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"No Spirits Control the Trees":
History, Culture and Gender in the Social Forest
in a Zimbabwean Resettlement Area

by

Allison Frances Wanda Goebel   ©

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and

Research in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the

degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Department of Sociology

Edmonton, Alberta

Fall 1997

Canada

University of Alberta

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Degree: Doctor of Philosophy

Year this Degree Granted: 1997

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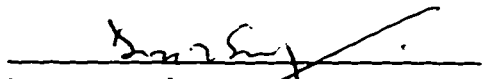
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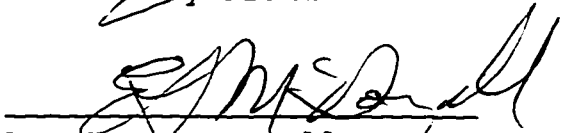
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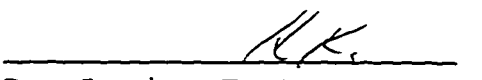
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ABSTRACT

This study challenges "sustainable development" approaches to the problem of deforestation in Southern Africa which focus on technical solutions and cast the practices of rural African peasants at the heart of the degradation. In a study of woodland use and management in resettlement in Zimbabwe, the historical legacy of colonial land distribution policies is placed at the centre of the land degradation puzzle. As such, conflicts among rural Africans over forest resources made scarce by lingering land distribution inequalities emerge as key stresses on the woodlands. The work also traces the continuity between colonial and post-colonial policies and perceptions in woodland management in rural African areas in Zimbabwe, arguing that post-colonial policy is consistent with a growing trend since Independence in 1980, to protect the class interests of commercial farmers and the new black elite against meaningful land reform for the majority peasant poor. Hence resource scarcity among the rural majority persists. The work also addresses the local level context of people's uses, management systems and perceptions of the woodlands in a case study of a resettlement area. As such, static concepts of "indigenous knowledge" are challenged by a discussion of the complexity with which "tradition" is intertwined with "western" and modern ideologies such as Christianity and modern conservationist ideas. Gender relations also emerge as central to the social systems defining the social forest. Overall the work suggests that

social forestry approaches to deforestation, which by definition intend to include social systems in their analyses, are still largely uninformed by the profound influence of social, historical and cultural factors in rural Africans' relationship to woodlands.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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List of Acronyms and Abbreviations

AGRITEX	Department of Agriculture, Technical and Extension Services
AIDS	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
CA	Communal Area
CAMPFIRE	Communal Areas Management Plan for Indigenous Resources
CASS	Centre for Applied Social Science
CIDA	Canadian International Development Agency
CIFOR	Centre for International Forestry Research
CITES	Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species
DA	District Administrator
DERUDE	Department of Rural Development
DC	District Council
ESAP	World Bank Group's Extended Structural Adjustment Programme, or Economic Structural Adjustment Programme
FAO	Food and Agricultural Organization (United Nations)
FC	Forestry Commission
GAD	Gender and Development
GMB	Grain Marketing Board
ICA	Intensive Conservation Authority
ICRAF	International Centre for Research on Agroforestry
IDRC	International Development Research Centre (Canada)
IMF	International Monetary Fund
LAA	Land Apportionment Act (1930)
LTC	Land Tenure Commission ("Rukuni Report" 1994)
NGO	Non Governmental Organization
NLHA	Native Land Husbandry Act (1951)
NRB	Natural Resources Board
PRA	Participatory Rural Appraisal
RA	Resettlement Area
RDC	Rural District Council
RRA	Rapid Rural Appraisal
RO	Resettlement Officer
SSHRC	Social Science and Humanities Research Council (Canada)
TNDP	Transitional National Development Plan
TTL	Tribal Trust Land
UN	United Nations
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
VIDCO	Village Development Committee
WADCO	Ward Development Committee
WAG	Women's Action Group
WB	World Bank
WED	Women, Environment and Sustainable Development
WID	Women in Development
ZFU	Zimbabwe Farmers' Union
ZRP	Zimbabwe Republic Police
ZWRCN	Zimbabwe Women's Resource Centre and Network

Note on Citations from Interviews

Respondents to the formal interview schedules were granted anonymity, and labelled only by coded numbers referring to village, household and gender. Direct quotations from interview scripts are marked only by number. For example, 4.35m refers to male respondent from household number 35 from village 4, and 2.7f refers to female respondent from household 7 in village 2.

