

**THE IMPACT OF COMMERCIAL
FOREST AREAS ON NEARBY
RURAL COMMUNITIES IN THE
EASTERN HIGHLANDS OF
ZIMBABWE**

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Contents

v

	List of Tables	vi
	List of Abbreviations	vii
	Acknowledgments	viii
	Abstract	1
1	Introduction	1
	1.1 Background	1
	1.2 Problem Statement	2
	1.3 Study Purpose	3
	1.4 Objectives	4
	1.5 Hypothesis	4
	1.6 Study Significance	4
	1.7 Conceptual Framework	5
	1.8 Literature Review	6
	1.9 Methodology	9
2.	Natural Resources Management in Zimbabwe: General Background	14
	2.1 Existing Legislations	14
	2.2 Indigenous Control	19
	2.3 CBNRM and CAMPFIRE Programmes	20
3.	Socio-Economic Impacts of Forest Companies	23
	3.1 The Utilisation of Wood Waste	23
	3.2 Employment Opportunities	27
	3.3 Social Services	28
	3.4 Grazing	29
	3.5 Beekeeping/Honey Production	30
	3.6 Commodity Marketing	33
	3.7 Hunting/Poaching Activities	37
	3.8 Environmental Considerations	37
4.	Community Participation in Natural Resources Management	40
	4.1 Institutional Networks	40

4.2	Constraints Towards Effective Participation	49
5.	Discussion and Recommendations	54
	Conclusion	60
	Appendix 1: Field methodology matrix	62
	Appendix 2: Historical Trends: Nyahode Ward	63
	Appendix 3: Historical Trends: Nyakupinga	65
	References	67

List of Tables

Table 3:1	Utilisation of wood waste, by companies	23
Table 3:2	Utilisation of wood waste, by communities	24
Table 3:3	Distribution of Workers	27
Table 3:4	Honey production targets, by years	31
Table 4:1	Structure of Decentralised Administration in Zimbabwe	40

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CADEC:	Catholic Development Commission
CAMPFIRE:	Communal Areas Management Programme for Indigenous Resources
CBNRM:	Community Based Natural Resources Management
DDC:	District Development Committee
DNPWM:	Department of National Parks and Wildlife Management
DNR:	Department of Natural Resources
ESAP:	Economic Structural Adjustment Programme
FAO:	Food and Agricultural Organisation
ITDG:	Intermediate Technology Development Group
MDC:	Movement for Democratic Change
MET:	Ministry of Mines, Environment and Tourism
NRB:	Natural Resources Board
PDC:	Provincial Development Committee
PRA:	Participatory Rural Appraisal
RDC:	Rural District Council
TPA:	Timber Producers Association
VIDCO:	Village Development Committee
WADCO:	Ward Development Committee
ZANU PF:	Zimbabwe African National Union Patriotic Front

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THE IMPACT OF COMMERCIAL FOREST AREAS ON NEARBY RURAL COMMUNITIES IN THE EASTERN HIGHLANDS OF ZIMBABWE

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Abstract: The history of Zimbabwe is characterised by struggles for control and ownership of natural resources. This project keeps in line with recent approaches to development by analysing participatory decision-making relations that exist between forest companies and nearby communities. Emphasis is put on elucidating Community-Based Natural Resources Management (CBNRM) ideals and how these have been ingrained particularly in the Eastern Highlands, and in Zimbabwe in general. Putting the participatory theme to research and development into perspective, case a study method was anchored in qualitative methodology and based on ethnographic interviews and Participatory Rural Appraisals (PRAs). An argument that runs throughout this research project is that commercial forest companies must not merely target economic returns at the expense of community needs and priorities. Restricting the involvement of the rural poor in the management of resources tends to result in mismanagement of resources and escalation of conflicts. The findings of the present research more than corroborated the reality in this regard.

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

This research project evaluates the relationship between commercial forest areas dominated by three companies: Border Timbers, Forest Commission, and Wattle Company on the one hand, and the surrounding rural communities on the other. The timber industry in Zimbabwe is almost entirely based on timber plantation that comprises softwoods (pines) and hardwood (mainly eucalyptus). Plantations occupy about 0.02% of the total land area of Zimbabwe. The country's forest resources account for about 3% of the Gross Domestic Product (GoZ 1997). The majority of the plantations are in the Eastern Highlands which have favourable climatic conditions. The timber industry is the largest sector in Manicaland Province and employs more than 15 000 people (Johnstone 1998).

Perhaps the most interesting aspect of this project is its focus on the Eastern Highlands of Zimbabwe, which present a unique technical, political, economic, and environmental features suitable for the study of sustainable forest resources. The Eastern Highlands of Zimbabwe and Western Mozambique are endowed with a steep altitude and environmental gradient

in which diverse sets of tree species as well as a wide range of non-timber products (mushrooms, tubers, game and livestock rearing) thrive well. This diversity of forest related resources provides an array of income generating projects that can be tapped and/or adopted by the rural communities. This is important particularly to those household and community groups that have limited access to land holdings and need quick economic returns than do the huge commercial forest companies like Border Timbers and other sawmills.

1.2 Problem Statement

Generally speaking, timber plantation provides an important and profitable economic venue as long as it is based on rational exploitation of human and natural resources. However, this is not the case in many areas, and commercial forest companies have lagged behind in formulating effective policies that integrate surrounding communities and their access to resource and utilisation. The diversity of economic schemes in the target region also helped in testing alternate forms of land use. For example, land lease, usufruct rights, and collective resource management are all possible in the region. It was noted that an in-depth analysis on collective forest resources management helps in coming up with a viable alternative in the region.

Though a number of Community-Based Natural Resources Management (CBNRM) programmes have been going on in the region little has been done to document and disseminate valuable experiences from these programmes. One important observation is that resource management in many post-independence African countries had a colonial legacy that prioritised top-down decision-making. This practice has excluded the rural people's knowledge and initiatives in the management of water, land and forest resources. This is problematic, since any development programme based on marginalizing the rural poor will ultimately fail to achieve desirable results (World Bank 1996, 3).

Thus, CBNRM must be based on the perceptions and ideas of nearby communities so that they would be involved in harnessing natural resources for sustainable development. Since commercial forest areas are endowed with a rich array of resources, not merely related to timber alone, it is of critical importance to examine how and to what extent the commercial interests of companies are reconciled with community priorities and needs. People have the capability to harness assets such as natural, physical, social and financial resources to make a living. As such, a sustainable livelihood is generally based on utilising and enhancing available assets. Due to the importance of these assets in peoples' livelihood, opportunities in accessing and utilising them have been thinly spread. This situation is the foundation for the present unequal participation in the management of natural resources in which rural communities have been pushed aside by the pre-and post-independence governments of Zimbabwe.

However, it is essential to note that rural communities are not homogenous due to a nexus of social, economic and political factors. This has resulted in corollary and adverse inequality trends entrenched within rural communities. Social differentiation within communities, in turn, results in unequal acquisition and utilisation of natural resources. Similarly, it may also give rise to conflict and mismanagement of natural resource bases.

Furthermore, there is information gap on the resultant impact of commercial forest holdings on the capacity of rural communities to participate in and benefit from their geographical setting. Thus, besides exploring new perspectives on this issue, the study also collects data on community institutions, people's rights, access to and usage of natural resources. It is equally clear that the relationship that prevails between commercial forest areas and nearby communities cannot be advanced any farther without a systematic and detailed research analysing the experiences of the concerned parties at the local level. Thus, by purposely selecting the Eastern Highlands of Zimbabwe, this project seeks to contribute towards filling of this important gap in existing knowledge and practice in the area.

1.3 Study Purpose

1.3.1 Project Outputs

This research project helps to clarify and understand the interactions between sawmills/ forest estates and the system of rights (ownership, control and access) over resources, and their impacts on the environment and local community livelihoods. The recommendations will help for the development of policies that will have a win-win outcome for forest resources, estates and community livelihood security. At the same time, it will also be useful for implementers of local level projects. This includes technical and institutional options that can be implemented for rural communities in order for utilising wood waste and forest resources. However, while focusing on this, there still is a need to understand existing socio-economic, legislative and related aspects between estate companies and surrounding communities.

1.3.2 Expected Environmental Impacts

(1) Direct

The research project should lead to realising direct benefits for local environments by improving local peoples' understanding, and the agencies working directly with them, the factors affecting their ability to manage forest resources. There is also abundant evidence from field experience and academic research that security of land tenure positively affects the small food producers' initiative to investing in sustainable environmental and natural resource management.

(2) Indirect

The project provides policy recommendations that promote sustainable use of forest resources and wood waste; facilitates the evaluation and adaptability of community resource management systems and mechanisms, and enables more effective engagement with community institutions involved in forest management. It goes without saying that peaceful co-existence between the government, forest companies and rural communities helps in sustainable management of natural resources. By demonstrating this, the research project should lead to decreased soil degradation and erosion, reduced deforestation and limiting the impact of poaching. It should also promote community-based forestry related projects like the utilisation of wood waste for income generation.

1.4 Objectives

Generally, the main objective of this study is to elucidate the participation and livelihood options for people living closer to sawmills and forest plantations. The specific objectives are:

1. To find out how and to what extent commercial forest companies have benefited rural communities,
2. To assess the socio-economic characteristics of people and groups benefiting from natural resources,
3. To find out which participation is popular and is promoted in the management of resources,
4. To evaluate research findings in relation to current academic discussions on areas of forestry and natural resources management,
5. To provide policy recommendations that would help improve socio-economic development and relations between state, forest companies and rural communities.

1.5 Hypothesis

The main hypothetical assertion guiding this study is:

There are limited social and economic opportunities for rural people arising from forest resources.

1.6 Study Significance

The majority of rural small communities are dependent on natural resources for household food and income generation. Because of this, any declining of resource productivity becomes of primary importance for them. Little research has been conducted on the role of forest resources and management mechanisms under these changes. Interestingly, while much importance has been attached to community-based initiatives for successful

sustainable natural resource management, and legislation was enacted to promote this, minimum attention has yet been paid to the institutional links necessary to realise these policies across the Southern Africa Development Community (SADC) region (Quann 1997). There is a need to clarify the linkages that exist between key components such as land and forest resources, capacities of local institutions and efficiency of community participation in the management of resources.

There are various jurisdictions involved in the management of natural resources. For example, the Natural Resources Management Act, and Land Acquisition Act affect the utilisation of resources within forest areas in Zimbabwe. Generally, these acts seek to increase the participation of people in the management of natural resources, i.e. forest and land. In addition, the forest companies must adhere to the provisions of the Forest Stewardship Council (FSC) that seeks to promote sustainable utilisation of forest resources. However, it is important to know how and why some companies have been certified by FSC, while others are yet to be accredited.

It is hoped that this participatory, grassroots research offers an in-depth analysis of local realities and priorities. The findings will be used to inform policy makers about alternatives for institutional mechanisms promoting access and sustainable utilisation of forest resources in support of livelihoods. It can also be noted that resettlement schemes are current policy instruments for addressing land reform needs. But these policies fail to deal adequately with the impact of the breakdown of forest resource management, the consequent detrimental effects on natural resources and livelihoods.

Communication with forest companies and communities during the research project helped to obtain timely inputs on options for social and economic empowerment. The final output, particularly the the project report, should provide a useful framework for other forest communities facing similar trends.

1.7 Conceptual Framework

This study is heavily influenced by concepts related to Community-Based Natural Resources Management (CBNRM). CBNRM approaches to rural intervention are concepts mainly founded on a need to promote the participation and empowerment of communities in development. It has been argued that despite being unwilling agents and victims of environmental degradation, small-scale farmers have vested interests in natural resources as their livelihoods depend on their quality (Tobisson 1993).

CBNRM is theoretically driven by the idea that communities and community-based institutions can be effective and sustainable resource management entities (Murphree 1993). This idea is supported by the analysis of common property theorists who argue that sustainable use of the world's resources has historically been aided by the existence of common

property regimes which sanction rights of access, and exclusion of resources (Berkes 1989).

There are important studies that have been carried out that prioritise CBNRM as the most suitable concept in resource utilisation and conservation. Among some of the major works done in Zimbabwe, Hasler (1993) and Murombedzi (1992) argue that neither the state, the private sector nor the community can manage resources by themselves and for themselves. But a synergy of rights of access, a partnership of interests, a series of economic and political alliances are necessary. Therefore, it can be rightly pointed out that cooperation or co-management of forest resources must take place within and between various organisational and institutional levels.

Thus, CBNRM is a programme which seeks to devolve control of natural resources, including forestry activities, down to grassroots level and ensure that profits flow from natural resources and become properly managed. This is premised on the assumption that local communities can best manage their own natural resources and must be able to reap benefits from wildlife. This will be achieved through the provision of property rights to communities over natural resources at village, ward and districts levels.

However, while generally upholding CBNRM programmes, its weaknesses must also be put into perspective. The main weakness behind the concept of CBNRM is the assumption that communities are homogenous. It presumes that available resources could be shared equally among people. However, this is not the norm. Communities are engendered with aspects of differentiation in terms of resource acquisition and use. Thus, the well sounding concept of CBNRM might fail to empower them and instil popular participation within rural areas.

1.8 Literature Review

The links between sustainable natural resources management and the livelihoods of present and future generations of sub-Saharan Africa, in which the majority of people derive their livelihoods mainly from the rural economy are well recognised in an economic, social and environmental context (FAO 1993).

The dominant view on natural resource management in sub-Saharan Africa, until recently, has been that small-scale farmers mismanage the resource base. Scoones *et al.* (1996) highlight the apocalyptic predictions of impending environmental disasters over the decades of western intervention in African agriculture. From the colonial period onwards, this perception has led to a stream of policies, agricultural research and extension, designed to modify traditional natural resource management practices. A spate of legislations formulated by the colonial governments and amendments made

by the post-independence government of Zimbabwe testify to the top-down decision making process. Most of the decisions show the dominance of State-centred intervention in the management of natural resources. Thus, it is within this context or background that rural communities are sidelined in issues related to forest resources management.

There has been growing interest among donor agencies concerned with poverty alleviation and grassroots initiatives about the role of beneficiary participation in development. A shift of attention from State-led development initiatives to community-based approaches mainly rests on the need to promote 'popular participation' and 'empowerment'. Popular participation entails the involvement of the intended beneficiaries in decision-making, planning, implementation and evaluation of rural projects (Makumbe 1996, 7). The main assumption is that through their participation in rural projects and activities, communities gain more control over their living conditions. This is related to the concept of empowerment of people as self-reliance and control of development processes are essential attributes of empowerment (Friedmann 1992).

Although the participation of peasants in development projects has been widely viewed as a prerequisite for development, variations exist in the way participation is interpreted and applied. Makumbe (1996, 6) notes that the United Nations argues that there are basically three ways of viewing popular participation in development; namely "mass sharing of the benefits of development, mass contribution to the development effort, and mass decision making in development." It can be noted that the three views are related since they call for a need for people's participation in the development process, that is, in the design, implementation, evaluation of projects and related economic benefits.

There is a link between popular participation and empowerment. Adedeji (cited by Makumbe 1996,2) asserts that 'the democratisation of the development process - by which we mean the empowerment of the people,' their involvement in decision making, in implementation and monitoring processes is a prerequisite for socio-economic recovery and transformation. Providing women with projects that may improve their socio-economic status and help them increase household income and resources can facilitate this.

Friedmann (1992,33) contends that empowerment has three key features; namely, political, social and psychological power. He notes that political power is not only the power to vote, but is as well the power of voice and of collective action. On the other hand, social power is concerned with access to certain "bases" of household production such as information, knowledge and skills participation in social organisations, and financial resources. Friedmann (1992,33) further stresses that psychological power is an individual sense of potency. However, there is a positive relationship between social, political and psychological power. Psychological

empowerment is often a result of successful action in the social or political domains (Friedmann 1992,33).

