think the other's goals are? Are they similar or dissimilar to the perceptions of self-goals?

- 3. How have the goals been altered from the beginning of the conflict to the present? In what ways are the prospective, transactive, and retrospective goals similar or dissimilar?
- 4. What are the content goals?
- 5. What are the relational goals?
- 6. What is each party's translation of content goals into relationship terms? How do the two sets of translations correspond or differ?

#### **Tactics**

- 1. Do the participants appear to strategize about their conflict choices or remain spontaneous?
- 2. How does each party view the other's strategizing?
- 3. What are the tactical options used by both parties?
- 4. Do the tactical options classify primarily into avoidance, competition, or collaborative tactics?
- 5. How are the participants' tactics mutually impacting on the other's choices? How are the tactics interlocking to push the conflict through phases of escalation, maintenance, and reduction?

#### Assessment

- 1. What rules of repetitive patterns characterise this conflict?
- 2. Can quantitative instruments be used to give information about elements of the conflict?

# **Self-Regulation**

- 1. What options for change do the parties perceive?
- 2. What philosophy of conflict characterise the system?
- 3. What techniques for self-regulation or system-regulation have been used thus far? Which might be used productively by the system?

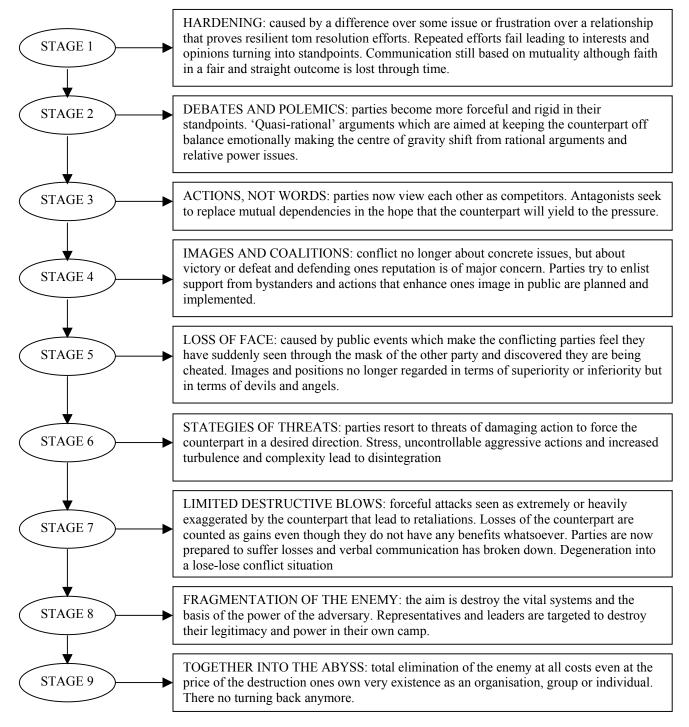
#### **Attempted Solutions**

- 1. What options have been explored for managing the conflict?
- 2. Have attempted solutions become part of the problem?
- 3. Have third parties been brought into the conflict? If so, what roles did they play and what was the impact of their involvement?
- 4. Is this conflict a repetitive one, with attempted solutions providing temporary change, but with the overall pattern remaining unchanged? If so, what is that overall pattern?
- 5. Can you identify categories of attempted solutions that have not been tried?

Source: Wehr (2001) in Verplanke (2001).

#### APPENDIX THREE

#### GLASL'S NINE-STAGE MODEL OF CONFLICT ESCALATION



Source: Jordan (2001) In Verplanke (2001).

#### APPENDIX FOUR

# QUESTIONNAIRE ADMINISTERED TO THE LOCAL COMMUNITY



# UNIVERSITY OF ZIMBABWE Department of Geography and Environmental Science

# Study Questionnaire

Research Title: Wildlife conflict management between Imire Safari Ranch and the Watershed East community of Hwedza District.