In identifying the particular schedule from which responses have been gathered, I use the following formula: name of schedule, section number, question number. For example, Household II. 6 refers to question 6 of the second section of the Household schedule.

"No spirits control the trees"[1]:

History, Culture and Gender in the Social Forest

in a Zimbabwean Resettlement Area

CHAPTER ONE
Introduction[2]

"Developmentalism" and the Study of the Social Forest.

Rural development projects and policies of Southern Africa have long been dominated by concerns about agriculture, a perceived agrarian crisis being blamed for recurrent famine and overall decline in food sufficiency on the African continent. The dominant development approach to this crisis has been to seek technical solutions such as improved crop varieties, new farming practices and technologies (Berry 1989a; Harrison 1987; Peter and Horowitz 1987; Richards 1983). Concern about fuelwood has been a recurrent theme within this,

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[1]. Household Schedule, III. 14. Respondent 1.27m in answer to the question: "Why do people avoid cutting wild fruit trees? Are there any spirits thought to own or protect these trees?".

[2].A version of the discussion of Participatory Rural Appraisal in this chapter, plus sections from chapters four and seven has been submitted to the journal _Development and Change_ for consideration for publication. The article is entitled: "Process, Perception and Power: Notes from 'Participatory' Research in a Zimbabwean Resettlement Area". An earlier version of this paper is published in the working paper series of the Centre of Applied Social Science, University of Zimbabwe, and Rural Economy, University of Alberta.

but the complex social patterns and multiple uses of woodlands have only recently begun to be explored (Dewees 1989; Jackson 1984; Leach and Mearns 1988; Munslow et al 1988). Social forestry and agroforestry explicitly focus on peasant practices and perceptions in rural woodland use and management as a means of promoting sustainable use of forests, preventing deforestation and supporting rural livelihoods. In short, concern with woodlands has become a full-fledged aspect of developmentalism.[3]

The current popularity of social forestry knowledge production and projects is part of Sustainable Development or Development and Environment approaches, which are the latest versions of the developmentalist approach to the problems of poverty in Third World countries. Sustainable development in part represents the West's growing concern with environmental deterioration, particularly the global issues of ozone depletion, resource destruction in the global commons (such as fish stocks), rain forest destruction, loss of biodiversity, and effects of industrial pollution (especially acid rain and toxic wastes). As such, it can be cast as an imposition of a conservationist agenda of the West. Africa in particular, is

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[3]. I use "developmentalism" to mean the practices, ideologies, policies and projects of the main multi- and bi-lateral international development institutions such as the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the United Nations (UN), the Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO), United States Agency for International Development (USAID), and in Canada, the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA).

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being cast as on the brink of ecological disaster (Anderson and Grove et al 1987).

The sustainable development paradigm also reflects growing recognition of the "development crisis" in the South, most evident since the onset of the debt crisis in the 1980s (Braidotti et al 1994: 1). The Brundtland Report, Our Common Future, submitted by the UN World Commission on Environment and Development and published in 1987, heralded the beginning of a paradigm shift in developmentalism. This report introduced the concept of sustainable development as a mutually beneficial goal of the North and South, and hoped to promote global environmental protection and equitable economic growth. By 1992 and the UN Earth Summit in Rio, sustainable development was firmly on the international agenda. Currently, all major projects (eg WB, CIDA, etc), pay at least lip service to the environmental effects of economic development. Mainstream definition of sustainable development retains the modernization (Western model) definition of development as economic growth, as represented by GNP and other such economic indicators. However, it adds to this that development must use resources in ways that do not jeopardize the livelihoods of future generations.