Along with the rapid acceptance of the participatory and CBNRM approach there has come a welcome surge of research and literature, critically examining the gaps between the rhetoric and reality of development practice (Nelson and Wright 1995; Makumbe 1996). These works offer a much needed constructive debate on major issues of the realities of power, social and economic exclusion within non-homogenous communities at local levels.

The difficulties of working with heterogeneous communities are highlighted in resource management arena, as it cuts across a complex set of local cultural, historical, economic, property, power and household realities. The establishment of commercial forest areas has led to competition over the available resources. Taking example of the land tenure, there is now a body of evidence that asserts the need for policies to focus on building the capacity of informal institutions and traditional mechanisms at community level (Platteau 1996). Thus, the analysis of community differentiation and access rights to resources indicates that many of the jurisdictions involved are not legal authorities. In a research carried out in the Zambezi Valley, Hasler (1993) found out the existence of overlapping and competing jurisdictions involved in the use of resources. These emanated from various internally differentiated levels such as the political structures (village and ward development committees), ancestral spirits, religious and ethnic differences, and district level.

Literature on the impact of commercial forest areas on surrounding communities in Zimbabwe is limited. Thus, there are a lot of information gaps that this research seeks to fill in. However, based on other studies on natural resources, there seem to be a general consensus that commercial forest areas need to balance their economic driven operations with policies and programmes that improve the living conditions of nearby communities. Looking at tourism and environmental conservation, Budowski (1976, 27) notes that while companies in tourism conserve assets as far as possible in their original condition there must be wider benefits from natural resources to people. These benefits tend to vary and they include “physical, aesthetic, cultural, scientific or educational. Of course there are economic advantages too” (Budowski 1976, 27).

It must be noted that too much reliance on companies for high economic returns is likely to harm the environment and usually results in conflict (Mamimine 1996; Pilgram 1990; Rogers 1992; Detwyler 1971,699) aptly notes that the “myth of continued economic...needs must be supplanted by an environmental ethic”. In relation to forestry resources, this environmental ethic means that nearby communities should derive benefits

from companies in the timber industry thereby facilitating peaceful co-existence. Thus, company policies and those of the country should promote community participation in natural resources management. However, an analysis of legislations in Zimbabwe with respect to the management of natural resources reflects a top-down approach that marginalises local communities.

1.9 Methodology

This section focuses on the research design and describes the study areas of Chimanimani and Nyanga. It also explains the data collection and analysis procedures used in this research project, and touches upon the limitations of the study.

1.9.1 Research Design

This research adopted various data collection methods that are centred on the case study approach. The case study of forest areas in the Eastern Highlands helped in providing an empirical insight into the impact of commercial forest companies on nearby rural communities and how they relate to co-existence under the context of natural resources management. The study took three months of fieldwork divided equally between Chimanimani and Nyanga. The period helped in understanding the socio-economic and political forces that historically shaped and are currently influencing the livelihoods of communities living adjacent to forest companies in the two districts. This is quite different from micro-surveys which are time-specific ‘snapshots’ focusing upon a particular subset of the life of the rural population. In addition, the case study “adds to our understanding of social differentiation and to the varying constructions of knowledge” (Sender and Smith 1990,11).

The researcher tried to move away from the prevailing bias towards quantitative figures and results that tend to dominate most research projects. The research concepts that were used in this study augur well with the main tenets embodied in the Participatory Rural Appraisals (PRA) methodology.

It has been claimed that the case study method has its limitations in that its findings are not easily generalisable. Its focus on specific cases tends to limit its applicability to other areas. However, it must also be noted that a lot of generalisations affect the validity of data. Stake (1994, 238) argues that ‘Damage occurs when the commitment to generalise or create theory runs so strong that the researcher’s attention is drawn away from the features important in understanding the case itself’. Thus, the case study on people benefiting from forest resources was held because of its importance. The study included people engaged in income generating activities like carpentry, honey production and mushroom trade. Likewise, the study also highlighted communities that failed to benefit from existing forest resources.

Preliminary data was obtained through Participatory Rural Appraisals (PRA) with selected communities. PRAs helped data collection on the socio-economic and institutional arrangements that exist within rural communities. Appendix 1 shows the various techniques that were used to collect information during the PRA sessions. By fully participating in identifying the relationship that existed between forest companies and communities the PRAs highlighted problems and prospects that existed in the management of natural resources.

The PRAs involved various focus group discussions whereby some groups were divided according to characteristics like age, gender and power. This was done so as to capture differential perceptions of the respondents. For example, it is assumed that youths do not fully participate in discussions if there are elders taking part. Similarly, women tend to be reserved in the presence of men. On the other hand, within the rural setting, powerful individuals such as chiefs, kraal heads and agricultural extension workers are inclined to dominate proceedings during group discussions. After group activities, the participants regrouped to share their findings with the rest of the community. This was done for the purpose of crosschecking information accuracy and providing opportunity for others to add more details.

Despite the prevailing assumptions regarding women's participation, there were many of them. Most women actively participated in the discussions and even argued that they also wanted to know and benefit from projects related to the available natural resources. In order to limit the influence of power on group discussions, traditional and village leaders who wanted to dominate the proceedings were separated. This was arranged in such a way that it did not betray our intention and enabled us to hold simultaneous key-informant interviews with them, along with the general people. This helped in analysing differential perceptions on the importance of traditional and modern institutions in the utilisation and conservation of natural resources. It seems that the resultant conflict of interest between community leaders, provided a dominant motif for finding out problems blocking efforts towards CBNRM, specifically in the Eastern Highlands, and Zimbabwe in general. The PRA exercise also served the purpose of letting the local people familiarise themselves with the PRA toolbox and helping them gain confidence that they can 'teach' outsiders about their environment and livelihoods. All original works on flip charts were left behind with the community in order to dispel the notion of outsiders coming to extract information from communities and disappearing for good.

After each PRA exercise, the research team gathered to discuss the results, consolidate the information and identify information gaps that required further probing. In order to make the findings from the PRAs complement and put them into sharper focus, participant observation and ethnographic

interviews were also conducted. The first was used to observe the level of community participation in forest related projects, and the latter were carried out with officials from forest companies, Rural District Councils (RDCs) and community leaders.

Study Areas: Chimanimani and Nyanga

The Eastern Highlands in Manicaland Province were selected as targets due to the climatic conditions that suit commercial forest estates, and other related factors. Of Zimbabwe's total land area of 39 million hectares, 20.5 million is under indigenous forest coverage while 140 000 hectares is covered by commercial forest plantations (MET 1997). Three large companies, Border Timbers, Forest Commission and Wattle Company are operating fir tree plantations and sawmills in the Eastern Highlands. Interestingly, most of the forest plantations are situated next to rural communities that have vested interests in, among others, firewood, land and employment opportunities. The two study areas have similarities and differences that provided good opportunities for exploring the various impact of commercial forest areas on nearby rural communities.

The research generally focuses on various areas closer to the forest companies. The specific PRAs were held in Nyakupinga resettlement (Nyanga) and Nyahode ward (Chimanimani). The historical background of some communities showing major events that influenced their livelihoods is given in Appendices 2 and 3. In Nyanga, there are few rural communities that live closer to forest companies, thus some case materials were obtained from rural areas such as Muponda village, which is closer to Stapleford Estate and bordering Nyanga and Mutasa rural districts. In Chimanimani, the specific focus was on three villages: Kushinga A, Kushinga B and Kwirire, all of which are closer to forest areas belonging to Chimanimani Forest and Border Timbers. However, a few cases were also documented from places like Gwendingwe.

Resettlement and communal areas were also purposefully sampled in both regions. Nyakupinga and Kushinga B are resettlement areas which helped the researcher analyse existing and emerging trends in natural resources management. Similarly, communal areas also provided a platform to elucidate the changes that have occurred over the years in people's access to and control of resources. The following box provides the site profile of Chimanimani and Nyanga Districts.

Box 1:1 Site Profile***Chimanimani District***

Chimanimani is situated in the south east of Manicaland Province and shares its boundaries with Chipinge, Buhera, Mutare and Mozambique in the south, west, north and east respectively. The district has an estimated area of 3 353 km² of which 120 700 ha falls under communal area. With a total population of 142 980 (CSO 1992), Chimanimani District has the smallest population in Manicaland and stands the second last in terms of area.

Commercial plantations owned by Border Timbers, Forest Commission and Wattle Company dominate the district. These forest companies are sources of employment in the region. However, agricultural products like bananas, oranges and sugar cane are grown in the surrounding rural areas.

Nyanga District

Nyanga has a total area of 5 898 square kilometres and is located in the northern part of Manicaland Province in Eastern Zimbabwe. The last population census recorded a total population of 128, 467 of which 59, 820 were male and 68, 647, female (CSO 1992).

Nyanga is unique in that it contains all the five natural regions in Zimbabwe. Mountainous areas dissected by many rivers and streams of which some are perennial and dominate the diverse topography. Over the highland areas, large tracts of land are covered with exotic eucalyptus, pine and wattle plantations. The northern part of the district is at lower altitude and consists *miombo* woodlands that have short shrubs, and trees.

Agriculture is the predominant form of land use in Nyanga. Tourism is also functional in a smaller scale. Generally, industrial development is largely confined to limited processing of agricultural products, especially tea and the operation of sawmills. It takes place within the commercial farm areas where the goods are produced, rather than at central locations such as Nyanga Town.

SOURCE: CSO 1992.

1.9.2 Data Analysis

Information on the impact of commercial forest companies on nearby communities was categorised based on the degree of community participation in forest resources. However, community participation itself was analysed on different levels. Firstly, the benefits that have accrued to surrounding communities due to their proximity to forest companies were studied. Secondly, the level of community involvement in the management of forest resource was examined. Thirdly, constraints faced by households

in sustainable utilisation and conservation of the local environment were investigated. Finally, while maintaining focus on the aforementioned categories, emphasis was given to finding out suggestions on measures that could be adopted to promote the participation of rural communities and peaceful co-existence the communities and commercial forest companies.

The PRA tool provided important themes and a foundation for data analysis. Thus, data from interviews and PRA exercises was analysed and categorised according to emerging themes from the existing relationship between forest companies and rural communities. The most common themes from the PRAs and salient statements from interviews then served as the basis of the findings and conclusions of the research project.

1.9.3 Limitations of the Study

The political context at the time of this study somehow negatively affected research entry and data collection exercises. In most rural areas the political situation was volatile due to the Zimbabwe Presidential Election that was held from 11 to 13 March 2002. As of the year 2001, the ruling party Zimbabwe African National Union Patriotic Front (ZANU PF), and the opposition Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) were engaged in heavy political campaigns some of which involved violence. Since ZANU PF had a strong following in rural areas and was trying to enhance its hegemony, movements and holding of meetings in the countryside were risky. This has to some extent affected the researcher's movements and disrupted the schedules for holding PRA meetings.

Again, the bureaucratic process involved in gaining entry access was quite a problem. The research team was forced to make multiple visits to Rural District Councils (RDC) and District Administrators, who were mainly party cadres, to explain the purpose of the research project. Although having an acceptance letter to do the research from the RDC and District Administrators should have sufficed, there were also anxious moments of holding meetings with members of the war veterans. The researcher's knowledge of rural settings and experience in negotiating helped to facilitate entry into the communities.

In Chimanimani and Nyanga it was necessary to use councillors to facilitate communication between the research team and the communities. Although this worked out well in Nyanga, in Chimanimani however, there was an effort to capitalise on it. The councillor who was a war veteran and member of ZANU PF tried to exploit the situation and promote his interests and that of his party by claiming that the research projects were part of ZANU PF's efforts to find ways of helping communities living closer to forest companies. However, the team was later able to convince the people that the project was mainly academic and exploratory looking for alternatives by which the local community should be able to benefit from forest resources.

2. NATURAL RESOURCES MANAGEMENT IN ZIMBABWE: GENERAL BACKGROUND

This chapter gives an account of natural resources policy in Zimbabwe. It explores the historical background on natural resources management in Zimbabwe, looks into indigenous mechanisms of controlling natural resources and analyses the linkage between CBNRM and CAMPFIRE programmes that have been applied in other rural areas of Zimbabwe.

2.1 Existing Legislation

The existing legislation on natural resources in Zimbabwe, just like in many countries in sub-Saharan Africa has a colonial legacy. In the context of the colonial era, legislation was highly regulatory in communal areas whilst favouring commercial farms and plantation forests dominated by whites. And after independence, the government kept the colonial era environmental policies that tend to favour commercial entities than the rural populace. However, after the year 2000, drastic legislative measures favouring rural communities through the land redistribution programme began to be formulated and taken.

2.1.1 Communal Land Forest and Produce Act 1928

This Act shows the dual nature of colonial legislation in post-independence Zimbabwe. The colonial government specifically promulgated the Act to regulate timber extraction from communal areas by companies. The Act restricts the use of forest timber by people not resident in communal areas, and prevents removal of any tree product within 100 metres in either side of a stream or watercourse. It also stipulates that it is an offence to use forest products from protected forest areas.

The Act also empowers District Councils to collect all revenues derived from commercial utilisation of forest resources in communal areas. Local communities were only entitled to earn revenue from forest resources through establishing private plantations.

It should be noted that this Act intentionally segregated rural communities benefiting from forest resources. Since the majority of communal farmers have neither the capacity nor the resources to establish such plantations it is unlikely that local communities can generate revenue from forest reserves. Although the sale of wild fruits, which is an important income earning activity for most households, is not allowed under the Act, generally its enforcement has largely been ineffective.

2.1.2 Natural Resources Act 1942

This Act was formulated to guide the conservation and improvement of the country's natural resources. Through the provisions of the Act, the Natural Resources Board (NRB) was formed to hold the country's natural resources

in trusteeship for the people. The NRB that effectively administers the Act is autonomous and has widespread regulatory powers in the utilisation of natural resources. The main tasks of the NRB are to raise awareness in natural resource management and conservation, monitor the utilisation of the resources and advise the government on appropriate intervention measures.

The Act made provisions for community participation in natural resource management and conservation through the creation of grassroots conservation committees. However, these committees were generally confined to commercial farming areas where white farmers were provided with economic incentives for investment in conservation works. In communal areas, if farmers failed to fulfil prescribed conservation practices the Act empowered natural resource officers to order the stoppage of any form of land use until the landowners, occupiers or users had satisfied the recommended conservation standards. The conservation measures included the use of soil conservation works, prohibition of grazing and restriction of cultivation in unsuitable land.

But since the Act totally ignores indigenous knowledge systems pertaining to resource conservation, it was met with resistance from the communal formers. People in Nyanga and Chimanimani, since they resided in mountainous regions, were used to stream bank cultivation and planting their crops along slopes. However, the colonial government regarded their agricultural activities as likely to cause environmental degradation. Therefore, the Act condemned stream bank *vlei* cultivation as counterproductive.

Similarly, Bolding (1999) points out that 'informal' irrigators spreading across the Nyanyadzi River and tributaries have managed to engage successfully in cash cropping of which some crops are sold to established companies. The two companies, Lemco and Tomango, are involved in food canning and have sub-contracted some farmers to produce crops like peas, tomatoes and beans.

2.1.3 Forest Act 1948

This Act provided the establishment of the Forestry Commission. The amendment of the Act in 1982 saw the post-independence government taking a keen interest in controlling commercial forestland and related timber production. The Forestry Commission's mandate is primarily directed towards the management of trees on commercial plantations, either private or state owned. The Commission has a legal obligation to address deforestation problems in communal areas and is empowered to profitably govern demarcated forests in use.

The Act allows intervention from the State in forest and tree management. The President of Zimbabwe wields extensive powers to demarcate forest areas or particular tree species for protection through the Forestry

Commission. This includes forests both on private land and communal areas. Compensation is only offered to private landowners as communal areas are considered to be state land. The Act also empowers the State to regulate and restrict indigenous timber extraction on all lands.

