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The Political and Socio-Economic Dynamics
of Natural Resource Management:
The Communal Areas Management Programme
For Indigenous Resources (CAMPFIRE)
in Chapoto Ward 1989-1990

By

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The opinions expressed herein are those of the author and do not necessarily reflect the views of CASS or IUCN.

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Resource Base and Population Diversity

Chapoto Ward, also known as Kanyemba, is a 300 square kilometre area remotely situated in the north of Zimbabwe's Zambezi valley. It is surrounded on two sides by the Chewore and Dande safari areas. It falls under Guruve district, but it is a four to five hour journey on dirt road from the ward to the district local government headquarters.

In so far as the CAMPFIRE programme is concerned, Chapoto ward differs from Kanyurira¹ in crucial aspects. Firstly, it is smaller than Kanyurira, the latter being 400 square kilometres. Chapoto ward has a larger population (over 1,300) and this is increasing, as there has been a recent influx of people from Angwa bridge area (Chisunga ward), whereas Kanyurira has been enumerated at 482 residents (Cutshall 1989). This has important implications in terms of identifying a communal resource area² and in terms of community development projects or a per capita distribution of wildlife revenues, if this should take place. Under present circumstances, in which revenues are solely accrued from safari operations, significantly more people may have to share less resources in Chapoto. In 1990 revenue accruing from safari operations in Kanyurira ward amounted to \$74,190 (\$47,000 in 1989) whilst Chapoto ward accrued only \$24,075 (\$53,000 in 1989). The 1990 figure does not, however, include revenues from the Dande safari area.

The hunting concession area of which Chapoto ward forms a part is that portion of land north of the Angwa river and south of the Zambezi, including the Dande safari area. The ward itself forms approximately 19% of the total concession area in terms of hunting quotas and during the 1989 season a total of 28 animals were shot in the ward (Buchan 1989, 18). The revenue from these accruing from trophy fees is estimated at Z\$19,380. During the 1990 season, according to District Council records, ten animals were shot by the safari operator, including two elephants (\$24,075).

However, according to the CAMPFIRE document "a community sharing a common boundary with a national park, safari area or state forest would receive a portion of the income from that area" (p. 47). Since the Dande safari area falls into the concession and the District Council accrue revenues

¹ Kanyurira ward is also in Guruve District, and is mentioned because the CAMPFIRE programme there has been relatively active, involving the community in drawing up and agreeing upon a land use plan which involves the electrical fencing of agricultural areas. The ward has also made decisions upon the distribution of revenues from the District Council safari operation there. This included a decision to distribute a \$200 household dividend from the 1989 revenues.

² This is a component of the CAMPFIRE programme in Kanyurira ward.

from that source, a portion of these revenues should also accrue to the Chapoto ward.³

Unlike Kanyurira ward, which is relatively ethnically homogeneous, Chapoto ward is a heterogeneous community composed mainly of a VaChiKunda population that inhabits (mainly) the eastern bank of the Mwanzamutanda river and a VaDema or Dema (Doma) population that inhabits (mainly) the western side of the river. The population is distributed in clusters of households covering either side of the river over a distance of fifteen to twenty kilometres up from the confluence of the Mwanzamutanda and Zambezi rivers. The majority of the population cultivates the rich alluvium terraces on the eastern side of the lower reaches of the Mwanzamutanda, but the bulk of the available cultivable land is on the western bank of the river. This is also the area where the majority of animals are found. Cultivation is conducted on both the upper terraces (**munda** cultivation) and the lowest terrace, if not in the riverbed itself (**dimba/dowe** cultivation). The river bank gardens are very important because they provide people with lush garden crops in the heat of the dry season.

The VaDema population are popularly thought of as being hunter-gatherers, but in fact they have pursued many strategies to maintain life in the sometimes hostile environmental conditions of the valley. These include: shifting cultivation, dimba cultivation, gathering, hunting, fishing, working for food (usually a bowl of maize meal a day) in the fields of the VaChiKunda, other employment (e.g., mining), exchange of both goods and services including honey, metalwork, pottery, brick-making and others. The range of their activities has been greatly reduced since tighter controls have been placed on their movements through the Chewore safari area by anti-poaching units associated with the rhino conservation programme and the anti-poaching activities of safari operators. Furthermore, the agricultural bias exhibited in Zimbabwean society, and the efforts of the state and churches to include them in an alleged development process, has not always worked in their favour. Essentially they have been deprived of their land (largely now the Chewore Safari Area) and their former means of livelihood in the cause of wildlife management.