Third world states have voiced dismay at this shift, claiming that first world countries are trying to make the Third World clean up the mess made by the West, and engaging in green imperialism. The environmental crisis has been caused

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largely by the North, in a global economic system in which 20% of the world population consumes 80% of the world's resources. The call is often for "development first; environmental protection second" (Braidotti et al 1994; Porter and Brown 1991). Indeed, development critics often claim that the focus on environment is a way for the industrial world to remove itself from the economic difficulties of the south, and the challenge to the global economic structures the South has made. Furthermore, post USSR Europe is draining much aid and attention away from the South, at the same time that developmentalists in the North have run out of ideas about how to "develop" the South.[4] What remains is Structural Adjustment, and a focus on environment, which is increasingly translated into concern for overpopulation (Joekes et al 1994). There are, however, some positive aspects of the paradigm shift to sustainable development.

The very real environmental problems faced by many Third World people, such as deforestation, land degradation, deteriorating water supplies, and loss of wildlife resources represent a livelihood crisis. Unlike most people in the industrialized North who are protected from the more obvious effects and costs of environmental decline, for many Third World families the crisis is experienced first hand, with immediate consequences (Collins 1991: 35; Ghai 1994; Moyo et

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[4]. See <u>Third World Quarterly</u> 15(1) 1994. "Special Issue. The South in the New World (Dis)Order".

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al 1991). As such, the focus on environment is crucial in understanding Third World poverty, particularly in rural areas.

The specific example explored in this thesis is a case in point. The role of woodlands in household livelihoods in rural Zimbabwe is crucial and diverse.[5] In rural areas, 95% of households use firewood for cooking,[6] and 81% of all rural energy, comes from fuelwood (Chimedza 1989). Timber for domestic building and thatching grass that grows in and around woodlands are also crucial (Matose 1994). Tree and forest products also contribute directly to household nutrition and health, especially indigenous and exotic fruits, forest mushrooms, caterpillars, honey and medicines (Fortmann and Nabane 1992; Matose 1994). Forests are also habitats for game which provide important sources of protein for rural households (Matose 1994). Many of these products are also important sources of income for rural men and women, as they can be sold in towns or to other households and communities facing shortages (Fortmann and Nabane 1992). Woodcarving for

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[5]. In Rapid Rural Appraisal of six Zimbabwean sites, researchers were informed of the following uses of indigenous tree species: 18 species for firewood, 27 for stomach ailment medicines, 2 for headache, 1 for eye medication, 9 for coughs, 2 for malaria, 1 for dizziness, 4 to treat wounds, 1 for chills, 44 fruit trees, 33 fodder species, 13 used for axe handles, 8 for making yokes, 10 for making mortars, 10 for stools, 8 supplying food other than fruit, and 17 with religious or magical significance (Nhira and Fortmann 1993: 153).

[6]. Central Statistical Office 1994. Census 1992. Zimbabwe National Report. Harare: 128.

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the tourist market is a fast-growing industry. Trees and forests also play crucial roles in soil and water table maintenance, hence affecting agricultural production.

Research on woodlands in Zimbabwe has so far focused on Communal Areas[7] and state forest areas. Little is known about conditions and practices in Resettlement Areas, the former commercial and state lands that have been designated to African peasant farmers since Zimbabwean Independence in 1980. At present, about 6% of the peasantry have been settled on 3.4 million hectares of land, in over 50 different resettlement schemes scattered throughout the country[8] (See Map 1.1). Despite the small population involved, woodland use and management in Resettlement is interesting in several key ways. First, most Resettlement Areas (RAs) are relatively well-wooded compared to Communal Areas (CAs), and hence offer a context of woodland abundance rather than scarcity. Second, RAs operate under different land tenure rules and different types of local institutions than CAs. Hence, the RA context provides an opportunity to consider the effects of tenure and

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[7]. Formerly known as "Tribal Trust Lands" or "Reserves", these are the areas that the former colonial government of Southern Rhodesia designated for indigenous African use. The areas chosen were generally of poor soils and lower rainfall areas, which meant that resources such as woodlands rapidly came under strain. The history of land distribution is discussed in more detail in Chapter Two.