The Forestry Commission formed the Forestry Extension Services (FES) that embarked on rural afforestation. The FES focused on planting of exotic species in the form of plantations and woodlots in rural areas. In recent years the FES incorporated a broader mandate in environmental management and land use options. It covered the ecological and socio-economic interests of target groups. An initiative has been planned to utilise tree and forest resources for the benefit of communities through a social forestry concept. The new major programmes were management of indigenous species (woodland management), fruit tree production, agroforestry and forestry utilisation. Emphasis was also placed on promoting the establishment of small-scale enterprises like beekeeping at community levels. However, the utilisation of forests and natural resources must be inbred with sustainable food security and environmental management.

It has been argued that the capacity of the Forestry Commission to enforce the set of rules and regulations for timber utilisation is limited and is dependent more on the voluntary compliance of local inhabitants (Scoones and Matose 1993). As a result of the presidential powers and the legislation, some forestland belonging to private companies in the Eastern Highlands have been targeted for resettlement of villagers. As will be discussed later, the presidential powers have impacted on the forestry industry through the Land Acquisition Act. The government has recently prioritised land redistribution and this has resulted in more private land in commercial forest areas being designated for the resettlement programme.

2.1.4 Parks and Wildlife Act 1975

The Department of National Parks and Wildlife Management (DNPWM) administers this Act and controls the utilisation of the country's flora and fauna. Its enactment resulted in a shift in government intervention towards management of wildlife in parks and reserves.

The colonial government devolved authority to private landowners to benefit directly from wildlife on their land.

The Act was racially biased as it only enabled white private landowners to benefit from the use of wildlife on their land. In communal areas the DNPWM collected revenue generated from wildlife and channelled it to central treasury. Thus, no benefits accrued to rural communities. However, the amendment of the Act in 1982 empowered communal area residents to directly benefit from wildlife conservation in their areas. This was done

through the granting of “appropriate authority” status to district councils by the Minister of Environment and Tourism. In this case district councils operate at the same level as private landowners and serve as the ‘administrative block’ for rural communities.

2.1.5 Communal Land Act 1982

Land tenure in communal areas is generally referred to as ‘communal’. Individual households privately manage their arable land with rights to sub-divide, bequeath or inherit land. Grazing areas, woodlands and other natural resources are communally accessed.

The Communal Land Act of 1982 promulgated communal areas as state land with ownership vested in the President of Zimbabwe. Rural households were accorded rights of use over the land. The Act gave power to RDCs to administer the land on behalf of the government. However, the RDCs are required to take into consideration local customs and rights in discharging duties regarding land use and distribution.

The Act also authorizes the government to establish resettlement schemes around the country. Appendix 2 shows that villages like Kwirire and Kushinga A were established soon after independence in areas once owned by white commercial farmers. Generally, the establishment of these villages also altered the condition of the local environment as more land was cleared for resettlement and farming.

2.1.6 Rural District Councils Act 1988

As was stated under the Communal Land Act 1982, RDCs have the mandate to control land use and allocation in rural areas. Thus, they are responsible for formulating and guiding development activities and controlling resource management activities in their respective districts. Under the RDC Act, RDCs may also make by-laws that can override any customary claims to legally back their development plans.

It is presumed that the Rural District Council (RDC), Village Development Committee (VIDCO) and Ward Development Committee (WADCO) structures would entrench development projects at the grassroots level. However, it appears that the structures are fraught with social and political complexity that has limited the participation of people in the management of natural resources.

2.1.7 Land Acquisition (Amendment) Act 2001

The land reform in Zimbabwe has brought about a serious impact on the timber industry. The Timber Producers Federation (TPF) that oversees timber production activities in Zimbabwe noted that the land reform programme has plunged the forest companies in the Eastern Highlands into uncertainty. The following Box shows the impact of the land reforms on the

timber industry. Most of the information was obtained from proceedings of the annual general meeting that was held by the TPF in July 2002.

Box 2:1 Land Reforms and Timber Production

The timber or forestry industry plays an important economic role in Zimbabwe. In the financial year 2002, March the timber industry has generated Z\$9, 586 million in local sales of timber product, and Z\$104 (USD 419.3) million in export sales. The products include wattle extract, charcoal, paper, board products and matches. However, earnings are expected to decline in the near future due to complex issues that have arisen from the controversial land reforms.

A lot of TPF members were evicted from plantations at the height of the 'fast track' land redistribution exercise, and thousands of hectares in woodlots were destroyed to make way for crop production. Some of the destroyed plantations were founded on soil not ideal for crop production. So timber producers are not sure about suitable areas for timber production in the future. This has constrained the planning and preparation for plantation and harvesting of timber.

As of July 2002, a total of 7808 hectares of timber plantations have been lost to resettlements and through destruction by settlers. Thus, afforestation dropped significantly to 478 hectares. It was noted that extension plantings on Border Timbers' Saurombe Estate in Chimanimani have ceased pending the outcome of the land reform programme.

Although most forest areas enjoyed good early rains, the long dry periods during the 2001-2002 rainy season disrupted planting programmes. Thus, only 74% of replanting programmes were achieved. Fire losses were also substantial with 424 hectares being burned down; and settlers destroyed an additional 357 hectares. It was also noted that damage due to insect and disease was insignificant; but in the absence of adequate control measures, baboons continued to destroy an increasing number of trees throughout the forest estates.

SOURCE: Proceedings of TPF Annual General Meeting, Mutare

Since most of these companies are in the Eastern Highlands it seems that the land reforms have created uncertainty and environmental damage in the area. The Chief Executive of the TPA, Bill Johnstone said that the Government had listed 42% of private plantations least 25% of the State-owned timber plantation for acquisition. (The Herald 12 September 2002).

The establishment of resettlement schemes in Nyanga and Chimanimani has resulted in the new settlers cutting down trees to prepare grounds for their homesteads and land for cropping. Thus, despite the economic contribution of the forestry industry in the region, the Government has not clearly outlined its position regarding the extent to which it would appropriate land for resettlement. Hence, the concern of the TPF, for which it rightly argues is that the land reform programme has resulted in sowing uncertainty among the timber industry.

2.2 Indigenous Control

In Zimbabwe, rural communities have various ways of controlling the use and management of natural resources. Generally, these indigenous strategies appear to be overlooked by legislative instruments imposed by the state. However, indigenous control on natural resources helps in sustainable management and conservation of the local environment. The following are the various indigenous control and management mechanisms of natural resources.

2.2.1 Sacred Controls

In rural Zimbabwe, there are community norms and controls on resource use based on traditional, religious beliefs handed down from generation to generation. These traditional beliefs are still recognised across the country albeit at different levels of success. Sacred controls are enforced by traditional leaders especially chiefs, headmen and spirit mediums.

However, there has been a declining trend in the influence of traditional leaders, and in some cases it has resulted in cessation of exercising sacred controls. In addition to state intervention in traditional influence on the management of natural resources, social and economic changes in people's livelihoods have also contributed to the deterioration of on sacred controls. Haggmann and Murirwa (1996) note the link between major shifts in farming systems and change in local level organisation. The role of traditional chiefs and headmen in land allocation and natural resource management in Zimbabwe was undermined in the colonial period, and further eroded on independence with the imposition of the modern system of Rural District Council structures, ward and village development committees, and councillors.

Still more recently, there has been a penetration of cash nexus on property rights, [low] confidence of legitimacy, and acceptance of authority with negative outcomes for sustainable CBNRM (Haggmann and Murwira 1996).

2.2.2 Pragmatic Controls

Pragmatic controls refer to commonly accepted norms of resource use and conservation designed and followed by a community (Murphree 1995). In a study of Biriwiri in Chimanimani, Bongo and Bourdillon (2001) found out a presence of some form of moral self-restraint on the utilisation of natural

resources, seen in people's displeasure at wanton felling of trees. They give an example of a tree that was cut down in October 1998, but was left uncollected by the cutter who was apparently afraid of the punishment. Thus, one year later, in October 1999, the tree was still there. This shows that the person knew well that he had flouted social norms governing tree preservation in the area (Bongo and Bourdillon 2001).

In Zimbabwe, the most common pragmatic control is the prohibition of felling fruit trees. This was most common in Chimanimani where some fruit trees were communally owned. The importance of fruit trees in rural areas is highly appreciated and recommended. Wild fruits usually constitute large proportion of household diets particularly towards the end of the dry season and during the early period of the rainy season when food stocks are limited.

The other common pragmatic controls that were noted include:

- The use of only dry wood for fire;
- Cutting for poles by selecting trees from a wide area rather than from the same place;
- No felling of trees when harvesting honey or caterpillars and,
- Cutting trees or branches at an angle so as to prevent rotting of the butt and to encourage coppice growth.

2.2.3 Civil Contract

These are rules and customs regarding people's access to and use of natural resources based on respect and courtesy to other community members. If any member of the community places a claim on certain natural resource, other members of the community are obliged to acknowledge that claim. Individuals can lay a claim on specific trees for harvesting caterpillars or for placing beehives.

However, social and economic changes in some communities have led to disregard of this civil contract. For example, firewood piled and left for later collection is likely to be stolen in areas where wood is scarcer. It seems that commodity marketing in natural resources and land shortage due to population increase has also contributed to the breakdown of the civil contract.

2.3 CBNRM and CAMPFIRE Programmes

It is interesting to note that the concept of CBNRM has gained momentum in rural development schemes due to its strength in incorporating the legal and indigenous methods of managing natural resources. It is presumed that modern and traditional mechanisms of control result in best outcomes. A salient case of community-based initiatives on the utilisation and

management of resources in Zimbabwe is epitomised by the CAMPFIRE model.

The CAMPFIRE philosophy was propounded in pre-independence Zimbabwe under the influence of the Department of National Parks and Wild Life Management (DNPWM). Its main tenets are based on the rationale that communities are capable of managing their resources especially if they are assured of benefits. This belief necessitated in the amendment of the Parks and Wildlife Act of 1975 in 1982 that gave the District Councils authority on wildlife management.

Initial projects were inclined more towards game because of its prolific nature, high economic returns and responsiveness to sustainable management. To this end, CAMPFIRE projects have prompted RDCs to put out tender leases for hunting and photographic safari, issuing trading licenses, logging concessions and sand extraction (The Herald 20 June 2002). Revenue is also derived from fees in sport fishing, fish sale, stone extraction, beekeeping and grazing activities.

Issues that are involved in the protection of wildlife and human needs are discussed in the following Box.

Box 2:2 CAMPFIRE and Conservation

Battlelines have been drawn between five Southern African countries (Botswana, Namibia, South Africa, Zambia and Zimbabwe) and international NGOs over the sustainable utilisation of large population of elephants ahead of the high-profile Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species (CITES). Although there are 54 proposals to amend the lists of species subject to trade controls or prohibitions, the high-ranking item for the Santiago Conference in November 2002 was on African Elephants.

The battle this year is, however, likely to be compounded by the fact that several countries are opposed to Zimbabwe's land reforms. The CITES National Technical Committee also said that there had also been increase in poaching and loss of wildlife range associated with the land reform and resettlement programme.

The debate over elephants has focused on the benefits ivory sales may bring to local communities and conservation programmes versus the concern that such sales may inspire increased poaching. However, the DNPWM argues that the land reform has resulted in more areas being ceded to CAMPFIRE. This helped to stabilise and in some cases has reversed the rate of conversion of wild habitat as rural communities in these areas have adopted wildlife production as a land use and have designated land exclusively for wildlife.

This strategy could only be sustainable if the benefits outweighed the costs of living with wildlife. In addition, the panel of experts who reviewed Zimbabwe's elephant proposals in 1992 and 1996 concluded that there were no threats to the survival of elephant populations in the short or medium terms.

The limited trade of elephant products under Appendix II has benefited the wildlife authority, landowners, wildlife industry and indeed elephant conservation in Zimbabwe, and its proponent neighbours. Trade in elephant products would have a positive effect on the elephant populations in Southern Africa. The five proponent countries see the absence of trade in elephant products as the greatest threat to elephant survival in the region.

However, in June 2002, Kenya and India proposed to the CITES that trade in African elephant products should be banned and the species should be up-listed to Appendix I. Their argument stems from the fact that they are concerned that any legal trade would encourage illegal trade and poaching.

Supported by scientific evidence, Zimbabwe and its neighbour proponent countries are geared to win the 'elephant battle' once more but not without a big fight as international NGOs, conservationist groups masquerading as animal lovers, are all out to discredit sustainable utilisation of wildlife, especially by regional states.

SOURCE: The Herald, Saturday, 6 July 2002.

While appreciating the need for wildlife conservation, some people have argued that this should be done in ways beneficial to local communities. As was shown earlier, the programme assumes that local communities can best manage their resources in an economically sound way. Recognising of local communities as institutions for natural resource management is vital since they pay the financial and social costs of co-existing with wildlife. As producer communities carrying the weight socially and economically, they also have the responsibility of preserving and managing the natural resource base.

The DNPWM guidelines encourage the devolution of authority through local administrative structures down to producer communities. It is rightly presumed that the success of CAMPFIRE programmes, just like any other rural project, meant to empower the poor, depends on community participation and involvement in decision making, implementation, monitoring and evaluation, as well as distribution of benefits (Marisa 1999, 13-15). Benefits related to CAMPFIRE programmes include the financing of local management mechanisms like game fences, construction of schools, clinics and grinding mills.

However, the well-sounding concept of CAMPFIRE has also ushered in problems in efforts to facilitate CBNRM. The RDCs, which have the legal mandate to administer CAMPFIRE programmes, have been blamed for misallocating revenue obtained from community projects (The Herald 20 June 2002). In most cases RDCs have failed to take into consideration community interests and needs pertaining to natural resources. In addition, RDC institutions like VIDCOs and WADCOs are said to be in a weakening position thereby failing to serve the best interest of communities (Marisa 2001a).

3. SOCIO-ECONOMIC IMPACTS OF FOREST COMPANIES

This chapter looks into some of the socio-economic impact of forest companies on nearby communities. Generally, there were inter-and intra-village differences and similarities pertaining to the benefits that accrued to local communities due to their proximity to commercial forest companies. Accordingly, the use of wood waste by companies, and then at the community level, will be discussed, followed by analysis of the impact of commercial forest companies on people’s livelihoods in Chimanimani and Nyanga. It also explores opportunities that exist for rural communities due to their proximity to forest companies.

3.1 The Utilisation of Wood Waste

There are different types of wood waste and they include bark, chips, off-cuts and sawdust. There was a lot of wood waste to be found in plantations and sawmills. All the forest companies said that they burn chips and part of off-cuts as sources of fuel for their boilers. The boilers would then generate heat for drying timber. Table 3.1 shows wood waste utilisation by forest companies.

Table 3.1 Utilisation of wood waste by companies

Company	Bark	Chips	Off-cuts	Sawdust
Charter Chimanimani forest	none	fb (100%)	fb (75%)	none
Gwendingwe	none	fb (100%)	none	fb (100%)
Erin Wattle company	none	fb (100%)	hc (60%)	none
	none	fb (100%)	hc (30%)	none
Stapleford	none	fb (100%)	none	fb (100%)
	none	fb (100%)	hc (95%)	fb (20%)

Note: fb: fuel for boiler
 hc: hogged into chips

It can be noted from Table 3.1 that all the chips are used entirely for firing the boiler. Thus, the demand for chips is very high and has forced all the

companies, except Chimanimani Forest and Nyanga Timbers, to hog off-cuts into chips for firing their boilers. However, some exceptional companies used all their sawdust to fuel their boilers.

Generally, forest companies in Chimanimani and Nyanga allowed local communities to collect wood waste from their premises. The amount of wood waste and its utilisation at a community level is shown in Table 3.2.