The VaChiKunda population are also historically hunters, and it is said that Kanyemba, a prominent VaChiKunda warlord towards the end of the last century, was attracted to the area from his home in Mozambique, amongst other things, because of the ivory resource. Today, however, both the VaChiKunda and the VaDema state that wildlife is purely a liability, as they have to spend long hours both day and night, often unsuccessfully, protecting

³ Starting in the 1991 season, the District Council will have to lease the Dande safari area for a nominal fee from National Parks. The status of this safari area, which was formerly a part of the Dande Tribal Trust area is somewhat anomalous. Having been gazetted as part of the Wildlife estate, there is a legal impediment to it being used for the generation of revenues directly by the District Council. Before the notification of appropriate authority, revenues from this area went directly to treasury and then proposals for projects by the District Council could be submitted. The lease arrangement appears to have been introduced in order to overcome this technicality and more importantly to maintain a subtle measure of control over what happens in the area.

their fields from crop-raiding animals, particularly buffalo and elephant. It is these animals that are the calling cards for the safari operator's clients and the tourists. The protection of fields from crop-raiding animals often involves the seasonal movement of one's house from dimba to munda. Sometimes a division of labour takes place within the family with some members staying home to protect chickens and small livestock from predators such as leopard, whilst others sleep with one eye open in the fields. A growing number of the VaChiKunda population have since 1984 introduced cotton growing as a cash crop⁴. This provides funds for agricultural implements, school fees, clothes, emergency expenses, bus fares, etc., whilst the maize crop provides them with a staple. The river bank dry season cultivation provides them with maize, vegetables, groundnuts, bananas and other foods.

There are three Village Development Committees (VIDCOs): two on the eastern side and one, more recently formed, on the western side of the river. There is a qualitative and quantitative difference between the life-styles on the east and west banks of the river. The development apparatus in the ward largely exists on the eastern bank. There are no roads, buildings, boreholes, schools, clinics, stores or other developments on the western bank. VaDema live largely in makeshift grass enclosures, or on covered platforms above the height of most wild animals, though they also have makeshift structures in their fields.

The Status of CAMPFIRE in the Ward

The state of the CAMPFIRE programme in the ward during 1989 and the most part of 1990 was really in its incipience, if one can allege that it existed at all. There are a number of reasons for this and I will attempt to outline these below.

District Council Activities and Perspectives

Firstly, the District Council which was notified of the attainment of appropriate authority status in November 1988 (this is not yet gazetted) for managing wildlife - on the condition that it further decentralises benefits and decision making from the district to the ward level - had not actively been involved in this decentralisation process at the ward level during 1989 and 1990. Unlike Kanyurira ward, where the safari operator was employed by the council as part of a management programme, in Chapoto ward the safari operator signed a concession agreement with the District Council. Essentially, the safari operator in this ward was running an autonomous business, and did not need to be concerned about CAMPFIRE except in so far as it impinged on his business, within the time-period allocated for the concession (currently two years). Though Z\$168,600 were handed over to the District Council from the 1989 revenues accruing from the concession, local people claimed (as late as September 1990) that they had not received any of this amount.

⁴ Barring a few isolated exceptions, the VaDema have not attempted to grow cotton.

The CAMPFIRE programme is based on the idea that the wards **will be** actively involved in making decisions on their own resources for their own benefit. Though the District Council, in its 1989 annual financial report, claimed that Z\$53,012 was distributed for the building of Chapoto school, local people including school authorities, believed (September 1990) the new school blocks to have been financed from other sources⁵, and asked why they were not consulted in making decisions about how their revenues from wildlife are alleged to have been spent. The first incidence of knowledge of benefits from wildlife revenues occurred December 1990, more than two years after the notification of appropriate authority status. Selected leaders of the community knew that building materials had been funded by wildlife revenues. However, the decision to spend money on this was not a broadly based and widely discussed ward decision. Some local leaders indicated that it was for the best if the issue of what to spend the funds on was not debated widely in the ward, as this would create differences of opinion on how to spend the funds.