[8]. "Only six percent resettled on land acquired so far" The Sunday Mail, November 3 1996: 9. The 1992 Census places the proportion at 4.15% of the Zimabwean population (Central Statistical Office 1994. Census 1992. Zimbabwe National Report. Harare: 27).

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institutions in resource use in a structurally new context in Zimbabwe. Third, RAs usually lie adjacent to CAs. The one thing that has been observed consistently regarding woodland use in RAs is that neighbours from CAs poach woodland resources to such an extent, that rapid deforestation appears to be taking place in RAs (Grundy 1995; Scoones and Matose 1993; Nhira and Fortmann 1993; Fortmann and Bruce 1993). This situation offers a case study of conflict over access to resources which could contribute to debates and discussion about resource sharing schemes.[9] Further, the fact that this situation of conflict is leading to deforestation in RAs warrants a timely study before the woodlands are as seriously depleted as in most CAs.

Hence, in the rural Zimbabwean context, a study of woodlands in RAs is a case where a focus on environment is relevant and timely. Indeed, in general, the focus on environment in developmentalism could be useful. However, the way a study is framed is crucial if it is not to become part of the "discursive colonization" of the Third World (Mueller

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[9]. In the Zimbabwean context, forms of resource sharing are becoming increasingly common in discussions about resource pillaging in state forests by neighbouring CA residents (Matose 1994, and the work in progress of Patrick Mushove). Resource sharing concepts also underpin the much-lauded CAMPFIRE scheme (Communal Areas Management of Indigenous Resources). CAMPFIRE is a natural resource management scheme that works on the premise that rural people must benefit from the protection of natural resources if they are to be expected to participate in management schemes. Originally conceived by senior officials at National Parks as a means to protect wildlife and vegetation, CAMPFIRE schemes currently concentrate on the protection of wild animals.

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1987; Ferguson 1990; Dubois 1991; Braidotti et al 1994). Development policy and projects that seek to address immediate environmental problems are often characterized by two main paradigmatic themes that undercut their stated objective of improvement of rural livelihoods. The first is that they tend to sidestep structural conditions beyond the control of the people targeted for development. For example, while the World Bank estimates that 70% of deforestation in Africa is due to clearing land for agriculture, the Bank promotes cash cropping to meet export quotas through Structural Adjustment to pay off the debt (Sontheimer 1991). Similarly, most developmentalist approaches to rural environmental problems cast the peasants as misusing the resources because of poor techniques. Hence the solution is seen as Western technology and know how, which can teach the peasant how to use resources more productively, and conserve and reclaim the environment, through, for example, agroforestry techniques (see for example, Gregersen et al for the World Bank 1989).[10] Efforts, beginning in the early 1980s to include peasant knowledge (coined "Indigenous Knowledge") in the design of technical solutions have only partially modified the problems in this approach.[11] This

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[10]. While much of this technology is now being developed in research institutions of the south, the work is still part of the paradigm of the "technical fix" approach to development.

[11]. This is discussed further below in regards to Participatory Rural Appraisal techniques, and in Chapter Four which discusses constructions of "Indigenous Knowledge".