Table 3.2 Utilisation of wood waste by communities

Surrounding Areas	Bark	Chips	Off-cuts	Sawdust
Charter Chimanimaniforest	none	none	fe, ho (25%)	none
Gwendingwe	none	none	fe, fu, bu	(10%)
Erin	ho (3%)	none	fe, fu, bu	none
Wattle company	none	none	fe, fw,	ho (3%)
Stapleford	none	none	none	none
			fw (5%)	none

Note: bu: building of houses/shops
 fe: fencing
 fw: firewood
 fu: furniture
 ho: horticulture

As Table 3.2 shows, the dominant use of wood waste in Chimanimani was for building of shops and houses at Machongwe Township. However, a different aspect was noted in Nyanga where some commercial farmers used bark and sawdust in their horticultural activities. Erin Estate is closer to the horticultural farmers who are engaged in commercial production of flowers for export. However, it was only a small fraction of sawdust (3%) and bark (3%) that was used, thereby leaving Erin Estate with more waste to be disposed.

The availability of large forest companies has led to the formation of smaller commercial companies known as Bushmills. In the 1980s, there used to be a bushmill at Nyakupinga, but it was abandoned when the area was allocated for resettlement. But, there were successful bushmills operating in Chimanimani. Haroni Timbers and Machongwe Cooperative are such bushmills that depend on Chimanimani Forest for their inputs. Timber not used by Chimanimani Forest due to differential machine sizes was sold to bushmills for processing into planks. Although bushmills tend to compete with established forest companies for markets, officials from Chimanimani Forest welcomed their existence. Bushmills which do not

have their own forestry plantations were recognised as a readily available market for the timber industry.

Correspondingly, at community level, the availability of wood waste for firewood and other household chores has made women's responsibilities easier. Most women in Zimbabwe (about 86%) reside in rural areas and are responsible for the bulk of domestic and agricultural tasks. It has been estimated that women provide 70% of agricultural labour, and devote 10% 20% of their time on domestic chores firewood and water collection, respectively (Moyo et al. 1991). Most of the energy requirements of rural households come from wood waste. Women in Nyahode and Nyakupinga know very well the social and economic costs related to fuelwood scarcity. Given a possibility of fuelwood scarcity, the women said that they would use lesser energy sources like crop residues and cow dung. Little fuelwood was collected from Wattle Company Plantations because wattle, which is weed, burns fast and so is unsuitable for cooking or heating purposes. Thus, wattle was mainly used in combination with other wood when making fire.

It was noted in both districts that a person needs to have permission from the forest companies before collecting fuel wood. In Nyakupinga, one has to pay Z\$2 in administrative fees before being given permission for collecting infield waste. In Chimanimani also one has to have an acceptance letter from the sawmill, otherwise risk arrest by a security officer from the sawmill. The confirmation letter is used by the company as a way of controlling the cutting and commercialisation processes. The letter also serves as a way of identifying outsiders who may come to collect wood waste for sale. Another point noticed in Nyahode was the fear of Chimanimani Forest Company that environmental degradation may be caused by villagers if there was indiscriminate access to firewood.

It appears that most villagers in Chimanimani and Nyanga have failed to take advantage of their proximity to timber plantations and sawmills and engage in timber related activities. However, there were few cases in Chimanimani where individuals have been engaged in carpentry for a living. Box 3.1 reflects on some instances in this regard.

Box 3:1 Carpentry Projects

Case 1: Isaac Nyikavanhu (24)

Isaac lives in Kwirire village, Nyahode ward. He is married and has one child. He finished his secondary education at Sako Secondary School in 1998. Despite passing his Ordinary Level Examinations in six subjects, he found it difficult to get employment or admittance to teacher training colleges. This is a typical situation faced by many school leavers in Zimbabwe.

In 1999 he went to live with his uncle in Sakubva Township, Mutare. His uncle was a carpenter engaged in an informal trade in his backyard. The uncle was very good at his work and constantly supplied furniture to shops in the city. Thus, Isaac had to assist his uncle in manufacturing different kinds of furniture. Armed with the informal training he had received from his uncle, Isaac decided to go back to Chimanimani and start his own project in the year 2000. He used his saving to buy tools like saws, chisels, planes, hammers and other smaller items. He operated at his homestead in Kwirire and bought his timber from Haroni Timbers that was closer to his village. He began by manufacturing smaller items like stools, and coffee tables. These were items highly demanded by villagers and residents at the local residential area in Machongwe.

Gradually, people began to make orders for bigger items like wardrobes and kitchen units. Generally, Isaac was satisfied with the profit he was making in the project. He said that the revenue was increasing annually and it was mainly due to cheap timber that existed in the area. However, he lamented that the costs of other inputs like glue and varnish were increasing regularly. The socio-economic hardships that followed the Economic Structural Adjustment Programme (ESAP), in 1991 have also affected his carpentry project. Thus, cash sales became fewer and most people were buying his furniture on credit. A person would pay a deposit of at least 25% of the price and then pay in monthly instalments that usually lasted between one to three months.

Isaac used some of his income to pay for bride-wealth or *lobola*. He also bought five goats and some chickens. In order to meet existing demand and expand his operations Isaac has now employed an assistant. His plans for the future include opening a workshop serviced with electrical machines, thus developing his capacity to supply furniture to shops in Chimanimani Town. He does this in line with his uncle's market strategy of targeting shops as ready buyers of his products.

Case 2: Tawanda Mhaka (26)

Tawanda is not married and lives with his parents in Kushinga A village. He completed his secondary education in 1997 at Sako Secondary School. While at school, he did carpentry as a subject. Although he failed in his Ordinary Levels, he excelled in carpentry.

When he left school his father sold a cow and used the cash to buy carpentry tools for Tawanda. After obtaining his tools he went out and bought cheap wood at Chimanimani Forest. In 1998 he began by

manufacturing stools, trays and coffee tables. Workers from Chimanimani Forest and the nearby primary school were some of his regular customers.

When he started out in 1998 his average earning per month was Z\$3 000. However, in 1999 and 2000 his average earning per month rose to about Z\$6 000 and Z\$13 000 respectively. In 2001, his earning shot up further and reached Z\$23 000 per month. Although these figures might seem insignificant due to the high inflation in the country, the progress that Tawanda has made is quite interesting.

In 2001 he managed to buy three cattle and six goats. He had also saved enough to buy a residential stand in Machongwe Township. He believed that staying at Machongwe would help him to expand his project and have a wider market reach since the town was centrally located and well serviced in the transport sector.

3.2 Employment Opportunities

Generally, forest companies in the Eastern Highlands rely on contract labour from the communities. In most cases contract labour is required for work in planting, pruning and harvesting of trees. A few labourers are needed in sawmill factories where planks are manufactured from tree logs. Table 3.3 shows the distribution of permanent and temporary workers in major forest companies situated in the Eastern Highlands.

Table 3.3 Distribution of workers*

Company	Permanent	Temporary	Row Total
Charter	277 (43,7%)	357 (56,3%)	634 (100%)
Chimanimani	587 (85,8%)	97 (14,2%)	684 (100%)
Gwendingwe	185 (84,9%)	33 (15,1%)	218 (100%)
Erin	242 (78,1%)	68 (21,9%)	310 (100%)
Wattle Company	250 (66,7%)	150 (33,3%)	400 (100%)
Stapleford	332 (96,5%)	12 (3,5%)	344 (100%)

SOURCES: Compiled from companies annual reports, 2001

From Table 3.3 it can be discerned that Chimanimani Forest, which is the largest sawmill in Zimbabwe, employs more workers than the other

* For all the companies, except Nyanga Timbers, the number of workers represents those in plantations and sawmill operations. There were no exact figures on those under Nyanga Timbers. However, estimates given by company officials indicate plantation workers to be more than two hundred.

companies do. Thus, it is presumed that nearby communities are likely to benefit more from employment opportunities at the company.

However, the practice of employing people from nearby communities is a recent phenomenon. In the past, communities living closer to forest companies complained that they were overlooked when it came to job recruitments. At one point traditional leaders from Chikwaku and Ngorima communal areas had made a complaint to company officials that Chimanimani Forest was not doing much to improve their living conditions, that there were a lot of unemployed young people but the companies were not disposed to help them.

A meeting was held in 1999 to iron out the differences between Chimanimani Forest and traditional leaders. It was then agreed that the villagers would be given preference in employment opportunities. But, during PRA sessions in Kushinga A and Kushinga B villagers remarked that there was still a measure of bias when in job recruitment and those responsible for recruitment usually took in their relatives.

On the other hand, traditional values seem still to exist when it comes to gender participation in employment. In all the PRA sessions held, men were of the opinion that job opportunities at forest companies were the preserve of men. Their main argument was that the tasks involved are laborious and required people with strength, which females lack. Women were also regarded as housewives who should stay at home looking after the family and engaging in cropping. However, most women indicated that they were capable of doing the so-called male tasks in plantations and sawmills. A woman who works at Erin Forest, Mrs Nyamangu, aptly pointed out the concerns of many women on the labour market:

There is no job that women cannot do at this company. We do the same jobs and some of the men are even lazier. Women work hard because that is the only way of making our families survive. So we need more women to be employed in these forest companies.

Meanwhile, there are a small number of females employed in forest companies. One instance is Stapleford Estate where out of 344 workers 27 were females. This accounted for only 7.8% of the labour force. Although the Government of Zimbabwe through its Labour Relations Act 1985 (amended in 1992) makes it unlawful to employ people on gender lines, the reality is that women are still marginalized in employment in forest companies.

3.3 Social Services

The main social services local communities had were access to health and educational facilities. However, the degree of access and benefits differed from company to company.

In both districts, people expressed misgivings about the accessibility of clinics at the sawmills. In Nyakupinga, for example, villagers had no access to the Wattle Company clinic as the clinic catered only employees. In few instances, children who were injured or fell ill while attending school were treated at the clinic. So the villagers usually went to Nyanga or Mutasa townships for medical services.

On the other hand Chimanimani Forest in Chimanimani allowed outsiders to be treated for a cost of Z\$120. This was viewed by the villagers as more expensive than the cost at the RDC clinic in Machongwe (about 7km from the sawmill) that charged Z\$10. But since this clinic was often in shortage of medicines, serious cases were referred to Mutambara Clinic that was farther away. Just like the case in Nyanga, villagers from Chimanimani complained about the high cost of transportation when travelling long distances.

Some rural communities had benefited educationally by attending schools owned by forest companies. All the forest companies had primary schools that allowed outsiders to enrol. The main problem for local communities in this aspect was lack of secondary schools.

In Nyahode too children had access to primary education at Chimanimani Forest schools. There were also primary schools in Kwirire, Kushinga A and Kushinga B. However, the pupils went to Sako Secondary School, which is about 9km away for secondary education. Some villagers, especially those in Kushinga B grumbled that the secondary school was so far away from their village that the school children had usually to wake up around 4:00 am to be able to attend the secondary school at Machongwe.

Of all the companies, it was only Wattle Company that refused educational access to outsiders. The school catered only to children of employees. Thus, villagers from Nyakupinga had to rely on primary and secondary schools of Nyanga Town or nearby Panyika village, Mutasa. Since Wattle Company does not have a secondary school, employees' children also enrolled at secondary schools in Nyanga or Mutasa.

3.4 Grazing

Generally, local communities in Chimanimani and Nyanga have access to grazing land under specific restrictions are followed. It was observed that communities living near forest companies have limited grazing land since most of the land is under forest plantation. In Nyahode ward villagers indicated that Chimanimani Forest allows them to graze their livestock provided that there is someone herding the cattle. The company feared that uncontrolled livestock would damage recently grown trees, and hence preferred for villagers to use fireguards for grazing purposes.

Villagers in Nyakupiga, are allowed to graze their livestock in fireguards. Company officials from Erin indicated that since the villagers were living in

self-contained resettlement plots they were supposed to keep their livestock within. Nonetheless, although the company, has allowed villagers to use fireguards for grazing purposes, the villagers indicated that there was limited pasture in their plots, and therefore, they needed more grazing land. As a result, they talked to officials from Erin to be given grazing access in a specific plantation area close to a nearby stream. The Forest Stewardship Council had stated that no harvesting should be done at the site so as to protect the environment. The officials from Erin said they would like to look at the issue, and promised the villagers a favourable response.

3.5 Beekeeping/Honey Production

Forest areas are favourable for bee-keeping and honey production. Although local communities were aware of the economic benefits associated with honey production, the forest companies prohibited practicing it. Most of the unemployed youth in Nyakupinga said that if honey production were allowed in the area they would be capable of earning a decent income.

The forest companies refused honey production in their plantations, apparently, to conserve the environment. In Nyanga and Chimanimani it was noted that honey production was a source of man-made fires in forest areas. The forest companies also assumed that rural communities were unable to engage in sustainable honey production. This line of thinking has been a source of conflict with some people who believe otherwise. A man who lives in Kwirire village, Nyahode ward, summed up his discontent with company policies that discourage honey production:

Honey production is a long- standing, traditional activity in our culture. Many people have been doing it without causing any damage to the forests. Only those who are learning and without any experience pose a threat to the forest.

In Chimanimani some people had continued to practice honey production illegally in commercial forest areas. However, their beehives risked destruction if found by forest personnel. The companies have also the legal mandate to prosecute culprits, but in most cases no legal actions have been taken. Most of the companies remarked that taking legal action would be time consuming. In addition, the companies are afraid of antagonising their relationship with the communities from which some of their workers come.

A notable case of community resistance to forest company policy on honey production was observed in communities living closer to Gwendingwe Estate. In Gwendingwe, there was an increase in privately owned and illegal honey production activities. The stand taken by villagers was that since Gwendingwe Estate was also involved in honey production, they too, were entitled to do the same without harming the environment.

Gwendingwe Estate has a honey production unit that operates commercially. As an instance, the operation targets for honey production at Gwendingwe Estate are depicted as follows:

Table 3.4 Honey production targets, by years

Years	1995/6	1996/7	1997/8	1998/9	1999/2000
Honey (kg)	400	450	500	600	650

SOURCE: Operational Targets for Gwendingwe Estate, 17 November 1995, (Unpublished)

Although forest companies argued that honey production at a community level results in unorthodox harvesting methods that may cause wild fires, there seems also to be a hidden economic agenda. If communities were allowed to engage in honey production, they could be competing with the established companies. In other words, the local communities may offer lower prices at the market, thus reducing company profits in honey trading.

However, results in other areas show that increased honey production may actually lead to more revenue. Experience from an international NGO's (Intermediate Technology Development Group (ITDG)) honey projects in Chimanimani, revealed that price of honey tends to increase as production increased. According to ITDG (2001, 21) raw honey which had previously been sold at Z\$18 per kilogram was now being sold at Z\$35 to private buyers. The introduction of honey centres by the NGO has resulted in attracting many buyers from outside the Manicaland Province who come in search of honey to buy.

Generally, it seems that if it is legally allowed, the honey business will have a positive effect on people's livelihoods.

Box 3:2 Beekeeping Projects

Case 1: Mike Mlambo (46)

Mike lives with his wife and his six children. He was born in Gwendingwe and had worked at the Estate for eleven years. In 1997, he was retrenched from the company.

According to Mike, there were at least six people whom he knew had beehives in nearby forests belonging to Gwendingwe Estate. He himself had sixteen beehives hung in the forest. Most of his beehives were not close to those owned by the company. In this way he has managed not to directly infringe the rules and compete with the company. Thus, although the company knows that some villagers were into beekeeping it did not take a hard stance against their operations.

Mike grew up doing beekeeping after he had learnt the trade from his father, who was also a keen beekeeper. Mike's experience as a beekeeper has enabled him to master the art of harvesting, and conserving the local environment. He now makes sure that there would be no fire outbreaks during harvesting. However, he also agrees that some people cause fires due to their incapability to grasp the necessary skills needed during harvesting.

For Mike, honey production is quite a lucrative business, especially if it is well packed and marketed to urban areas like Mutare and Harare. However, most of his honey is sold locally, except in a few cases when he markets to a private firm in nearby Chipinge Town. In most cases a one-off sale in Chipinge would fetch him Z\$7 000. This is not bad, considering that some people working in commercial forest companies and farms earn far below that amount per month.