Such notions support sentiments at the District level as evidenced in the agenda of the District Wildlife Committee held at the end of the 1990 hunting season. This meeting included an item, which suggested that decision making on expenditure of funds from wildlife revenues, together with bookkeeping should be centralised at the district level, as these funds had to be passed through the District Council books. An associated item suggested that dividends to individual households such as the one that had occurred in Kanyurira in 1989 was frowned on by a deputy secretary in local Government and therefore should not be an option in the future. These notions together with the inactivity at the ward level buttress a tendency to control and centralise decision making and finance at the district level.

This tendency is in direct contrast to the aims and objectives of the CAMPFIRE programme. CAMPFIRE cannot be said to be proceeding if local people are not actively participating in it. The local perception of District Council and local government is a poor one. One outspoken person said that there will only be development if the District Council is not involved in the programme. Despite the problems posed by the perceived build up of vested interests in the wildlife resource at the District Level, it must be pointed out that such interests are not in themselves counter productive. To some extent the programme relies on such vested interests developing at all levels; however what could be a considerable danger is if the build up of vested interest at the district level prevents the development of similar interest at the ward level. The aim of the programme is that such vested interest should develop amongst the smallest accountable units (the household?). This means that even once such vested interests develop at ward level amongst Chiefs, Councillors and Wildlife Committee members, if these individuals only represent the interests of the rural elite this may make the CAMPFIRE programme a bone of contention rather than a means of enhancing the quality of life at the household level.

⁵ The Ministry of Education's disadvantaged school vote.

In defence of the District Council and Local Government authorities, it must be added that a District Wildlife Committee meeting and workshop organised by these officials was held in Chapoto ward in February 1991. Having such meetings in the producer wards in the valley rather than up on the escarpment is a very positive step in the desired direction.

Potential for Joint Ventures

Unlike many other wards, Chapoto ward has a section of Zambezi river frontage and there are proposals and ideas in the offing concerning the high potential for tourism, crocodile farms and fishing. Local reports indicate that there has been some private sector interest in establishing a crocodile farm, a possible hotel and/or chalets possibly in conjunction with access to the concession area. All such schemes have involved negotiations with the District Council and Local Government authorities. Little is known about such matters at the local level at this stage, but on one occasion the councillor was involved in negotiations involving a possible lease of a portion of the ward. Such private enterprise and joint ventures involving local resources need to be carefully monitored so that local interests are not overlooked. The councillor, in my opinion, should not be expected to handle such matters without the formal in-puts of the assisting agencies. This leads to the next stumbling block in implementing the CAMPFIRE programme, which is the institutional capacity at the ward level.

Ward Institutional Capacity

The ward institutional capacity to deal with these issues is not adequate. The position of ward councillor, a central figure in communication between the district and ward levels has in the case of Chapoto ward, changed hands relatively frequently; often as a result of micro-political rivalries associated with the conflict between the colonial/"traditional" authority and power of the chief and the more democratic forces represented by the VIDCOs and the ward councillor. These conflicts are vividly symbolized in Chapoto ward in the geographical positions of the two segments of the existing school which are an hours walk from each other; one being at the chief's residence (the old school) and the other being at the "new site" where the bulk of the VaChiKunda population live, and which is also situated in the geographical centre of the area of habitation. The present councillor is in his early to mid-twenties and has some high school education. He was elected District Wildlife Committee Chairman at the end of 1990, and is therefore currently well placed to advocate for his ward.

Mode of Inception

Though the CAMPFIRE programme is an attempt to move away from top-down development programmes, the way it was introduced in the Chapoto ward was exactly that. In mid-1989 the district chairman announced unexpectedly that people should form a wildlife committee. At a meeting that was not particularly well attended the initial ward wildlife committee was elected. All of the members of this committee, except the secretary and one other member, are functionally illiterate and none of them could explain why

they had been elected or what their job would be. They are all related to each other as affines, and all of them live on the eastern bank of the Mwanzamutanda river except for one member who is one of three families of VaChiKunda who live on the western bank. They are all considered VaChiKunda as opposed to VaDema. The chairman of the wildlife committee is an important figure in the community because he is a grandson of Kanyemba, a founding ancestor of the VaChiKunda. The chairman also has a prominent position in the spiritual affairs of those people who believe in the importance of the spirit medium, a woman who is looked after by this individual. The spirit medium has an important potential role to play in the management of wildlife resources in the ward, as the spirit is perceived as having control and influence over these resources.⁶ The committee therefore represented a set of vested interests amongst one portion of the population and was not representative of the diversity within the ward. Almost a third of the population, the VaDema, who live on the western bank, were not represented. At one time a member of the VaDema was elected on to this committee but the individual was not made aware of the significance of his role, or the necessity for him to attend the few meetings that took place.