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approach misses the fact that the peasants in question do not degrade the environment out of ignorance, but are forced to do this out of poverty (lack of inputs and lack of adequate land), often a legacy of colonialism. In addition, peasants are often squeezed by current practices of commercialization and privatization which are driven by the structures of the world market (Ghai 1994). Hence the focus on the poor peasant as the source of the environmental crisis misses the larger picture of land ownership patterns and destructive commercial use patterns, which are key parts of the world food production system (Dankelman and Davidson 1991). The dominant developmentalist approach ignores or marginalizes the historical, political and international background and context of the current situation of imbalance and deterioration in rural subsistence systems. Problems are of course manifest locally, and require immediate redress to avert disaster in local people's livelihoods. However, if the problem is reduced to a local development problem requiring only a technical fix such as new tree species or farming practices to reclaim or sustainably manage resources, and/or increase local productivity, then efforts are likely to fail over the long run.[12]

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[12]. This tendency in agroforestry research is also reflected in the dominance of economics as the "social science" partner to biology and ecology. See Giles (et al) 1993; Nair 1993. The economics approach often privileges a "rational" approach, such as building a computer model to aid in "prescribing" what is needed in a given local context (see Giles (et al) 1993).

The second major paradigmatic theme is the tendency to limit information on the social, cultural and economic dynamics in the communities the development is meant to aid. Social forestry and agroforestry projects attempt to take account of immediate social relations in designing projects, mainly because of the recognition that project success depends on local participation and the utilization of local knowledge systems (Cook for the World Bank 1989; Gregersen et al for the World Bank 1989; Raintree (FAO) 1991). However, there remains a desire to limit investigation of local social conditions and practices as it is very time consuming and expensive. There is a focus on Rapid Rural Appraisal (RRA) techniques, designed to get "just enough" information to facilitate project implementation (see especially Gregersen 1989: 124-5).

This study of woodland use and management in a resettlement context in Zimbabwe seeks to challenge these two major characteristics of developmentalism. First, it provides a detailed case study of woodland use and management systems, which identifies the linkages and effects of broader historical and contextual issues. The analysis shows that the micro context cannot be divorced from historical legacy, the broader land distribution issue, the economic climate, political realities, or factors such as drought and the AIDs epidemic. Specifically, rather than a narrow focus on "peasant practices", the study contextualizes peasant practices in woodland use within the broader historical and contemporary

issues of land distribution and state practices and ideologies. It examines how the colonial state constructed African peasants as "environmentally destructive", and in need of modern techniques, not only through the racist, Social Darwinist eyes of the time, but through conveniently setting aside the question of land distribution. The changing position of the new independent government on the issue of land redistribution through the resettlement programme is examined, with special attention to how government stalling on resettlement is accompanied by an increasing tendency for the state controlled press to construct African peasants as inefficient, wasteful and destructive of the environment. The history of state interventions in woodland management in African areas and how this relates to current state policies is also addressed. How these state policies and interventions affect peasant perceptions and practices on the ground, is explored. This leads to an interrogation of the concept of indigenous knowledge, along with the tendency to present indigenous knowledge and modern or foreign expertise as a static dichotomy. What people actually do on the ground is affected by multiple and often contradictory factors, including state policies and institutions, volatile traditional practices, ideologies and institutions, and modernist discourses.

Second, the study looks at the micro social context with an interest in complexities and contradictions. The findings

show that developmentalist approaches that attempt to minimize social information in order to produce a controllable project document are bound to fail in their objectives. Social worlds are never simple. The study emphasizes the complexities of local social and cultural dynamics related to woodland use and management. The situation of intense institutional, economic and social change brought through resettlement, as well as in the post-Independent context in Zimbabwe more generally, mean that communities are volatile, complex, and riven with conflicts. Issues in land tenure, common property regimes, institutions, changing traditions, gender relations and the household are all addressed.

Theoretical Approach: Materialist Feminism

An epistemological approach to studying "the social".