The main problems for Mike and some of his colleagues in the same trade were lack of transport and a ready market in Chimanimani. Thus, they resorted to using buses, which also were becoming expensive. In addition, since their trade is perceived as illegal, this has limited their market base. They live in constant fear that officials from Gwendingwe Estate might prosecute them. Yet, Mike is optimistic that if their operations were legalised, people would be in a position to sell their produce to Gwendingwe Estate. This would boost the company's honey production targets, as well as the overall production in the village.

Case 2: Enock Muponda (43)

Enock is married and has four children. He has a homestead plot in Muponda village that is closer to Stapleford Estate. Although he works in Mutare, Enock regularly visits his rural home during weekends and holidays.

At his homestead in Muponda village there are a lot of gum trees that were planted about fifteen years ago. The Forest Commission had helped villagers to plant trees in its afforestation programme so that people would replenish trees that had been destroyed when people resettled in the area in 1980. In addition, the Forest Commission wanted villagers not to rely on its forest timber belonging to Stapleford Estate.

The gum trees provided Enock an opportunity to start his honey production project. He began his project in 1996 after being taught by his friend who lives in the same village. He has not experienced any major fire outbreak when harvesting honey. During the time of this research, Enock has had

twelve beehives at his plot, and he pointed out that there was still enough space to erect at least ten more. In addition to the availability of gum trees, the bee-keeping project has been made easier by the peach and apple trees at the homestead. Bees tend to thrive well in areas that have fruit trees.

However, Enock noted that at present the economic benefits associated with honey production were growing less due to limited market opportunities in the village and surrounding areas. Thus, in most cases he only harvests honey for household consumption and gives away the surplus to relatives and friends. Although he is aware of the potential market that exists in Mutare, he has limited time to increase production due to his work commitments. Still, with the ever-increasing economic downturn, epitomised by high inflation and reduction of real incomes in the country, Enock has vowed that in the year 2002 he would put more beehives at his rural homestead and establish with ready buyers in Mutare.

Meanwhile, while the concerns of non-honey producing companies like Charter and Erin about honey production in their forests in relation to environmental protection may be genuine, the same cannot be said of Gwendingwe Estate and Chimanimani Forest. In addition, the environmental protection factor can be easily dispelled since Gwendingwe Estate has formed village-based fire committees tasked with discouraging man-made fires in the area. The village-based committees have brought in positive results to both the company and the villagers. Thus, economic and legislative situations that tend to support commercial entities at the expense of rural communities have given power to companies to entrench their interests in non-timber activities like honey production and, as will be discussed later, in mushroom deals.

3.6 Commodity Marketing

The availability of forest companies in rural areas has facilitated the production and marketing of various products. This has injected an enterprising spirit among some people to enter commodity marketing. Trading in products such as mushrooms, agricultural produce, and second hand clothing was noticed in some communities.

Mushrooms

Generally, all the forest companies except Erin have allowed local communities access to mushrooms and other forest foods. However, villagers from Chimanimani do not collect mushrooms from forest plantations claiming that it is poisonous if eaten. It was at Erin that we observed the commercialisation of mushrooms albeit at the expense of nearby communities. Erin Estate has a binding contract with a private

company, Edulies Zimbabwe, of which the latter is entitled to collect all the mushrooms that grow within the estate.

The contract has marginalised nearby communities in benefiting from commodity marketing in mushrooms. It is considered a criminal act for one to be seen collecting or marketing mushrooms obtained from the estate. However, the only positive contribution to the community stems from the fact that Edulies Zimbabwe usually employs women for picking up the mushrooms from the forests. Women are preferred because they are generally seen as capable of handling fragile commodities. This partly helps to empower women who tend to constitute a negligible number of workers in forest companies.

At the same time, some of the workers employed by Edulies Zimbabwe remarked that the salaries they get were not enough to sustain themselves and their families. In addition, they were only employed on *ad hoc* basis since mushrooms are available only during particular seasons and in varying quantities. This has resulted in unpredictable seasonal changes in employment creation and access to income among women. Most women noted that it was much better if they were given a chance to collect and market the mushrooms themselves. They noted that mushrooms have a high demand in urban areas that they would be able to profit from commodity marketing.

An interesting observation is that, contrary to the 'privatisation' of mushroom business at Erin Estate, Stapleford Estate allows the local communities free access to mushroom collection and marketing. This is ironic since the Forestry Commission owns both companies. Thus, while villagers living near Stapleford Estate have benefited immensely from mushrooms as an important source of food and income, it is the reverse at Erin. In essence, community participation in mushroom collection and marketing is an epitome for rural poverty reduction and empowerment.

It was noted that Erin Estate has excluded nearby communities from the collection and marketing of mushrooms due to its economic interests. Although, the exact amount given to Erin Estate by Edulies Zimbabwe was not documented, the arrangement however shows the marginalisation of producer communities in the mushroom trade. This has incapacitated the commoditisation of mushrooms at a local scale and women are bound to be heavily affected by this commercial arrangement.

In areas where women were allowed to collect mushrooms there was a noticeable economic thrust behind their activities. Mushroom collections tend to instil an entrepreneurial spirit among the women. This was more prevalent in the Nyanga region in communities living adjacent to companies like Stapleford.

Box 3:3 Mushroom Trade***Case 1: Mrs Linda Mawoyo (35)***

Linda is married, and has four children. She lives in Muponda village and her husband works in Nyanga town. In order to supplement their household income she started to engage in the collection and marketing of mushrooms in 1996.

Although mushrooms were available on seasonal basis, the trade, while it lasted, was quite lucrative, especially with current price increases in meat and food. She said that they earn a lot of money in the months of April to July when mushrooms are abundant in the forests. She is helped by her two daughters in the collection and marketing of mushrooms. However, when they are at school she does her business alone. Most of her customers come from Mutare.

This has mitigated the burden associated with travelling in search of buyers. She has full control of her money obtained from mushrooms. Her husband fully appreciates the role she plays in supplementing their household income. In the years 2000 and 2001 she earned about Z\$9000 and Z\$14000 respectively. She used some of the money to buy her kitchen utensils, clothes and agricultural inputs for her market gardening project. During the off-season when there are no mushrooms she concentrates on growing vegetables, tomatoes, onions, beans and maize in her garden. She sells some of the produce in Nyanga when she visits her husband.

Case 2: Ms Emma Nyangana (27)

Emma is a widow living in Muponda village. She had been married for five years when her husband died in 1999 leaving her with the task of looking after their two children. The late husband used to work in Mutare. Soon after his death life became tougher since the savings and pension he left behind were inadequate to cater for the family. In addition, her relatives were not in a position to help as they also suffered from the economic hardships.

Thus, in the year 2000, she began to trade in mushrooms as a source of income. That year she earned Z\$5 000, but in the year 2001 there were more earnings amounting to at least \$11000. The increase was attributed to her marketing drive that saw her travelling to Mutare to sale her produce. She managed to have ready buyers in the low-density areas of the city's suburbs. Some of her customers are now beginning to visit her homestead to buy the mushrooms.

She said that business was good since she was able to feed her children. In addition, she was able to re-invest the income obtained from mushroom trade by buying second hand clothes in Mutare and reselling them to villagers and workers from Stapleford Estate.

As such, access to income whether through mushrooms or other activities has an empowering effect, especially to women who would be able to partly control their resources with minimum husband interference.

Agricultural Produce

There was a high level of agricultural activity in the Nyahode ward and Nyakupinga Resettlement. The high rainfall patterns experienced in the Eastern Highlands have facilitated for villagers to engage in intensive cultivation of maize, bananas and potatoes.

Since workers in forest companies have smaller gardens allocated to them, they relied on outside communities to buy agricultural produce. This has facilitated for the encroachment of women in commodity marketing, especially those with market gardens. It was noted that land ownership and control in communal areas has customarily been vested in male household heads. The colonial and the present governments have also recognised men as legitimate owners of land, relegating women to land ownership only through marriage, inheritance and goodwill of male relatives. Thus, in most cases women have autonomy on the production and marketing of crops from stream bank gardens. That formed the basis for women's participation in commodity marketing in Nyahode where women sold vegetables, bananas and potatoes to workers from Chimanimani Forest.

Similarly, in Nyakupinga potatoes and maize were sold mainly to workers who lived closer to the resettlement scheme. The availability of buyers from nearby forest companies saved them time and transport costs which otherwise would have incurred in selling the crops buyers in to faraway towns like Mutare.

Second Hand Clothing

There has been a marked increase in trading in second hand clothing in commercial forest areas. Female traders from urban areas dominate the market. Most of these clothes are brought into the country from Mozambique where they had been donated by international organisations in the form of relief. Many flea markets in urban areas of Chimanimani and Mutare sell these clothes. In Chimanimani, traders come from towns like Mutare and Chipinge to peddle their clothes for people in forest companies and nearby communities.

The women have adopted various strategies to capture buyers from the forest companies and nearby communities. The clothes are sold on credit

with payments being made on paydays at the end of the month. Since they have limited time for shopping, Most of the workers rely on these women for clothes.

In Nyakupinga, traders also come into the area from surrounding towns like Rusape, Nyanga and Mutare. Some of these traders engage in barter whereby clothes are exchanged for agricultural crops like potatoes and beans. However, people in Nyakupinga complained that they were being exploited by this barter process since the clothes which would have been bought at lower prices are now exchanged with crops that could fetch much in urban markets. They argued that the exchanged crops were later sold to urban dwellers at higher prices. Nonetheless, they also agreed that the clothes were almost new and generally cheaper than those sold in town shops.

3.7 Hunting/Poaching Activities

There is a prevalence of hunting in forest plantations. Since hunting is an illegal operation, information on hunting is usually a secret among rural communities. Hunting activities are more pronounced in Nyahode than in Nyakupinga resettlement. However, the Chimanimani Forest Year 2000 Annual Report indicated that hunting or poaching of game was rampant in three stations the company owned.

Although officials from Gwendingwe, Charter and Erin also confirmed about the hunting activities in their areas, they agreed that it was happening at a smaller scale. In most cases villagers were unwilling to discuss issues about hunting for fear of being arrested. They very well know that hunting is forbidden by law; but they are forced to hunt due to their poverty. In addition, to the need for food, the availability of various wild animals in the area has encouraged the poaching activities. A villager put the sentiments of most of the people by saying that 'come rain or thunder, we would not let ourselves starve whilst there was abundant meat in the forests'.

3.8 Environmental Considerations

Sawmills in commercial forest areas produce a lot of wood residue. Currently, the most common practice is burning the excess waste by incineration. Consequently, local communities may be affected by the resultant smoke from the burning. Wood residue disposal should have been done in an environmentally safe manner as laid down by the FSC.

On the whole, the main environmental concerns emerge from fuel gas emissions, effluent discharge and contaminated water. In Chimanimani and Nyanga, communities were worried about the environmental damage, including the noise coming from sawmills, caused by -the forest companies. Community members stressed that disposal of waste like ash, effluent and used oil could harm wild life and pollute rivers that are used as sources of drinking water for some. The FSC supposedly checks the level of gas

emissions and dust levels during operations. Gas emissions and dust from the processing plants are also likely to affect the workers in sawmills.

As a matter of fact there were many forest companies that failed to adopt environmentally sound policies. As a result, some of these companies are yet to be certified. Chimanmani Forest, Wattle Company and Border Timbers were the only companies certified by the FSC.

Some of the prerequisites required for a company to be certified by the FAC are as follows:

FSC Certification Requirements

- Establishment of management objectives and plans;
- Provision of rationale for rate of annual harvest and species selection,
- Establishment of environmental safeguards based on environmental assessments;
- Plans for the identification and protection of rare, threatened and endangered species;
- Description and justification of harvesting techniques and equipments to be used;
- Research and data collection needed to monitor yield, growth rates, regeneration and condition of the forest. Composition and observed changes in the flora and fauna; and environmental and social impacts of harvesting and other operations;
- Written guidelines to control erosion; minimise forest damage during harvesting, road construction, and all other mechanical disturbances; and protect water resources;
- A proposition of the overall forest management area, appropriate to the scale of the plantation and to be determined in regional standards, shall be managed so as to restore the site to a natural forest cover;
- Measures shall be taken to maintain or improve soil structure, fertility, and biological activity. The techniques and rate of harvesting, road and trail construction and maintenance, and the choice of species shall not result in long term soil degradation or adverse impacts of water quality, quantity or, substantial deviation from the stream course drainage patterns;
- Measures shall be taken to prevent and minimise outbreaks of pests, diseases, fire and invasive plant introductions. Integrated pest management shall form an essential part of the management

plan, with primary reliance on prevention and biological control methods rather than chemicals and fertilisers;

- Plantations established in areas converted from natural forests after November 1994 normally shall not qualify for certification. Certification may be allowed in circumstances where sufficient evidence is submitted to the certification body that the manager/owner is not responsible directly or indirectly of such conversions.

SOURCE: Herold *et al.* 1999

It can be noted from the above list that a lot of requirements are needed of forest companies in order to be licensed and apply sustainable plantation management. Regarding their view on the issue, the Sawmill Manager for Erin indicated that his company was far from being certified due to a number of reasons which included shortage of qualified staff and some obsolete machines not operating to their full potential.

So far, the social and economic impacts of forest companies on nearby communities have been discussed. It was noted that there was differential access to social services to nearby communities. Thus, while some companies allow outsiders to enrol at company schools other do not.

Forest companies have also many investments in rural areas. The provision of wage labour, and capital investments in roads and schools help facilitate rural development as well as entrepreneurial spirit among potential investors.

Nonetheless, there must be tentative attempts to include rural communities in income generating activities since outsiders have dominated commodity marketing. Marginalising the local people from such activities, and limiting their access to and control over resources within their constituencies, will only bring about adverse consequences.

Women appear to have immensely benefited from nearby forests since they have now a lot of fuelwood at their disposal and hence saving a lot of time. This leaves the women with the opportunity to spend their saved time on other domestic chores or agricultural activities. There is also the potential empowerment drive behind the trade in mushrooms and second hand clothes. Similarly, men will have the potential to engage in successful income generating activities like carpentry. However, there is a need for legalising the honey production activity so that it would boost outputs and probably adopt sustainable harvesting methods that do not harm the environment. Although forest companies have benefited a lot from revenues realised by local communities, efforts are still needed to share these benefits with communities in areas discussed earlier. In addition, as some companies were not operating within the FSC guidelines, the resultant environmental degradation and pollution may put people's living condition in danger.

4. COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION IN NATURAL RESOURCES MANAGEMENT

Introduction

The socio-economic benefits that have accrued to communities due to their close proximity to forest companies have been discussed in the preceding chapter. While keeping in mind the importance of socio-economic factors in participation, it would be useful to go farther and illustrate the decision making processes involved in natural resources management, explore the level of community participation in natural resources management, and examine the role of traditional and modern institutions in resource management alongside socio-economic constraints faced by communities.

4.1 Institutional Networks

In both districts, the existence of traditional and modern institutions vary in accordance with the land use and management patterns in practice. At Nyakupinga, it was noted that the resettlement does not have traditional leaders, such as a chief, a headman or a kraal head. A status mark of Model A2 resettlement scheme means that the area has no traditional background that could be linked to the present villagers. It seems that this status accord had negative impacts on the management of resources. As it was noted in Chapter 2, indigenous control on and access to resources are concepts embedded in traditional values and leadership.

Modern and Traditional Institutions

In order to facilitate the administration of rural areas the GoZ set up decentralised structures in the early 1980s. Table 4.1 shows this structure.