For official use only	
Name of farm	
Questionnaire number	

Preamble: T. Muhwati is undertaking this research as part of a research dissertation in the Masters in Environmental Policy and Planning Degree programme. The aim of the research is to define the wildlife conflict between Imire Safari Ranch and its surrounding community and suggest management strategies for sustainable wildlife production. Your cooperation towards the fulfilment of this objective is sincerely appreciated. You are thereby assured that your responses will be treated with respect and confidentiality. Under no circumstances shall any information relating to the identification of the respondent be disclosed.

#### **SECTION A: PROFILE OF RESPONDENT**

# 1) Sex of respondent

Female	Male

# 2) Age of respondent in years

=<20	21-30	31-40	41=<

Married		Single Divorced		d Widow		Other: specify	
4) Wh	at is th	e hig	ghest level of	education	that you	have attained	?
Primary			Secondary		Tertiary	7	Other: specify
5) Wh	at is y	our n	nain source of	f income?	)		
F. employr	nent	Farm labouring		Farming	Farming Un		Other: specify
6) We	ro vou	rogic	ling in Water	shad East	Word bo	fore the year 2	0002
	_	TCSIC		siica Last	waru oc	nore the year 2	.000:
Yes	No						
a) If y	our an	swer	is No, in whi	ch of thes	se places	were you befo	re 2000?
· ·		** 1		TT 1	CD	~	1 0.1 :6
Resettleme	ents	Urb	an area	Hwedza	i GP	Communal la	nds Other: specify
Resettleme	ents	Urb	an area	Hwedza	i GP	Communal la	nds Other: specify
Resettleme	ents	Urb	an area	Hwedza	i GP	Communal la	nds Other: specify
						Communal la	
b) If y	our an	swer	is No, why d	id you co	me to Wa		
b) If y	our an	swer	is No, why d	id you co	me to Wa	atershed East?	
b) If y  SECTION	our an	swer	is No, why d	id you co	me to Wa	atershed East?	
b) If y  SECTION  7) Do	our an  B: A'	swer	is No, why d	id you co	me to Wa	atershed East?	
b) If y  SECTION	our an	swer	is No, why d	id you co	me to Wa	atershed East?	
b) If y  SECTION  7) Do  Yes	B: A'	swer	is No, why d	id you co	me to Wa	natershed East?	ISSUES
b) If y  SECTION  7) Do  Yes	B: A'	swer	is No, why d	id you co	me to Wa	atershed East?	ISSUES
b) If y  SECTION  7) Do  Yes	B: A'	swer	is No, why d	id you co	me to Wa	natershed East?	ISSUES
b) If y  SECTION  7) Do  Yes	B: A'	swer	is No, why d	id you co	me to Wa	natershed East?	ISSUES

3)

What is your marital status?

8)	Do you l	know of	the Park	s and Wildlif	e Act?		
Yes	No						
If your	answer t	o the abo	ove ques	tion is yes, w	hat do you think	k abou	ut it?
		u heard a	about the	e RDC by-law	vs on environme	ental o	conservation of 2003?
Yes	No						
10)		1 41	1 6	4 DDC:	11 11:0	,.	41
		know the	e roie oi	the RDC in w	viidiiie conserva	ition a	at Imire safari ranch?
Yes	No						
If your	ancuvar i	c vac car	mentio	n it?			
II your	answer i	s yes car	1 IIICIILIO				
SECTI	ON C: (	CONFL	ICT HIS	STORY, TAG	CTICS EMPLO	OYEI	D AND POWER
a) .	Are you	involved	d in any l	hunting activ	ities within this	ward	?
yes	No						
If yes, v	when did	you star	rt?				
b)	f yes, wl	ny did yo	ou start h	unting?			
Food	Food		Income		Adventure		Other: specify
							<del></del>
	What we	eapons d	o you us	e for hunting	activities?	,	
Snares		Guns		Fire	Dogs	Oth	er: specify

d)	Do you go hunti	ng in groups?
Yes	No	
		1
If yes	, of how many?	
12) A	re there any anima	als causing trouble from?
I.	Imire	
Yes	No	
If yes	, please specify	
II	Other areas	
Yes	No	
If yes	, please specify	
13)	Do you think the	e survival of Imire ranch depends on you?
Yes	No	
Give	reasons for your re	esponse in question number 12
SECT	TION D: COMM	UNITY ATTITUDES TOWARDS IMIRE
14) D	o you think Imire	safari ranch should be taken up for resettlement?
Yes	No	
Give	your reasons for y	our answer in question number 14