In my general approach to social research, I identify myself as a materialist feminist. Materialist feminism as a form of historical materialism, accepts as a start, that the human world is a material world, rather than an abstract world of ideas, or a world imbued with transcendental meaning. Landry and MacLean define materialism as a position claiming that "the origins of all forms of existence, including human activity, can be explained in terms of physical being" (Landry and MacLean 1993: 3). A materialist theory can thus talk of social realities as material relations, as patterns of activity taken up by bodies, supported by institutions and discourses and by people's ideas and cultural expressions.

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This is not to say that the material world determines social relations. The environemnt in which people live, the forest, the soil types, the availability of water and so on, must be taken into account when studying social relations, belief systems or historical change.

Current materialist feminism lets go of an Althusserian structural analysis of the social world, as being too deterministic, but is wary of a postmodern position that understands the social as "contingent logic" (Hennessy's reading of Foucault). Hennessy (1993), for example, argues instead for a notion of the social as "systemic". She advocates a post-structuralist position while holding that there are certain "social totalities" (like patriarchy and capitalism), that operate systematically in the world, and have real effects. She argues, for instance,

> that the continued success of patriarchy depends upon its systemic operation -- the hierarchical social relations it maintains and the other material forces it marshals and is shaped by (Hennessy 1993: xv).

Similarly, Fraser and Nicholson (1990: 26) caution against losing sight of the pervasiveness of such social realities as patriarchy, by focusing exclusively on local, fragmented narratives. Landry and MacLean outline several broad social realities that have global, systemic effects, including changes in the global economic structure which are currently blurring prevailing notions of sovereignty and the nation state, technological changes such as biotechnology and

informatics that promote new relations between humans and the "natural" world, and the encroachment of ecological ruin which will soon put real limits on growth and consumption (Landry and MacLean 1993: 206).

Understanding the world as material, and as containing patterns affecting vast groups of people, leads to the formulating of theory that includes a "global analytic", not as a totalizing framework, but as "relational thinking", as seeing the world as connected in its political and economic structures (Hennessy 1993: 16). It also involves a valuing of history and the study of the social, even if we do not see history as evolutionary or in a teleological sense (Moi 1994).

Marxism has provided a strong lens for understanding these kinds of relations, but has often been used reductively, such as in seeing the economic as the cause of all other aspects of society, or as understanding class conflict as the central and only important conflict and generator of social change. Feminism, particularly in its socialist forms, has tried to improve Marxism by adding an analysis of patriarchy and gender relations, resulting in dissatisfying forms of dual systems theory. Materialist feminism seeks to escape from these difficulties, without losing the powerful tools of social critique these Enlightenment narratives contain.

Crucial blows to the support for dual systems theory were the critiques of African American women, Third World women, eco-feminists, and lesbians, who pointed out that the theory

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excluded their realities and their central struggles. The influence of post-structuralism, particularly in literary theory, also caused major reconceptualizations of the left feminist project:

> The new emphases on race, ethnicity, postcolonialism, gay liberation, and the history of sexuality, and the cultural impact of postmodernism and its intellectual correlative, post-structuralism, have helped to shift the terrain of previous debates from a possible synthesis of Marxism and feminism to the construction of a materialist analysis of culture informed by and responsive to the concerns of women, as well as people of color and other marginalized groups. (Landry and MacLean 1993: ix-x)

In response to this, materialist feminism accepts that there are "material contradictions" besides class and gender, such as those around race ideologies, sexuality, imperialism, colonialism, and anthropocentricism. Furthermore, social movements around these contradictions can be discontinuous and in conflict (Landry and MacLean 1993: 229).