Table 4.1 Structure of decentralised administration in Zimbabwe

1.	Central Government	National Level
2.	Provincial Council	Total number of districts in province
3.	District Council	Total number of wards in district
4.	World Development Committee (WADCO)	six villages or 600 families (i.e. 6 000 people)
5.	Village Development Committee (VIDCO)	six members representing a village
6.	VILLAGERS	Village made up of 600 families (representing 100 people)

The above table depicts the existing structure meant for effecting popular participation from the government down to village level. Under this system, the basic unit of organisation is the VIDCO. According to Makumbe (1996) the functions of VIDCOs and WADCOs are basically similar; they differ only in the degree of responsibility or the size of area of jurisdiction, with the latter being responsible for a larger area than the former. The GoZ (1985) listed the functions of VIDCOs as follows:

- They will enable the villagers to identify and articulate village needs;
- They will co-ordinate and forward village needs and proposals to the WADCO;
- They will facilitate decentralised planning and ensure better planning throughout the village;
- They will facilitate improved communication in the village;
- They are the link between the WADCO and the people;
- They will run all activities at the Village Development Centre;
- They will co-ordinate and cooperate with government extension workers in the operation of a cooperative shop, pre-school, market stall, income generation activity, health post (dispensary), adult literacy classes, craft and technology centre, natural resources, etc.

To service these lower levels of the local government structure there are the Zimbabwe government-appointed extension officers such as Village Community Workers and Ward Co-ordinators.

At the village level the government also recognises chiefs and headmen as traditional leaders under the Chiefs and Headmen Act and the Customary Law and Local Courts Act (1992). Although kraal heads are currently not recognised by law they tend to have a significant role in rural areas. According to the World Bank (1986) it is not clear where kraal heads derived their legitimacy as they seem to be involved in land administration at community level and command a big following among the rural populace.

There are external dynamics that have influenced the co-existence of modern and traditional institutions in rural areas. During the pre-independence era, traditional leaders were empowered by the colonial government to deal with the day to day affairs of the communities they headed. This ranged from seeing to the welfare of the local environment to solving of disputes among members of the community. Land was also communally owned, but under the custody of traditional leaders. The advent of independence in 1980 saw the locus of power shifting from traditional leaders to the local party leaders. Ward and Village Development committees became more powerful than the traditional leaders. Nonetheless, although they made decisions on local level development

issues, they still faced difficulties in integrating with the traditional power structures of chiefs and headmen.

It is presumed that the impressive functions of VIDCOs listed before, if coupled with cooperation from traditional leaders, would help rural areas in Nyanga and Chimanimani in sustainable natural resources management. However, it was noted that the existing administrative structures, just like in other areas in Zimbabwe, are imbued with a complex of social and political factors that were undermining their functions (Marisa 2001a).

The modern institutional set-up in Nyakupinga is a village branch that has the same functions with a VIDCO. The Branch has a chairman, vice-chairman, treasurer, secretary and committee members. It is tasked with co-ordinating community development and solving imminent conflicts within the community. A notable role played by the Branch was that of its talking with Erin and Wattle companies to having access to grazing land within fireguards, and negotiating on the issue of using the designated non-forest plantation area (closer to a nearby river) for grazing.

This institutional analysis of Nyakupinga is shown below:

Box 4:1 Institutional Analysis: Nyakupinga Resettlement

Nyakupinga resettlement is interesting in that it does not have traditional structures as is the case with many villages in Zimbabwe. Since commercial areas like private plots and sawmills surround the area, Nyakupinga resettlement does not have a chief, headman or kraalhead. However, participants at the PRA session managed to analyse modern institutions like WADCO, Councillor, Village Branch, Agricultural Technical and Extension Services (AGRITEX) and NGO interventions.

WADCO: It was highlighted that the WADCO must be able to promote community-based development programs in the area. A councillor who represents the interests of the community in the ward in Nyanga Rural District Council chairs it. The ward, which Nyakupinga belongs to, is a commercial area under Erin Estate.

Councillor: The Councillor of the area is a woman, Mrs Mandisodza. She has been working for Erin Estate as a pre-school teacher since the early 1980s. She was voted to be councillor in 1998. A few people in Nyakupinga knew her as their councillor. Actually, out of the seven people participating in a focus-group discussion, only two were aware of her position. The rest indicated that it was their first time to see her. The Councillor was blamed for failing to move around and promote development programs in the area.

Village Branch: Nyakupinga Village Branch is responsible for solving problems between villagers. Problems may be related to livestock grazing on other people's fields, or personal disputes. The Branch also looks at community priorities and then passes them over to relevant authorities. A major weakness of the branch is its failure to attend ward meetings. Lack of communication between Nyakupinga and the rest of the ward that encompasses Erin Estate is the main reason behind this scenario.

AGRITEX: Majority of people know about the role of AGRITEX in farming which was mentioned as: giving advice on appropriate crops and seeds to be cultivated in the area, searching for lucrative markets for crops, Master Farmer training, soil conservation and etc. But there is lack of agricultural extension services in the area. Some of the participants mentioned that AGRITEX thinks all the people living in the area are well off owing to the nearby private plots that are owned by absentee landlords. Most of the people came across AGRITEX officers during the official pegging of their plots that was held in June 2001. Each household was given fifteen acres of land for inclusive purposes of cash cropping, grazing, and building of a residence.

NGOs: There have been limited NGO interventions in the area. ITDG was the first NGO to come to the area in 2001. It held a meeting with the people and asked them about their views on a proposed project for generating energy from wood waste. Generally, the villagers expect NGOs to support them in self-help projects that include sewing, carpentry, wire making, irrigated farming, beekeeping and fish production.

A parallel institutional set-up was noted in Chimanimani. There is the traditional structure, and with it, the modern one consisting of WADCOs and VIDCOs. In all the villages, people were aware of the supposed functions of WADCOs. However, only a few people were aware of even the existence of VIDCOs. It was argued that VIDCOs were no longer in existence and were replaced by village branches.

Box 4:2 Institutional Analysis: Kushinga A

Traditional and modern institutions were both recognised as important in people's livelihoods. The main figures in traditional institutions that were mentioned were the headman and the chief. Modern institutions that were analysed include the Councillor, WADCO, Village Branch, AGRITEX, and NGOs.

(a) Traditional Institutions:

It was noted that Chief Ngorima is responsible for solving major problems that affect the community. He works hand-in-hand with village headmen to solve outstanding disputes in the community. Firstly, at a village level the headman solves disputes, and if he fails the matter is then taken to Chief Ngorima. It is expected that the Chief would make the final decision on the problem. The Chief is also a member of District Administration that is in Chimanimani Town.

It was highlighted that the traditional leaders also play an important role in land allocation and fining people who cut down trees without permission. Before one is resettled he/she has to be approved by the headman in consultation with the village branch. The cooperation between the traditional and modern level village branches has resulted in the two institutions working at cross-purposes with no one willing to take the risk of straining relations at the expense of the local community.

(b) Modern Institutions:

Councillor: The participants were aware of the role of the councillor in the development process. It was indicated that the councillor is supposed to send their development priorities to the rural district council. Some of the problems that have been sent to him were the need for road maintenance and construction of a suitable bridge that link the village with the Chimanimani Forest – Chimanimani Town road. The villagers have also requested through the councillor agricultural assistance in the form of seeds and fertilisers.

However, it was noted that most of their requests were not fulfilled. In most cases the councillor is blamed for not channelling assistance to the ward, even if he does not have control over some issues such as seed and fertiliser assistance. It was also highlighted that the Councillor spent more time engaging in politics rather than on development issues.

WADCO: The ward development meetings are held once in a month. Most people indicated that they attend the meetings, but they also want to see their problems solved. They indicated that they have various problems but the WADCO has failed to solve them. This partly explains the declining attendance in recent ward meetings.

VIDCO: Ideally, the problems that are faced by the village are taken to the Councillor. The Councillor would then take the problems to the district council. The frequency of problems within the village determines the level of meetings that are held. However, people claimed that the VIDCO was not holding any development meetings and most people do not know about its existence. It was only during elections that meetings were held in the guise of a VIDCO so as to promote party politics.

AGRITEX: The village shares one AGRITEX officer with the other villages. It was observed that there is a need for more officers in the area. The villagers highlighted that they want agricultural help on the following – Master Farmer training, knowledge on the types of seeds and crops to grow during winter/summer.

NGOs: Christian Care came in 1999 with a water and sanitation project. It helped in the construction of toilets and boreholes. Each household was supposed to pay Z\$600 and meet the costs of the builders. Christian Care would then donate five bags of cement, weighing two hundred and fifty kilograms.

In 1999 and 2000 the European Commission (EC) also donated building materials to the Kushinga A Primary School. This was used to build more classrooms at the primary school.

In the year 2000, the Catholic Development Commission (CADEC) donated maize seeds and fertilisers to the elderly. The donations consisted of 10kg maize seeds and 2kg of ammonium nitrate.

The general consensus was that VIDCO was no longer recognised by many as an important institution for effecting people's participation in the development process. It seems that the VIDCOs were used in the 1980s as a mechanism for enhancing the party politics for the ruling party ZANU PF. It must be noted here that issues of politics are still of paramount importance during village and ward meetings. Most of the ward's meetings that were held have been turned into political meetings thereby displacing local level development priorities. Most of the findings from Kushinga A were almost the same as that of Kushinga B.

The institutional analysis of Kushinga B could be summarised as follows:

Box 4:3 Institutional Analysis: Kushinga B**(a) Traditional Institutions:**

The participants acknowledged the importance of Chief Ngorima and his headmen in solving their problems and giving guidance to the community. It was highlighted that the young need to know about their traditional beliefs so that they would continue to respect their elders.

(b) Modern Institutions:

Councillor: The participants were aware of the role of the councillor in the ward. Some of the problems the councillor is expected to address are: road maintenance, poverty related issues especially in times of hunger, promoting income generating projects, and having a stationary or mobile clinic nearby.

However, it was pointed out that most of their development problems were not looked after, and the blame was on the councillor. He was said to be only concerned about problems nearer to his village, Kwirire.

WADCO: Some people said they do not attend the meetings because they are held far away from their homesteads. Others were critical of the councillor whom they blame for turning the WADCO meetings into a political 'circus' meant for enhancing the hegemony of his party. Thus, the meetings tend to side step important development issues that need more attention in Nyahode ward.

VIDCO: It was highlighted that the village meetings involve a lot of politics. People were forced to attend the meetings, and political activists belonging to ZANU PF threaten to chase away those who do not attend. One of the villagers remarked that the village meetings have become 'meetings for threatening people'. As such most people who are apolitical or in support of other political parties do not attend the meetings. Some of the participants even lamented that they cannot be threatened by certain members of the VIDCO who do not even know how they had been resettled in the area.

AGRITEX: Agricultural officers do not visit the area. Their village officer concentrates his efforts on Machongwe, thus marginalising their village. However, all the villagers know about the importance of AGRITEX Officers in agricultural activities.

NRB: The department of natural resources was criticised for failure to intervene in the area. Thus, many people rely on workers from

Chimanimani Forest for issues related to fire prevention and environmental conservation.

NGOs: Just like in other villages, Christian Care came here in 1998 with its water and sanitation programme. However, some people were critical of its failure to complete its water and sanitation project. Some toilets under its program were left incomplete and the water tanker that was built at the school was leaking.

The diminishing role of VIDCOs and WADCOs is, presumably, due to their lack of legal power to effectively implement objectives. Makumbe (1996, 47) aptly pointed out:

In practice, however, both VIDCOs and WADCOs have proved to be incapable of producing development plans, which have been accepted or utilised by either the District Development Committee (DDC) or Provincial Development Committee (PDC). The 'plans emanating from the VIDCOs and WADCOs have largely been shopping lists of villagers' demands and aspirations. Administrators who constitute the majority of DDC and PDC members have often ignored these.

The participation of VIDCOs and WADCOs in development issues is even more handicapped due to lack of technical expertise that is required in order to prepare and present development proposals. This is also compounded by shortage of extension officers, some of whom have limited training and skills, who could have helped develop proposals demanded by technocrats at DDC and PDC.

In Chimanimani, the Councillor was blamed for spending much of his time in politics rather than on local level development programmes. It was highlighted that every meeting called by him was used to addressing political issues intended to gain popularity for his party, ZANU PF. Some people confessed that they attend ward meetings out of fear of being victimised. This augurs well with observations by Dzingai (1992) that in most cases meetings in rural areas are 'compulsory' and manipulated by powerful people to advance their agenda.

The PRA exercises were carried out while having members of ZANU PF and war veterans in sight. This negatively affected the participation of people during PRAs. In addition, despite the initial announcement by the researcher that the research was development oriented and apolitical, some people failed to attend because they were members of the opposition party. However, the use of various groups and nominating the locals to head each group during the discussions diffused the fear of party politics and hence, people were not afraid to comment on specific issues.

It seems that the role of the councillor in regard to wood waste utilisation by outside communities is limited due to the presence of different

constituencies. Chimanimani Forest has got its own councillor, who has nothing to do with the outside communities. Thus, the influence of the councillor who represents surrounding villages is only minimal. Most villagers saw their traditional leaders as important in bargaining for more wood waste with the Chimanimani Forest.

When it comes to the distribution of land for farming, the communities do not know that they are required to consult the modern institutions, for example the VIDCO and the Councillor. The villagers responded that traditional authorities such as chiefs, headmen and kraal heads play an important role in distributing land for crop production and grazing. However, in recent years the role of traditional leaders in land allocation has been considerably undermined due to the land resettlement committees and war veterans that have been formed to spearhead the 'fast track land resettlement scheme'. Nonetheless, it was noted throughout the PRA sessions that the villagers still had high respect and regard for their traditional leaders (*Mutape*).

Despite the benefits associated with NGO interventions on the rural economy (Marisa 2001a) there have been limited NGO activities in both districts. In 2001, ITDG was the first NGO to visit Nyakupunga resettlement area. In Chimanimani, NGOs like CADEC and Christian Care have been to the area. CADEC provided food, seeds and fertilisers to the elderly who were above sixty years old. On the other hand, Christian Care helped in water and sanitation, which included the construction of toilets and boreholes. However, some people did not benefit from the projects because they failed to contribute the required money needed before getting assistance. Each household in need of assistance was required to pay Z\$600 and mould its own bricks, which was expensive for some. Thus, the intervention from the NGO only benefited a few. So it seems that differential wealth and resources within rural households affects the degree of their benefit from outside interventions.

It was discovered in another study that social differentiations among rural people invariably lead to inequalities based on ownership of land, livestock and monetary resources (Marisa 2001a). Thus, poor peasants or non-asset holders may fail to benefit from development programmes. This partly shows that during ESAP the poor who were supposed to be the primary beneficiaries of NGO projects were passed over. It is ironic that the economic reforms sponsored by the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) have only enhanced marginalisation and inequality trends, which they sought to eradicate (Marisa 2001a). Needless to say, this will have far-reaching implications on the sustainable use of natural resources, since the poor tend to misuse resources.

4.2 Constraints Towards Effective Participation

A number of factors could be attributed to the failure of local communities to effectively take part in the management of forest resources. In addition to the problems of natural resource management at an institutional level, constraints were also found at a household level. Moyo et al (1991, 72) aptly argue that “rural people over-use natural resources due to lack of suitable alternatives for survival”.

In Zimbabwe, high population densities have resulted in more forest land being cleared to make way for fields, the cultivation of fragile environments and encroachment of grazing land. The degraded resource base further fuels poverty as it progressively fails to meet the demands of the increasing population. Thus, poverty, population growth and environmental degradation appear to be factors intimately linked in a vicious cycle. The poor are forced to exploit common pool resources to satisfy their immediate needs in a manner that does not guarantee sustainable use of these resources. Environmental degradation, in turn, results in increased poverty with population growth acting as a catalyst. According to Watkins (1995), the cycle continues and the poor members of society appear to be both victims and unwilling agents of environmental degradation.

But, the analysis of poverty and environmental degradation is not always positively linked. In general, where poor people are driven to degrade their resource base, it is almost invariably because they lack alternative choices (Watkins 1995). Surely, the lack of choices may be as a result of poverty, but the underlying causes of that state, as was discussed earlier, may as well be economic, social, political and institutional.