As has been pointed out, the committee had very little idea why it was appointed and what its duties were to be; the majority of its members showed little or no interest in attending meetings or in contributing to the deliberations in the ward on wildlife resource management. Approximately a year after this initial committee was elected a new committee was formed, with nominations from the councillor and one from myself (a research assistant). The formation of the new committee, coincided with two brief visits that ZimTrust personnel made to identify training needs. It was promised, by ZimTrust and National Parks personnel, that a workshop or training seminar would be held for the Chapoto committee and this was held in October, 1990. At this workshop members of the committee were encouraged to mobilize support for the project at ward level, however, I was informed by a reliable source that the impact of the workshop did not go beyond the committee members that attended it. No follow up meetings were held in the ward.

The new committee has similar problems of representation to the initial committee. Most of the members are associated with the VaChiKunda segment of the ward and no-one represents the interests of the VaDema segment. Furthermore, all of the members of the new committee live on the eastern side of the Mwanzamutanda river, except for one member who is a new immigrant from Angwa bridge. Though new to the ward he is the only one of the seven member committee who represents the interests of those people living on the western side of this river, where most of the animal activity is found.

⁶ There is much ambiguity here in that this can be seen to conflict with the law of Zimbabwe, in that wildlife is controlled by the Minister in charge of Natural Resources, the Department of National Parks and Wildlife Management and other "appropriate authorities".

Committee Perceptions of Campfire

The two original members of the wildlife committee who have played a more active role from the outset are the chairman and the secretary, but they are still not sure what is exactly expected of them and tend to see their role in terms of problem animal control (P.A.C.) and the management and sale of meat that accrues from P.A.C. and safari activities in the ward. The meat is tangible, whereas trophy revenues from safari operations are not. They are reluctant to take on the important role they need to play in advocating their rights under the CAMPFIRE programme. In general, there is a feeling of powerlessness in the face of what is perceived to be monolithic and sometimes whimsical officialdom, the expression of powers a long way off up on the escarpment.⁷ In this regard, the councillor is better equipped to inquire what has happened to the funds from trophy fees which the ward should have at their disposal and over which they should be able to make decisions. As has been pointed out, he was recently nominated by the Council chairman, and duly elected as chairman of the District Wildlife Committee. This places him in a good position to advocate for his ward, but it may also effectively disarm him as he will have to give much of his attention to matters outside the ward.⁸ The central problem seems to be how does one persistently pursue the interests of one's own ward when one has to tread carefully in order not to invoke the anger or displeasure of senior officials or other ward councillors who may have quite different vested interests in the resource? There are other better-educated people in the ward, such as the teachers, the headmaster and the nurse. These individuals are potentially very important in giving support and advice to the semi-illiterate leaders of the committee and to the councillor. It might be a good idea to elect some of these members to the committee, as some of them would be more effective.

Relationship with Local Safari Operator

Another obstacle in the programme is that the relationship between the safari operator and the various groups in the ward is not good. This is mainly because the safari operator's anti-poaching activities in the ward have led to conflict and to the arrest and harassment of local people.⁹ Furthermore, when

⁷ The incident narrated in the agenda of the District Wildlife Committee concerning the power of the opinion of a deputy secretary in the Ministry of Local Government aptly illustrates the point that this monolithic and whimsical quality of power may be invoked by less exalted officials for their own ends (see above p)

⁸ As late as January 1991, the ward councillor and chairman of the District Wildlife Committee could not account for the \$53,000 that Chapoto ward was supposed to receive from 1989 revenues.