In this expansion of the analysis of "material contradictions", Raymond William's "cultural materialism" is often cited as useful. Williams critiques Althusserian structural Marxism, in which some attempt is made to loosen the articulation of the economy and other aspects of society, "as still too mechanical" (Landry and MacLean 1993: 5). Williams argues for greater attention to culture, and for "the dissoluable connections between material production, political and cultural institutions and activity, and consciousness" (Williams 1977: 80, cited in Landry and MacLean 1993: 5). The

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social fabric is best imaged as "a complex weave of signifying structures", or a "network of strands" (Moi 1994). It is here that the postmodern concept from Foucault of "discourse" is useful, or for Moi, the concepts of "field" and "habitus" appropriated from Pierre Bourdieu. Foucault defined discourse as "the group of statements that belong to a single system of formation" (1972: 107, cited in Landry and MacLean 1993: 6). "Field" is the social space in which social "games" take place, and "habitus" is the unspoken rules of the game (Moi 1994). In both cases, the idea is to conceptualize social reality as a network of complex and interacting "discourses" or "fields", which can be identified or traced as coherent, but are not stable or transparently "caused" by any single factor such as economics, politics or historical progress. For materialist feminism, as complex as this web of discourses or fields may be, it is always in the final analysis, material. Hence Hennessy speaks of the "materiality of discourse" (Hennessy 1993: xiv), as a drag on the tendency of some postmoderns to talk about there being no reality outside the "text" or the discourse (Ibid: 5).

In the study for this thesis, this means that the "social world" of a Resettlement Area is seen as a "complex web of discourses", formed by many strands that are often contradictory. These include how people use the physical environment to live, dynamic cultural practices and ideas, state imposed rules and surveillance, local institutions,

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hierarchies and social relations, and historical legacies including the structural conditions of land inequality and peasant poverty, ideological persuasions, and a sense of current entitlement to redress past injustices of colonial imposition.

The chapters are organized to draw out some of these strands in the complex web. Chapter Two considers the history of colonial land alienation, imposition of the wage economy, and colonial ideological constructions of African peasant farmers as inefficient and environmentally destructive. The chapter also considers the legacies of this colonial past in the resettlement policies of the post-Independent government, and how these legacies combined with revolutionary socialist rhetoric, emergent class interests of the new black elite, as well as international ideological and economic forces of developmentalism to limit the possibilities for large scale land redistribution.

Chapter Three addresses the issue of land tenure as related to the specific question of management of the social forest. It considers the ideological-historical field of the 1994 Land Tenure Commission's recommendations on land tenure, and the implications for the social forest in resettlement, given the major institutional and conflictual issues.

Chapter Four considers traditional rules and practices in the social forests, and how these co-exist, conflict and are transformed through the processes of social upheaval of the

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resettlement process, competing cosmologies in the form of different Christian churches, and effects of modernist ideologies and practices.

Chapters Five, Six and Seven, deal with gender relations which are fundamentally implicated in the agricultural production system, and in the use and management of the social forest. Configurations of gendered power are formed through state policy and practice, cultural beliefs and family and household forms. These power dynamics are underpinned by differential economic power and social entitlement, within the household, and in the broader social world.

How can we know? Theory as Politics.

Theory itself is discursive, part of the social world it is constructed to analyze. Theory must be understood as a set of tools we design in order to make sense of the world (Hennessy 1993: xii). Theory, then, is inherently political, as it defines what is important, what counts. In this sense theory is not about the social world, but is a part of it. As such, theory has historicity which should be acknowledged and critiqued, or it is in danger of moving from a "mode of intelligibility" to a "master or totalizing narrative"; that is, a narrative that suggests it stands outside the object of analysis, establishing terms of coherence for empirical content (Hennessy 1993: 7):

> Investigations into the conditions of possibility which make certain meanings allowable and which also acknowledge their own historicity are not fixed narratives or totalizing theories but

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theoretical practices. (Hennessy 1993: 8)

Understanding theory as part of the social world, means that the category "the social" within a given theory should be seen as a category of knowledge production:

> As a discursive category, the social becomes meaning-full within the frames of intelligibility, the ideological practices, through which meaning is constructed. (Hennessy 1993: 14)

And the "social logics" in the cultural narratives determine what counts and how things are explained.