15)	Do you benefit	anything from living within or next to Imire safari ranch?
Yes	No	
Please 6	elaborate your a	nswer to question number 15
b)	If is yes do you	expect anything more from the ranch?
Yes	No	
Please 6	elaborate your a	nswer to question 15.b
SECTI	ON E: CONSU	ULTATION AND DIALOGUE
16)	Have any of the	following consulted you on issues relating to hunting?
PWMA		
Yes	No	7
		_
RDC		
Yes	No	7
		-
ZRP		
Yes	No	٦
		_
Politica	 	ing the councillor
Yes	No No	
105	110	_

17)	Are	hunting issues d	liscussed comm	nmunity meetings?
Yes		No		
If yes	, wha	t do the discussion	ons concern?	
SECT	ΓΙΟΝ	F: SUGGESTE	ED SOLUTION	ONS
18)	Wh	at do you think s	should be done	e to stop people from outside the ward from hunting in this
ward?				
19)	Wh	ich of the follow	ing ownership	p regimes would you prefer to be at Imire Safari Ranch?
		E-style	1.	
		wnership by locate of current own		
		nment take-over		
Give	reaso	ns for your answ	er in question 1	19

THANK YOU VERY MUCH

#### APPENDIX FIVE

#### QUESTIONS ASKED TO KEY INFORMANTS IN THE WILDLIFE CONFLICT.



#### UNIVERSITY OF ZIMBABWE

#### Department of Geography and Environmental Science

# Key informant interview with the Sescretary of Imire Safari Ranch on the conflict management between the ranch and the surrounding community.

- 1) When did the conflict over wildlife resources within Imire safari ranch start?
- 2) What has the ranch done in the past with regards to managing this conflict?
- 3) What conflict management strategies are currently employed by your ranch in order to minimise the wildlife conflict with the local community?
- 4) How do you come up with decisions regarding measures to be taken in the conflict situation?
- 5.a) Do you think the locals are strategizing events in the current conflict?

Yes	No

- b) What do you think are the goals of the locals in this conflict?
- 6.a) Has the conflict management between the ranch the local community worked?

Yes	No	cannot be assessed as yet

- b) Why have you chosen the above answer?
- 7.a) Do you keep any records of poaching activities and other forms of wildlife conflict with the local community?

Yes	No

- b) Which species have been affected and in what numbers?
- 8) What changes to your wildlife conflict strategies have been brought about or necessitated by the accelerated land reform programme?
- 9.a) How best can you describe your relations with the following stakeholders? Please use the following categories.

stakeholder	v. poor	poor	fair	good	excellent
ZRP					
PWMA					
RDC					
councillor					
local community					

- b) Give reasons for your responses in the above question
- 10) Does the ranch expect the local community to play any role in the management of wildlife resources within Imire Safari Ranch?

Yes	No

- b) Why do you say so?
- 11) In what ways do you accommodate the historical claims of the Svosve peoples cultural claims?
- 12) What other conflict management suggestions do you have that might help in containing the conflict?

# Key informant interview with the councillor for Watershed East Ward regarding the wildlife conflict management in the ward

- 1) What were the triggering events that brought this conflict into the fore in your ward?
- 2) What are the conflict management strategies in place in Watershed East ward?
- 3) Who were the participants in the formulation of the current conflict management strategies being used in Watershed East ward?

4.a) How best can you describe your relations with the following stakeholders? Please use the following categories.

stakeholder	v. poor	poor	fair	good	excellent
ZRP					
PWMA					
RDC					
Imire s. ranch					
local community					

- 5) If there is any dialogue, is it timed and if it is, how often is it carried out?
- 6.a) What do you think of the current conflict management's effectiveness?

Very good	Good	Fair	Bad	Very bad

- b) Please explain why you have chosen that response in question number 5
- 7.a) What is the current status of the conflict situation?