⁹ Safari operator personnel conducting anti-poaching activities at the end of the 1990 season are reported as having beaten members of the VaDema community in an attempt to obtain confessions concerning snares found where individuals happened to be walking on the day when such activities were being carried out. In one case, the headman of the VaDema, Mr Chiyambo who has a record of illegal hunting, was beaten for snares that he claimed did not belong to him. He was allegedly assaulted by two members of the safari anti-poaching unit, before being taken to the police station where he was arrested and sent up to Gurube. However, in Gurube he explained his innocence and the police sent him back to his home without his having appeared before a magistrate.

the safari operator kills large game within the ward, conflict has arisen over the ownership and distribution of the meat. It is clear that the safari operator regards officials of the District Council and administration as being the only significant actors or institutions that have to be dealt with in order to secure the concession. However, under the CAMPFIRE programme the local people ideally become the custodians of their own resource and therefore the safari operator should ideally have good relationships with them. This would be beneficial for him since his workers often rely on information as to the whereabouts of animals and other services such as helping to push vehicles out of river beds, are dependent on the co-operation of local people. If, and when, the community gets more voice through CAMPFIRE, they may acquire more influence on who is granted the concession.

Land Use Planning

Additional problems in Chapoto ward are posed by the question of land use planning. Deliberations took place on this issue after the Kanyurira wildlife committee visited the ward following the first household distribution of funds to that ward in 1989. Their committee explained how the community had decided to allocate land for a wildlife resource area, and how NGOs were in the process of helping them finance the erection of a fence for their agricultural areas. There is no firm consensus in connection with the possible location of a proposed electric fence in Chapoto ward. When these matters were discussed at VIDCO and ward level, some people initially proposed that such a fence should go around the entire parameters of the ward and that all the animals be killed within the ward. This effectively defeated the rationale of the fence, which was to establish a wildlife resource area, and to protect the agriculturally productive areas from crop-raiding animals. Other suggestions were equally unacceptable. It was suggested that the entire western part of the Mwanzanutanda river be used as a wildlife resource area and that the VaDema people living there be resettled on more marginal land next to the VaChiKunda. The entire eastern bank would therefore be fenced. This idea was rejected by the majority of both VaChiKunda and VaDema. Essentially, if this happened it would increase competition over limited fertile land on the eastern bank. Furthermore, it could effectively marginalize and further impoverish the VaDema population by making their present limited resources less accessible to them, as access to the proposed wildlife resource area is planned to be monitored by the community, which might make gathering and other activities more difficult for VaDema. The option of the VaDema themselves doing this monitoring was not discussed.¹⁰ Furthermore, the site suggested for the resettlement (near the southern airstrip) was not on the

(9 Cont....) The safari anti-poaching unit is supposed to have a member of the National Parks staff present when it conducts anti-poaching activities, but this was not the case on this occasion. Mr Chiyambo is an elderly undernourished person who was not aware of his rights in law. Both the white hunter and his local Chikunda assistant are young, healthy and well fed on meat from local wildlife resources. Mr Chiyambo did not formally report the assault.

¹⁰ An innovative and exciting idea that might be discussed more thoroughly is that the VaDema be given access to the Chewore (their erstwhile home) in exchange for monitoring and providing information on the activities of international poachers threatening big game in these areas.

fertile alluvium soils along the river itself. To make up for these losses VaDema fear that they will simply end up working in the fields of the VaChiKunda. Another problem was that unless countless gates were put in place, the fence would effectively cut off people from their dimbas, which provide them with their life-saving dry season crops. After further deliberations I established that people would be in favour of a fence that encircled the entire area of habitation on both sides of the river, as long as many gates were put in place. This would be an extremely long and expensive fence. Since these deliberations people have basically adopted a wait-and-see strategy as far as CAMPFIRE is concerned. Before committing themselves to a land use plan they sensibly want to see if CAMPFIRE will bring any benefits to them at all, as some people feel they are being purposely excluded by the District Council and Local Government authorities.