Hence, any analytical focus should also consider people’s livelihoods and how these affect the utilisation of natural resources. Unfavourable socio-economic conditions have generally impoverished the majority of rural people thereby denying them alternatives for improved livelihoods.

4.2.1 Agriculture and Land Use

Agriculture is the cornerstone of people’s livelihood in Zimbabwe. Accordingly, failure to engage in meaningful agricultural activities negatively affects household food security and income. It is worth quoting here an earlier study done in Biriwiri ward in Chimanimani by Bongo and Bourdillon (2001: 28, 136) that there are ‘strong political, economic and social signals that cause individuals to exploit trees for craft.’

The high rainfall patterns experienced in the Eastern Highlands have facilitated for villagers to engage in intensive cultivation of maize, bananas and potatoes. In Nyanga, potatoes were mainly sold to private buyers some of whom come from as far as Mutare and Harare. In Chimanimani, fruits were mainly sold to buyers from Mutare, Masvingo and Harare. This reflects the agricultural potential of the two districts. Correspondingly,

there were specific agricultural and socio-economic problems faced by farmers in Chimanimani and Nyanga:

Shortage of land

In Nyanga and Chimanimani, competitions for land use have led to multiple effects. There were noticeable encroachment of villagers into areas reserved for forest plantations. In Kushinga B, increased population and shortage of land resulted in villagers' occupying land belonging to Chimanimani Forest. However, the status of the villagers was later legalised. In Nyanga, Nyakupinga Resettlement was also formed in the mid-1990s after war veterans had demonstrated clamouring for land. However, as previously noted in Chapter 2, the promulgation of the Land Acquisition Act has resulted in more land being ceded for the resettlement programme.

In Chimanimani villagers from Nyahode indicated that they have no land to engage in meaningful agricultural activities. They said that population increase and the sub-division of existing plots within families have led to acute land shortages.

The shortage of land has apparently led to the misuse of natural resources in parts of Chimanimani. For example in Kushinga A, most of the villagers had to cut down trees and plough closer to rivers due to shortage of land. But, in Kushinga B homestead plots were much larger than that of other villages. This is because the area was once regarded as an illegal settlement and only a few people used to stay there for fear of being evicted later.

In Nyakupinga, villagers did not express any misgivings regarding the size of their plots; they only complained that they have no grazing land. Their plots are surrounded by forest plantations and privately owned commercial plots. The forest companies Erin Estate and Wattle Company have allowed the villagers to use only fireguards for grazing. An interesting change taking place in Nyakupinga is the allocation of land to peasants in areas once owned by white commercial farmers, some of which were designated as timber Plantations.

Although the issue of land is quite pertinent in empowering the poor, certain issues need to be put into perspective for it to have a positive effect on people's livelihoods. It needs to acknowledge the gender bias involved in land allocation. Most of the land allocated to villagers in Nyakupinga and Kushinga B was to men. This tends to ultimately result in unsustainable use of forest resources. As was noted earlier, women constitute a larger proportion of the rural populace and more importantly, they rely on wood as a source of household energy. Furthermore, since women have vested interests in the environment and are more inclined towards conserving natural resources, they also need to be allocated land. During the PRA exercises the women from Chimanimani and Nyanga displayed a

comprehensive knowledge about the environment. The daily activities of women have exposed them to a wide array of natural resources more often than they did the men.

Lack of irrigation water

Villagers stressed that irrigation farming was needed in their communities. Although both districts have abundance of water, the villagers need dams and irrigation schemes in order to maximise cash cropping. At Nyakupinga, villagers indicated that they want the revival of the old Lever Brothers irrigation scheme as it would help increase productivity in crops like potatoes, beans and peas for the newly settled farmers.

In Chimanimani, the need for irrigation schemes was a top priority than was in almost all the other villages. The villagers stressed that since they only had small portions of land owing to the hilly condition of the area, intensive irrigation would be the best proposition for improving their livelihoods. There is high potential for irrigation schemes in the area evident in the various market gardens situated along stream banks. In Kushinga B some women are successfully engaged in gooseberry farming and sell their produce to Lemco a Mutare-based canning company.

Monetary Constraints

The farmers emphasised that they did not have access to loans for furthering their agricultural activities. Loans are needed for buying agricultural inputs like seeds and fertilisers. Most farmers pointed out that if they were given loans they would buy livestock, especially draught cattle. At the same time, few villagers said they wanted loans so as to start income generating projects like carpentry and sewing.

The costs of agricultural inputs (seeds, pesticides and fertilisers) were too much, and beyond the reach of most households. Attempts to apply livestock manure and anthill soil are again hampered by lack of livestock both for manure production and transportation to the field. A lot of cattle died during the 1992 nation-wide drought. The villagers in the two districts proposed the need to promote tractor tillage schemes or cattle credit facilities.

It was observed that villagers of both districts lack lucrative markets for their crops. Transport fare from their areas to nearby towns is costly, hindering commodity marketing. In Nyakupinga there are certain traders who come from the nearby towns Mutare and Rusape with second hand clothes for barter trading. The clothes are exchanged with agricultural products like beans, potatoes and maize. However, there is a small market for agricultural produce in nearby areas like Erin and Wattle Company.

In Chimanimani, villagers rely on outside buyers for their fruits and vegetables. Buyers from Mutare, Masvingo and Harare mainly buy fruits like bananas and oranges. However, the outside market is unpredictable and

in some cases buyers do not show up on time to collect the commodities and as a result, some produce would spoil.

Inaccessible roads have also negatively affected marketing of commodities. In Kushinga A and Kushinga B, lack of access to road networks and reliable transportation has limited the penetration of markets in the area. In some cases fruit buyers like Lemco usually postpone their visits to the area and this has negatively affected producers' access to income. It was in this line that the Food and Agricultural Organisation (FAO) (1962: xi) noted that any road building or improvement almost automatically helps the marketing of agricultural produce.

Lack of Extension Services

Generally speaking, there is limited accessibility to agricultural extension services. Some of the villagers even said that they did not know their respective AGRITEX officers. Staff shortages, and deliberate preference of other areas by the officers has skewed the services to some beneficiaries.

The Department of Natural Resources (DNR) has also failed to help villagers. In newly resettled areas like in Kushinga B and Nyakupinga there was a felt need for helping farmers with sustainable means of using resources. Environmental degradation was more rife in Nyakupinga, especially in the Minhaha and Britannia resettlements where newly resettled farmers were freely cutting down trees. A weakness attributed to the DNR is that the organisation never does systematic research on the rate of tree loss, but depends on social mapping, best portrayed by people relating how the distance to collect firewood has been increasing steadily over the years (Bongo and Bourdillon 2001). However, even if the two authors highlighted the importance of DNR in natural resources intervention through extension workers, and as well as plantation and agricultural activities. It seems that success is yet too far away to have had an impact on certain communities of Nyanga and Chimanimani.

4.2.2 Historical Trends

Historical trends also help us to find out about people's background, and important events that happened in their lives. Usually, people may be 'forced' to misuse natural resources due to certain events that took place in their livelihoods. (Appendices 2 and 3 reflect on the historical trends of communities in Chimanimani and Nyanga.) The following box gives a summary of the historical trends and how people's livelihoods were affected.

Box 4:4 Historical Trends

The historical trends in both districts have certain similarities in that they were once commercial plots owned by whites. At Nyakupinga, a private company Lever Brothers used to operate an irrigation scheme and a canning factory during the colonial era. Soon after independence the government took over the operations of which some of the equipment were non-functional. However, it was after the mid-1990s that the former liberation war veterans were resettled in the area.

Similarly, the villages studied in Chimanimani were formerly white owned commercial farms. Soon after independence villagers from different areas came in to stay in the area, which was devoid of any infrastructure, and services like schools, clinics and shops.

It was noted that the drought experiences of 1982, 1992 and 2002 were still vivid in the minds of a lot of people. They were able to recall the devastating effects of the drought on their livestock and domestic animals. The government assisted the poor by providing them with yellow maize imported from Kenya. An important observation is that many people associated the beginning of the economic hardships with the 1992 drought. Although ESAP was adopted in 1991, it was hardly mentioned during the PRA sessions, however, participants were aware of its related hardships like increased cost of agricultural inputs and basic foodstuffs.

It was also noted that all villages in Chimanimani experienced Cyclone Eline that occurred in 2000 – 2001. A lot of trees and infrastructure were destroyed, and many livestock like cattle, goats and chicken died in the area.

The historical trends highlighted above had an impact on the people's livelihoods. It can be deduced that the resettlement of people in former commercial areas induced the cutting down of trees for energy and agricultural purposes. On the other hand, nation wide calamities like droughts and cyclones affected the local environment in different ways. In relation to Cyclone Eline, Chimanimani Forest (2000) reported that:

Cyclone Eline, characterised by gale force winds and a torrential downpour, left a wave of destruction in its wake. Trees were uprooted, bridges by-passed or completely destroyed whilst roads were heavily eroded and/ or blocked by trees and landslides. Fortunately, no lives were lost in the immediate forest area.

Thus, the cyclone resulted in the depletion of natural resources and environmental degradation. Similarly, the 1982, 1992 and 2002 droughts affected the socio-economic status of people. The drought periods were associated with the death of livestock and starvation of the people. Thus, the diminishing of people's alternatives for survival validates Moyo's assertion that the natural resource base is likely to be over-used (Moyo et al. 1991).

5. DISCUSSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

It has been pointed out that commercial forest areas have abundant resources that may be channelled to effectively benefit nearby rural communities. The companies have been instrumental in providing labour opportunities and commodity markets in the countryside. However, nearby communities have not fully benefited from the existing natural resources that are found in forest areas. Accordingly, this chapter discusses some of the important themes that have emerged from this study and provides recommendations.

There are various socio-economic issues arising from communities living closer to commercial forest areas. Villagers from both districts in the study were clamouring for more benefits from forest companies. Villagers in Nyakupinga want more access to grazing land, and medical service from the Wattle Company clinic. On the other hand, villagers from Chimanimani insist on getting free access to off-cuts as long as they are not for re-sale. Villagers in Kushinga A and Kushinga B highlighted that the local community must be given preferential treatment with regards to employment opportunities from Chimanimani Forest. The villagers claimed that most of the recruitment was based on favour and kinship ties.

It was noted that access to edible forest foods like mushrooms tend to empower rural communities, and that women who engage in mushroom trade were able to control their monetary benefits. As such, besides supporting their families the women were also able to diversify into other income generating as well as empowering projects like market gardening and second hand trading. An example from another area showed that projects dominated by women tend to have an overall positive impact on their well being. Safilios-Rothschild (1988) notes that amongst the Kikuyu in Kenya, the farming system in Mbongoini is almost "feminised" because male migration has resulted in women's control of their products, cash and decision-making. A similar trend can also prevail in Chimanimani and Nyanga if women's projects receive more support from the government and non-governmental sectors. The entrepreneurial spirit envisioned (Chapter 3) under commoditisation, if supported, would help in efforts towards rural poverty reduction. It must also be taken into consideration that forest areas present a challenge for the men to engage in their own income generating projects.

The cases of the two youths from Chimanimani who were engaged in carpentry shows that it would be more advantageous to do wood related projects in the area due to the abundance of timber on the local market. The main problem in this regard experienced by people who wanted to get into the same business was the lack of training and resources to start operations with. On the other hand, for those with carpentry background, but without capital to kick-start operations, combining their skill with other projects in order to generate the necessary income was proved viable. There is a good potential for carpentry and other wood related projects in Chimanimani and Nyanga.

Generally, results show that there have been some efforts by commercial forest companies to increase the participation of nearby communities in forest activities. However, the steps taken by each company seem to vary depending on the amount of efforts made to promote the integration of rural communities in resource management. In Chimanimani, Chimanimani Forest has held meetings with traditional leaders to find ways of effecting the benefit to locals from forest resources. Similarly, Gwendingwe Forest has facilitated the formation of village based fire committees tasked with prevention of wild fires in the area. This has helped reduce the incidence of man-made fire in plantations owned by the company.

Although the same company, Forestry Commission, owns forest areas like Chimanimani Forest, Gwendingwe Estate, Stapleford and Erin Estate, it tends to have different policies regarding access to forest resources by nearby communities. It has also been observed that there is differential access to social services like clinics and schools owned by these companies. It is hoped that the current changes being implemented by the government in privatising the Forestry Commission would result in uniform and clear-cut policies.

Overall, there has been a number of legislations for controlling the use of natural resources; but these need to be fine-tuned to suit local circumstances. Legislations of the country can either encourage or discourage CBNRM depending on how they are enforced, and how they seek to control access and management. Some of the people do not know who is really responsible for controlling the local environment. The present legislation tends to limit the participation of rural people in CBNRM. In point of fact, the legislation remains deeply rooted in the colonial context: prioritising state intervention and regulation in natural resources management. The inflexibility of legislations has also resulted in conflicts with indigenous knowledge and control of natural resources.

However, the weakening of RDC structures as agents promoting grassroots participation is common elsewhere in Zimbabwe, not least in communal, and commercial farm and forest areas. It was also found out that communal and small-scale commercial farming ward meetings are largely organised on traditional "local government" structures where the headman plays

dominant role. In these areas, it was the headman, and not the VIDCO Chairman, who was the most important leader at the village level, and that the headman performed important functions like land allocation and collection of the development levy.

The weakening role of VIDCOs and WADCOs presents a dilemma for the government since these institutions were formed as agents for promoting participatory democracy. Although it is agreed among policy makers and researchers that government decentralisation leads to increased participation of local communities in decision making, there are still problems related with the current decentralisation process in Zimbabwe. Despite the Government's policy of decentralisation, decision making is often top-down, from national through to village politics. Though villages are included in district development plans they are not sufficiently legally empowered to self-manage available resources. Rural district councils have the legal mandate concerning resource utilisation and acquisition in communities. Since the councils are made up of politically elected councillors that are chosen by villagers, the wishes of specific communities pertaining to natural resource management are generally overshadowed by broader council's agenda. This tendency to depend on decisions from the top is legally-bound, inflexible and against current efforts to facilitate CBNRM.

There are a number of options that can be implemented for effecting community participation in the management of natural resources in the Eastern Highlands. The granting of judicial mandate to VIDCOs and WADCOs is seen as an important move in achieving an accountable, participatory and sustainable local land management strategy (Scoones and Matose 1993). Another option is trying to establish co-management regimes that incorporate legal, political and administrative constraints. Such a regime would be realistic about national, provincial, district, ward and village politics and actively seek to create political alliances between and within these levels to facilitate specific outcomes (Hasler 1993). A mutually beneficial, multi-tiered co-management mainly results in a win-win situation because it accepts the existing discontinuities and differentiation pertaining to environmental policy formulation and implementation.

A well-sounding concept that can be used to facilitating the participation and empowerment of local communities living closer to forest companies is adopting the CAMPFIRE model to manage wildlife resources. During the PRA exercises rural communities were willing to cooperate and participate in diversified income generating projects that are related to forestry resources and meant to improve their standard of living. An array of CAMPFIRE income that can be obtained by communities includes logging concession fees, hunting and meat sales, and fees for timber, thatching grass and wild food. Revenue can also be derived by promoting bee-production

within communities and then charging them fees for their activities. It was noted that despite the stand of forest companies that beekeeping is harmful to the environment, with proper training and guidance people are capable of doing sustainable projects. Another option that was suggested by some people, but heavily criticised by many, was the introduction of grazing fees in forest areas. People were against the idea arguing that they were already being levied by RDCs that charged them levies on cattle.

In order for CAMPFIRE to succeed, the local communities, including the forest companies, should be involved in the cost and benefits associated with the programme. The funds raised from any of these resources should normally be fuelled back into community projects like construction of road and bridge, grinding mills, installation of electricity and other services that would improve people's living conditions.