Getting worse	Improving	Static

- b) Why do you say so?
- 8) What options for managing the conflict have you explored at the ward level?
- 9.a) Do you think it's appropriate for cultural cites within Imire Safari Ranch to be used for cultural tourism?

Yes	No

- b) Why do you say so?
- 10.a) Have any efforts been made at the ward level to honour the Svosve peoples claim that some of their chiefs and important ancestral graves are within Imire Safari Ranch?

Yes	No

- b) If yes, what are these efforts and if no, what has been the stumbling block?
- What other ideas do you wish to put forward to enhance the effectiveness of conflict management Watershed East Ward?

# Key informant interview with the Mashonaland East acting provincial warden of the Parks and Wildlife Management Authority on the wildlife conflict between Imire Safari Ranch and the surrounding community

- 1) What has been your role as an Authority in charge of the parks and wildlife estate with regards to managing the poaching activities at Imire safari ranch over the past years?
- 2.a) How best can you describe your relations with the following stakeholders? Please use the following categories.

stakeholder	v. poor	poor	fair	good	excellent
ZRP					
Councillor					
RDC					
Imire s. ranch					
local community					

3.a) What do you think of the way the current conflict is being managed?

Very good	Good	Fair	Bad	Very bad

- b) Please explain why you have chosen that response in question number 3
- 4.a) Does the Parks and Wildlife Management Authority have specific recommendations or steps that have to be followed in conflict management between protected areas and surrounding communities?
- b) If yes what are they and if no why not?
- 5.a) Have any efforts been made at the provincial level to honour the Svosve peoples claim that some of their chiefs and important ancestral graves are within Imire Safari Ranch?

Yes	No

- b) If yes, what are these efforts and if no, what has been the stumbling block?
- 6) What other ideas does the Parks and Wildlife Management Authority put forward to enhance the effectiveness of conflict management Watershed East Ward?

# Key informant interview held with the Hwedza District natural resources officer concerning the wildlife conflict management in Watershed East Ward

- 1) To the RDC, what is the background to the current scenario in Watershed East Ward?
- 2) What has been the role of the RDC in the elimination of poaching activities in the district?
- 3) What problems has the council faced over the years in conducting its activities with regards to wildlife conflict management in the district?
- 4.a) How best can you describe your relations with the following stakeholders? Please use the following categories.

stakeholder	v. poor	poor	fair	good	excellent
ZRP					
PWMA					
Councillor					
Imire s. ranch					
local community					

5.a) What do you think of the current conflict management strategies are effective?

Very good	Good	Fair	Not effective	Effective

- b) Please explain why you have chosen that response in question number
- 6) Does the Hwedza Rural District Council have any of the following regarding conflicts over protected resources on private farms and ranches?

	Yes	No
Regulations	[]	[]
By-laws	[]	[]
Conflict management committee	[]	[]

7.a) Have any attempts been made to explore and manage the conflict at the district level?

Yes	No

- b) If yes what are they and if no why not?
- 8.a) Have any efforts been made at the district level to honour the Svosve peoples claim that some of their chiefs and important ancestral graves are within Imire Safari Ranch?

Yes	No		

- b) If yes, what are these efforts and if no, what has been the stumbling block?
- 9) What other ideas does the RDC put forward to enhance the effectiveness of conflict management Watershed East Ward?

# Key informant interview carried out with a representative of the Zimbabwe Republic Police Hwedza District

- 1) To the ZRP, what is the background to the current scenario in Watershed East ward?
- 2) What has been the role of the ZRP in the elimination of poaching activities in the district?
- 3) What problems has the ZRP faced over the years in conducting its activities with regards to wildlife conflict management in the district?
- 4) How best can you describe your relations with the following stakeholders? Please use the following categories.

stakeholder	v. poor	poor	fair	good	excellent
RDC					
PWMA					
Councillor					
Imire s. ranch					
local community					

5.a) What do you think of the current conflict management strategies are effective?

Very good	Good	Fair	Not effective

- b) Please explain why you have chosen that response in question number 5.a.
- 6) What other ideas can the ZRP put forward to enhance the effectiveness of conflict management Watershed East Ward?