Lack of Participation in the Identification of Community Projects, and Different Values Attached to Such Projects

CAMPFIRE has been used in Kanyurira as a vehicle to build community projects such as the school. These projects have helped in changing attitudes towards wildlife, which was formerly grossly regarded as a liability. Unlike Kanyurira, consensus on similar projects in Chapoto is hard to come by. One problem is that many VaDema have a low standing in the community and are not actively involved in decision-making at the ward level. There are some more marginal VaDema families whose children are malnourished. (The local nurse estimates that approximately forty percent of people in the ward are malnourished). Often these same families are blamed for setting dreaded snares, poisoning fish in nearby pools, or apprehended by game scouts for entering the Chewore safari area where they go to collect Mpama (a tuber), clay for making pots, honey and other activities. These families do not benefit from community development projects to the same extent as the more affluent members of the community. Very simply if one cannot feed or clothe one's own child, sending that child to school is not a priority. Similarly, if one does not have faith in western medicine, and has a number of herbal specialists who one believes are more efficacious, building a new clinic, a goal of many of the VaChiKunda, is not such a pressing issue. These families live ten to fifteen kilometres away from the new school site. They are largely hidden away from the state, and when the idea of putting up a fence was discussed amongst them, it emerged that one of the fears was that they would be effectively placed in a "protected village" or "keep". These were formerly used by the Rhodesian forces in an attempt to prevent guerrillas from having contact with local people. The VaDema resisted being put into such keeps by disappearing into the hills of the Chewore, where they stayed until the war was over. A spokesman for the VaDema also informed me that if they were forced to move across the river or into a consolidated village, as some government officials have suggested they would disappear into the hills again. Many VaDema have claimed that in the past when they had access to forage in the Chewore, they had access to plenty of food.

Differential Access to Resources

Illustrative of the differential access that the eastern and western sides of the river have to available resources is the World Vision tractor service. This is an important service as there are no cattle in the ward because of the presence of tsetse fly. Until August 1989 a free tractor service was provided by World Vision. In 1989 the tractor did not cross the dry Mwanzanutanda riverbed. According to a VaDema informant this was because there was sufficient unfinished work to be done on the eastern bank, which is the socially and politically more influential part of the ward. People in authority there advised the tractor driver not to cross the river. Furthermore, some people who are engaging in shifting cultivation on the western bank do not stump their fields, and therefore a tractor is not of much use to them. After August a tractor was donated by World Vision to the ward and it was agreed that Z\$30 would be asked for ploughing up an acre.¹¹ A problem with this is that those VaDema and others who are not actively involved in the cash economy will find it difficult to raise this money. The point is that what is beneficial to some people in the ward may have very different implications for others. This differential impact is often ignored.

Other resources from Church groups that were targeted for the VaDema have ended up in VaChiKunda hands. There is a popular misconception amongst some Zimbabweans that everyone from Kanyemba is (derogatively) a VaDema. Ironically, this has sometimes worked out to be immediately beneficial for the VaChiKunda. In one incident, the Faith Apostolic Mission had attempted to hand out food and clothing to the VaDema. This created a number of bones of contention in the ward and upset the political and economic dynamics at the local level. There is not space here to go into detail on this but the point is that CAMPFIRE can learn from these mistakes.

Other Vested Interests at the Local Level

Conflicting vested interests do not only exist between these two groups. There are important vested interests between various segments within both groups. Firstly, clusters of households, which are usually centred around significant brothers, brothers-in-law, and fathers-in-law are essentially competing with other clusters of households for limited resources, including agricultural practice, dimba cultivation, hunting, collecting, etc. Within the household and within the loose clusters of affinal and consanguine kin there is a general co-operative notion, but this does not extend to everyone. Hunting, for instance, is a secret activity conducted with and for close relatives and close neighbours, and hidden from others.

Within the VaChiKunda segment there are conflicting vested interests, which coincide with competing forms of spirit possession. These interests are reflected in the make-up of committees and have posed obstacles to development in the past. The Faith Apostolic Mission Church condemns the spirit possession that takes place in the shrine for the spirit medium, and

¹¹ Zimbabwe has more than doubled the price of fuel since the ward decided on these figures.

claims that its own brand of possession is the appropriate one. Conflicts between the leaders of this church and believers in the spirit medium emerged in the past over the wrangle for the resources available to the Faith Apostolic Church (targeted for the VaDema). This has influenced specific World Vision development projects, and the reason I mention it here is because if the institution of the spirit medium becomes more actively involved in the course of the CAMPFIRE programme, as appears to be the case in Kanyurira¹², it may have unknown consequences in terms of these vested interests. It is likely that the spirit medium will play an active role (if CAMPFIRE takes off at all in this ward) as the chairman of the wildlife committee is very influential in spiritual matters.