However, Rural District Councils that are mandated with administering CAMPFIRE programmes need to devolve the decision making, planning and implementation responsibilities of natural resources to communities. According to *The Herald* (20 June 2002), at an annual general meeting of CAMPFIRE, rural district councils were accused of abusing millions of dollars worth natural resources revenue meant for rural communities. As a result of this mismanagement, rural communities living alongside wildlife, forestry and sand extraction areas were owed millions of dollars from revenue raised over the past few years. It was also highlighted that RDCs were paying communities six months or more later after collecting revenue. With the present macro-economic problems in Zimbabwe which are epitomised by, among other things, high inflation and the devaluation of the Zimbabwean dollar, the delays in repayments meant that funds were later remitted to communities after the money had lost its value. As a result, the delays entail unbearable costs to communities since projects become more expensive to implement.

The general meeting agreed on a new distribution formula that compelled RDCs to disburse funds to communities within a month of receipt of revenue from operations. In the past, RDCs were reportedly diverting the funds to other projects that had nothing to do with communities, like paying council employees' salaries. This was a hindrance to the CAMPFIRE theme of community-based sustainable utilisation of natural resources. Although the mandate of managing natural resources was vested in RDCs, it was resolved that the councils should disburse 55% of accrued revenue from operations to community projects. CAMPFIRE also directed that at least 4% of gross revenue be allocated to the associations operation's, not more than 15% to RDC, and a maximum of 26% to the councils' CAMPFIRE accounts (*The Herald*, 20 June 2002).

An undeniable fact is that RDCs and CAMPFIRE projects in Nyanga and Chimanimani need to incorporate the non-state sector to finance and assist communities to utilise and benefit from forest resources. Generally, NGOs

have been credited for effecting popular participation and empowerment to poor communities. Thus, by supporting projects like carpentry, mushroom and honey production, NGOs may help to entrench markets in the countryside. Since rural communities have weak labour, poor capital and commodity markets, it is desirable to look for assistance from NGOs and donor agencies in this regard (Marisa 2001). NGOs may help to organise the rural poor for self-development, like through the formation of income generating self-help groups. For example, an international NGO, ITDG has financed and assisted the formalisation of beekeeping/honey production projects elsewhere in Chimanimani (ITDG 2001). In rural Zimbabwe, most self-help groups come in the form of cooperatives. The cooperatives would then be endowed with the necessary human and capital resources for them to actively participate in sustainable protection and utilisation of the environment.

The existing scenario has given war veterans illegally based power and authority over and above traditional and RDC leaders. This has created problems when it comes to controlling activities of local communities in utilising forest resources. RDC and forest company officials were afraid to show their displeasure to the war veterans who, apparently, obtained their legitimacy from the ruling party ZANU PF. Hence, they tend to be populist in their relationship with the war veterans and ZANU PF supporters. This results in confusion and hidden conflict tendencies regarding the management of forest resources. Mamimine (1996, 25) resonantly notes that:

Everybody becomes a leader in his/her own right without the responsibility of accounting for his/her day-to-day conduct to anybody else. What then prevails in a community is decentralised anarchy and the environment becomes one of the victims of such a semblance of confusion.

The land redistribution programme has provided the stakeholders involved in forestry with new challenges in effecting sustainable utilisation of available resources. There has been wantonly cutting down of trees in the newly resettled areas once owned by commercial plot-holders. This presents a challenge to the NRB and extension services to enforce rules and regulations for environmental conservation. It appears that rural communities and the newly resettled villagers need to put into perspective the benefits associated with forestry resources. Thus, the land redistribution programme calls for the Forestry Extension Services, with the help of forest companies, to instil environmental conservation practice among rural communities.

There is also a need for capacity building of local authorities and communities through training and establishment of appropriate by-laws and

mechanisms to manage resources. Seedling production, afforestation and agroforestry should be encouraged within agricultural systems in communal and resettlement areas. The farmers benefit through increased bio-mass production that helps crop and livestock interactions as well as maximum utilisation of land.

The creation of an enabling environment for companies to do their business without risks associated with land acquisitions by individuals and war veterans can create economic and social links that will have a stabilising impact. While it is undeniable that land redistribution is key to rural development and economic growth, land acquisition and the implementation of the resettlement programme should be embarked in a manner that does not undermine the capacity of commercial forest companies. The uncertainty created in commercial forest investment is likely to lead to a slump in economic growth, thereby having multiple effects of widespread unemployment and poverty trends among rural communities.

Therefore, there is a need for an amicable solution to the land impasse through creating forums for political disputes and constructive dialogue. This is an essential process for having a win-win situation in which the best interests of companies and communities are reconciled in the management of forest resources. This augurs well with Bohnet's assertion that:

A society that enables all individuals and groups to articulate their interests and has mechanisms to balance these interests possesses the best preconditions for peaceful co-existence. The support of democratisation and participation and the development of a civil society can help the introduction of such mechanisms and teach people how to handle them (Bohnet 1999, 11).

The government should be firmer, and acknowledge the rights of local communities to work hand-in-hand with forest companies in managing available resources. The government, rather than controlling resource use and management, should facilitate CBNRM by creating an enabling environment for local people to benefit from nearby forest companies. Government assisted economic incentives and support systems, especially extension and training, need to ensure continued participation of communities in the formulation, implementation and evaluation of local environmental projects. Similarly, commercial forest companies must not only be blinded and driven by the economic motive. They should also work in favour of community-based environmental protections on ecologically sound and socially acceptable sustainable development programmes. The future lies in protecting economic and social interests of both forest companies and nearby rural communities.

Meanwhile, we are waiting to see the changes, if any, that may be brought about by the privatisation of the Forestry Commission to the Forestry

Company of Zimbabwe. It is hoped that the desire for profits and good performance on the Zimbabwe Stock Exchange would not deter the company from being fully committed to the promotion of sustainable natural resources management among rural communities. Policy makers at a company or national level must have cognizance of the linkage that exists between environmental protection and economic needs. The environmental – economic nexus must be perceived within a development framework that bears in mind that “our citizens in the villages and on the farms are the first-line managers of our environment” (Murerwa 1991, 5).

It can be noted that the relationship between forest companies and nearby communities needs to be furthered through local solutions based on the need for peaceful co-existence. There is no doubt that both the companies and the communities rely on each other to survive. Thus, the economic motive behind commercial forest companies will be enhanced if the available forest resources are well managed. The management of these forest resources should incorporate community interests and priorities for effecting environmental conservation and benefits to communities.

Conclusion

The present project indicated that there have been conflicts over access to land, wood waste, and forest-related products like honey production, mushrooms and game. In addition, nearby communities have clamoured for more access to forest company sponsored services such as health care, education and employment opportunities. However, the degree of access to natural resources and services tends to vary between companies. While some companies tend to adopt a flexible approach, others have rejected community encroachment. This exclusion only helped in generating a hidden conflict that has manifested itself in illegal extraction of honey and mushrooms, practices which are unsustainable and posing a threat to the local environment.

It would be safe to assume that in natural resources management, community participation leads to the attainment of desirable goals. Hence, CBNRM is regarded as a model for applying participatory and implementation processes based on co-management of resources. Besides sustainable utilisation of resources, community-based development initiations strengthen decision-making structures in communities. It is of paramount importance that stakeholders incorporated common property regimes of resource management. The stakeholders should be able to identify conflicts, problems and possible solutions pertaining to community interests and priorities.

The present development in lacuna regarding community-based natural resources management activities in commercial forest areas calls for the government to instil local level institutional capacity building, and higher

level legal framework governing land tenure and conflict resolution as a last resort. Emphasising local level management will promote more effective, equitable and sustainable CBNRM. The Government of Zimbabwe has taken on board the need to base natural resources management on effective linkages between policy and local level management. However, there is still a need for improved understanding of the local institutional realities and the myriad ways in which users may gain or be denied access to local resources. This helps achieve the policy aims of sustainable forest resources management.

APPENDIX 1: Field Methodology Matrix

Tool	What Information?
Resource Mapping	Forest areas, the level of wood waste; village land; identify key resources, their control and management, natural resources used for food production and income generation; the differential use of resources by the local people.
Time Matrix	
(1) Seasonality Calendars	Seasonal distribution of activities and livelihood strategies, e.g. rain, access and labor trends, crops, food, consumption, income and expenditure.
(2) Daily Activity Calendars	Amount of time spent doing certain tasks on a particular day.
Transect Walks	For trust building, direct observation and establishing dialogue; To identify problems and opportunities, cultural practices; verify existence of particular features and resources, land tenure and accessibility, wood waste, forest food (fruits and mushrooms), vegetation, crops, grazing, soils, sacred areas, etc.
Historical Analysis (Timeline and Trend analysis)	Analysis and identification of key events in the past; Identify changes in agriculture, land use, socio-economic changes like population, migration, energy resources, cropping patterns, education.
Institutional Analysis	Identify people and institutions important in resource management and related relationship with the community; Relevant institutions are identified and analysis is done on their linkages/relationship with sawmills/estates. There is an option of listing institutions on cards, sort the cards, and discuss. This places into focus the role(s) of estates, chiefs, NGOs and agricultural extension workers on community development; What is the level of popular participation and empowerment within these institutions?
Wealth Ranking	To identify differential levels of social and economic characteristics within the community; what do the local people perceive according to

	such characteristics (rich, middle and poor); identify major trends in resource acquisition and use.
Livelihood Analysis	Brainstorm on major survival strategies e.g. sources of income, and score using matrices or rank them.
Priority Ranking	Ranking community needs and priorities, and options for resource utilisation.

APPENDIX 2: Historical Trends: Nyahode Ward

Madikwi Village

- 1980: Before the advent of independence in 1980 Whites had owned the area. The area had individual plots on which agricultural produce like potatoes, beans, peas, oranges and bananas were grown. Some of the Whites moved away leaving the place to the black majority. Soon after independence people came from different areas to resettle in the area. Some people came from areas like Ngorima, Dzingire, Chipinge, Masvingo and Mozambique. This resulted in an array of people with different cultural backgrounds resettling in Madikwi.
- 1981: The community helped to build Kwirire School. Grass and poles were used to construct the provisional classrooms.
- 1982: The government supported the formation of cooperatives in the area. The government indicated that only those people who were willing to join cooperatives would resettle in the area. Thus, cooperatives specialising in sawmill operations, sewing and bread manufacturing were formed.
- People experienced the effects of the nation-wide drought. A lot of cattle and goats died. There was a shortage of food and people had to rely on government ration of yellow maize nick named “Kenya” because it came through the Kenyan port from the United States of America en route to Zimbabwe. People assumed it was from Kenya, but in reality the yellow maize came from the USA.
- 1983: Some people noticed that cooperatives were not viable despite putting in much effort. Therefore, they began to withdraw their membership, and concentrated on individual farming.
- 1992: People experienced drought that was as severe as the 1982 one. The government used the ‘food-for-work’ scheme for those who wanted food. There was an increase in thieves stealing livestock and maize.

- 1995: The government gave villagers free maize seeds and fertiliser.
- 1996: It was a good agricultural season. There was expansion of private investment in [tuck] shops and grinding mills at Nyahode junction.
- 2000: Cyclone Eline resulted in incessant rain that caused flooding. Bridges, houses and cattle pens were destroyed. Livestock and a few people died from the cyclone.

KUSHINGA A

- 1980-1: People began to resettle in the area.
- 1980-85: There were no secondary schools in the area and as a result most people only did primary level education.
- 1982: A nation-wide drought hit the area resulting in people and animals dying from hunger related diseases.
- 1983-7: The community was chased off the area due to certain branch leaderships. They resisted eviction and finally settled down.
- 1992: Many people became jobless due to the introduction of ESAP.
- 1995: Armyworms ravaged the fields resulting in poor harvests.
- 1996: Locusts also contributed to hunger within the area as they also devastated the fields.
- 2000 – 1: Cyclone Eline was a major blow as it left roads, bridges, and homes destroyed and human beings dead.

KUSHINGA B

- Pre 1979: The farm was owned by a white farmer Mr. Bradenkemp, nicknamed “Shiri” owned the farm with his workers.
- 1980: Shiri left the farm, and villagers under the leadership of Mr. Manase (now headman) came to resettle in the area.
- 1982: The nearby communities invaded the farm forming cooperatives. There was also drought that left people suffering.
- 1983: Good harvest was recorded.
- 1984: The cooperatives began disrupting the community through intimidations like threatening to set cattle loose in people’s fields. So people did not grow any major crops that year, thereby resulting in low yields.

- 1988: Warnings to burn down the houses were made, if the villagers did not move out.
- 1989: No person was allowed to engage in any form of business since the community was not officially settled. In other words no permanent structures were recommended.
- 1992: Due to poor rainfall, there occurred a drought. ESAP was launched and a large number of people came back to rural areas. Prices of basic commodities began to increase.
- 1995: Another drought occurred due to mice that destroyed crops, and a year later, a marked increase in prices was witnessed.
- 1998: People were forced to leave but they resisted.
- 2000: There was the worst disaster of the decade caused by Cyclone Eline. People and animals died; houses, roads and bridges were left destroyed, and there was no communication and access.
- The community was formally given land and AGRITEX pegged their stands.

APPENDIX 3: Historical Trends: Nyakupinga

The history of Nyakupinga and the surrounding resources goes back to the pre-independence era. Traditionally Chief Sanyanga once inhabited the area; but the introduction of plantation forests led to the eviction of people to surrounding areas like Nyamaropa, Mutasa and Honde Valley. It appears that a nexus of socio-political and economic factors influenced the set-up of Nyakupinga resettlement. This was clearly shown from the historical trend analysis that came from the PRAs as depicted below.

- Pre 1938: The area belonged to the Shona tribe under the chieftainship of Samanyanga.
- 1938+ After the eviction of the local people whites occupied the area.
- 1974: A private company, Lever Brothers occupied a large irrigation plot that was used to grow beans, peas, carrots and apples. It had a canning factory at the site that employed people from the surrounding communal areas like Mutasa. Most of the workers were transported to and from work by company vehicles. The company also engaged in fish and beekeeping within the plot.
- 1979: The liberation war disturbed agricultural activities in the area. In addition, some of the irrigation pipes and equipment were damaged during the war.

- 1980: The government took over the Lever Brothers' irrigation plot and factory. However, no agricultural activities took place since some of the equipments were damaged.
- 1985: The government revived agricultural activities under its socialist ideology that hinged on cooperation. Thus, Youth Brigades composed of formerly war veterans and cadres formed a cooperative that used the irrigation plots. The government used the Youth Brigades as a way of employment creation and self-help initiation for the rural people. The same crops that were grown by Lever Brothers were also produced by youths.
- 1992: The participants highlighted the emergence of drought and economic hardships due to ESAP. The nation-wide drought heavily affected nearby forest and agricultural activities. Crops that dried up included maize, potatoes and tomatoes, as well as fruits like apples and peaches.
- ESAP resulted in an increase in the price of foodstuffs like bread, cooking oil and maize meal. There was also an increase in the prices of agricultural inputs like seeds and fertilisers.
- 1995: The area was given to war veterans after they had made a demonstration demanding land. The demonstration included marching from Nyanga to Harare, a distance of about 280km.
- Chingamwe Estate was under Tobacco Sales Limited and it closed operations due to viability problems. Some of the workers were retrenched and others were transferred to Nyanga Timbers that had bought the company.
- 2000: Cyclone Eline had no major impact in Nyakupinga. The surrounding trees and mountains helped to reduce impact of the cyclone. However, the cyclone destroyed trees, river basins and houses in nearby villages of Honde Valley and Mutasa.
- 2001: There was a marked increase in the cost of living. This has been exacerbated by increased costs of fuel: petrol, diesel and paraffin. People also faced unemployment problem. Wattle Company and Erin Forest no longer took in casual workers like they used to do. In addition, those who were employed received low salaries that did not suffice to survive under the harsh economic environment.
- More people were resettled in former white commercial farms, Minnhaha and Britannia.

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