The conflict between chiefly authority and the system of VIDCOs has already been mentioned. There is also a historical conflict over the contestability of the chieftainship, which is likely to be an important factor in the ward as the present chief is very old. Essentially, it is a conflict over an alleged usurpation of the chieftainship, which has its roots around the turn of the century. It is alleged that Kanyemba was tricked out of acquiring the chieftainship through the machinations of his brother's son (Chapoto 1). His nephew was appointed chief by the colonial authorities and his descendants have maintained control of the office to this day. Some of the descendants of Kanyemba believe that the chieftainship should belong to their line of descent.

Agency Activity

The NGOs associated with the CAMPFIRE programme, namely the Centre for Applied Social Science (CASS) at the University of Zimbabwe, ZimTrust and the World Wide Fund for Nature (WWF) have all had impacts on the ward. CASS has conducted a total of three studies in the area since 1988. This included an initial socio-economic profile (Nhira 1989), a baseline survey of community households (Cutshall 1989), and an in-depth anthropological study (Hasler, *forthcoming*) being presently undertaken by the writer. WWF has conducted a useful ecological resource survey of the ward (Buchan 1989). ZimTrust has recently sent down representatives on two exploratory missions to determine training needs and have since conducted a workshop for wildlife committee members (October 1990) together with National Parks staff. It appears that they have been held up on the implementation of the programme at the district level. Natural resource officers and staff from the Department of National Parks have visited the ward with District Council staff and meetings have been held and procedures explained concerning Problem Animal Control and the CAMPFIRE programme. But the details and problems have not been spelt out and some of the most important issues have been glossed over.¹³ In addition, at a District Wildlife Committee meeting held at Mashumbi

¹² The spirit medium in Kanyurira is reported as having said "cattle are rubbish" (personal communication, Murphree).

¹³ An important issue glossed over in Chapoto ward is that local people tend to see CAMPFIRE in terms of problem animal control and the sale of meat from such animals. The issue of receiving revenue from safari operations tends to be swept under the table. Local people have been led to believe that this is because of the safari operator himself. Many people believe (wrongly) that if they were able to get rid of the present safari operator then they would be able to benefit from CAMPFIRE.

Pools the distribution of the 1989 funds from the concession area was explained. Members from the ward were not outspoken at this meeting. However, at a recent meeting (Sept. 1990) with National Parks staff and ZimTrust, members of the ward made it clear that they want to know what has happened to the 1989 revenues¹⁴ from the safari operation, and stated that the Chapoto school had not been built by wildlife revenues as implied in the District Council financial report. However, neither of these implementing institutions could solve this issue. The raising of these questions at ward level marks a change of attitude, (coinciding with the election of the new committee) which I believe is encouraged by communication between the ward and the implementing agents. Much closer communication is required between the implementing agencies and the ward if CAMPFIRE is to develop in Chapoto ward. All the other parties involved in the programme (including the Safari operator and the District Council and administration) also need to attend ward meetings or workshops organized to facilitate communication and discussion. At present because of the anomalies on the distribution of funds there is no open discussion between all the actors, and some feel they have to cover for others. The safari operator for instance does not feel happy about open discussion with the ward because he fears that he may jeopardize his relationship with District Council, thereby making it more difficult for him to secure the concession. The writer, during the year that he has been visiting the community on extensive field trips, has engaged the various local actors in debates about these issues. An important factor is that many promises of development have been made by outside institutions but seldom has any action taken place. Many people are disheartened by this.

Recommendations

Future proposed training seminars or workshops conducted by National Parks and ZimTrust personnel could go a long way to rectify some of these issues. The committee needs to be empowered not only through a knowledge of the mechanisms through which CAMPFIRE can work, but also through active engagement with the other parties and organizations involved.

Improve District Council and Implementing Agencies Linkages with Local Institutions

It is not right to hinge the entire hope or disappointment on the ability of the councillor to advocate for his ward with these dispersed parties. The office of councillor in the case of Chapoto ward has to date been a weak link in the CAMPFIRE strategy. The committee needs to support and buttress (empower) the councillor, in turn the community needs to buttress and support their committee. One way of achieving this is through regular meetings and workshops involving community leaders, (including the chief, who seldom or

¹⁴ During the District Wildlife Committee meeting workshop held in February, 1991, it was suggested by officials that a previous Councillor of Chapoto ward had made the decision that 1989 wildlife revenues should go towards providing materials for the building of Chapoto school. It was also stated that no balance existed at the council from these revenues.

never attends meetings at the new school site) teachers, nurse, VIDCO chairman and others. This is only likely to happen if a catalyst is provided by outsiders. Such a catalyst might be provided by a workshop or series of workshops similar to that one held in the ward in February 1991. Such a workshop should ideally also be held in the ward, and it is recommended that the venue should be the new school site rather than the District Administrator's camp. The meeting would be open to all interested ward residents. It should be attended by the district administrator, the District Council chairman, the chief executive officer, other ward councillors from lower Guruve and possibly wildlife committee chairmen, the safari operator, officers from the Department of National Parks, and representatives from ZimTrust, CASS and WWF who have been, or will be involved in the ward. The agenda for such a meeting might include the mechanisms for implementing CAMPFIRE in Chapoto ward and the obstacles that each party feels need to be discussed. This initial workshop should be followed by regular meetings at the ward level to follow it up. These need not be attended by all those mentioned above but ZimTrust, National Parks and CASS personnel should maintain regular contact with the ward.

Training at Ward Level

In addition to the usual training necessary in bookkeeping, accounts, institutional arrangements, rationale, P.A.C., anti-poaching etc., much discussion should be held concerning the specific socio-economic conditions in Chapoto ward. An awareness of the need to include the VaDema population in deliberations must be fostered as this omission may simply lead to further conflict of interests. In addition, other vested interests at the local level need to be incorporated. Specifically the chief or his representatives should be encouraged to participate.

Most importantly, the committee has to be trained how to advocate for their ward at District level, so that those revenues which are owed to the ward are properly accounted for, and so that ward interests in terms of possible joint ventures are not overlooked. (See above).

Conclusion

In conclusion, there are a number of factors which have mitigated against the CAMPFIRE programme in Chapoto ward in the 1989 and 1990 hunting seasons. What emerges, however, is the general question of accountability. Who is responsible for implementing CAMPFIRE on the ground? The first step, in my opinion, is for District Council and Local Government authorities to be actively involved in supporting the decentralization of decision making and control of finance at ward level. Issues concerning the money from the 1989 and 1990 revenues available from wildlife resources in the ward should be openly and frankly discussed. These should be widely publicized and discussed at Ward and District level and not swept under the table or glossed

over.¹⁵ These issues can be pointed out by NGOs but only the District Council can hand over the money. Funds could possibly be placed in a ward account at the Guruve post office. Once this is done, the next step is to engage a revitalized and representative wildlife committee in the active management and decision-making concerning the resources, which can bring the ward revenues. If the District Council does not devolve benefits to the local level because they do not believe the institutional capacity exists, they cannot simultaneously expect local people to exhibit organizational mechanisms to deal with distribution, decision-making, etc., in a vacuum. CAMPFIRE must start somewhere, and it is the District Council which must throw the ball into play. This might be seen as a 'Catch Twenty-two' situation in the sense that vested interests in natural resources allying themselves with Council militate against the devolving of responsibility and benefits to the smallest accountable units. In fact if this devolution does not happen, the District Council's appropriate authority status may be revoked by the Department of National Parks and Wildlife Management. Essentially, a re-centralization (*pers com* Murombedzi) rather than a decentralization process will have taken place. This will leave local people in the unchanged situation where wildlife is an alienated resource, a threat to their agricultural practice and livestock, and a danger to their lives.¹⁶

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¹⁵ There is a need for the wider distribution of financial reports and minutes from the District wildlife committee at ward level.

¹⁶ At the time of writing (December 1990) a child was killed by a leopard, shortly before this incident a man died from snakebite. A few months before this a woman was seriously injured by a buffalo whilst collecting grass from the banks of the Mwanzanutanda river (see The Herald, 12 Sept 1990). In 1989, shortly before the writer entered the field a buffalo gored the incumbent spirit medium, who later died from his wounds.