If theory and knowledge are understood as historically contingent constructions, then claims to Truth, that is knowledge of a stable objective reality can not be made. Hennessy argues for redefining (small "t") truth as explanatory power, as "effectivity" in achieving the goals of ending oppression and exploitation (Hennessy 1993: 28). This leads to the next point: the inseparability of theory and practice, or the inescapably political nature of theory.

In Hennessy's construction, theory is the way we make sense of the world, it defines what we name and what we criticize. Materialist feminism embraces and makes explicit the political agenda of its theory, guarding against dissolving into "liberal pluralism and political impotence" (Hennessy 1993: xiii). Hennessy refers here to the fear of many feminists that postmodernism's concern with endless differences between people, and with the impossibility of understanding the world as a social whole, threatens feminism's political agenda. Susan Bordo argues:

> Too relentless a focus on historical heterogeneity,
> for example, can obscure the transhistorical
> hierarchical patterns of white, male privilege that
> have informed the creation of the Western
> intellectual tradition. (Bordo 1990: 149)

Linda Hutcheon (1989) talks about feminism as the political consciousness of postmodernism, while Fraser and Nicholson (1990: 20) state that postmodernism's "conceptions of social criticism tend to be anaemic", whereas feminists "offer robust conceptions of social criticism". Common to these arguments is the acceptance of feminist theory as politically driven, as a form of activism. What remains to be dealt with is whether the politics of feminism leads it inescapably to essentialism.

Toril Moi acknowledges the situatedness of any position, but warns against sliding into "some kind of comfortable cultural relativism" (Moi 1990: 368). Moi states that feminism must always be a politicized position, and as such, seeks to convince others of the correctness of its claims:

> I would characterize my project, both here and in
> Sexual/Textual Politics, as an effort to argue for
> a **politicized** understanding of feminism... My aim
> then, is not first and foremost to demonstrate my
> difference, but to convince. (Moi 1990: 368)

By taking this position, Moi is rejecting an all-out postmodern relativism, what she calls here postfeminism, as she sees this as incompatible with feminism. She accepts that this means feminism must have closure, must take a position, and hence could be wrong:

> My general agonistic definition won't, of course,
> allow us to **prescribe** a universally correct
> feminist practice, but it has the merit of implying

> that feminists have to take sides. Sometimes, of
> course, we will be **wrong** in our political
> decisions: some postfeminism seems to me not even
> specific enough to be that, and consequently, in
> its endless self-qualifying openness, it comes to
> display its own kind of closure. (Moi 1990: 371)

To take sides in a study of post-colonial context in Southern
Africa is to point out and analyze injustices that occur along
international, racial, class and gender lines. I hence
criticize the international political economy of which
developmentalism is a part, the continued privileging of white
economic interests in the post-colonial state, the corrupt
self-interest of the new black elites, and the subordination
of women. My discourse is overtly political, but hopefully not
polemical.

Materialist feminism and approaches to "The Subject".

Socialist feminism and Marxism have often focused on the
systems and structures of oppression and neglected the
subject. One of postmodernism's key projects is to
problematize the subject, to unpack it as a category, to
understand it as constructed. Black, Third World, and lesbian
critiques of feminism mentioned above, often discuss how
white, Western feminism has always had an implicitly white
Western subject that does not reflect their realities. Who is
the "woman" feminism speaks for? What does she speak about? It
is time to make "the specificity of whiteness and middle-
classness visible, removing the cloth of hegemony that makes
them natural" (Phelan 1991: 129). These questions have become

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central for the remoulding of socialist feminism as materialist feminism.

The need for problematizing the category woman in feminism will be explored here through the examination of two key articles about the representation of Third World women in Western feminist discourse.[13]

Mohanty (1991) discusses how Third World women are monolithically represented in the discourse of white Western feminists:

> the feminist writings I analyze here discursively colonize the material and historical hetereogeneities of the lives of women in the Third World, thereby producing/re-presenting a composite, singular "third world woman" - an image which appears arbitrarily constructed, but nevertheless carries with it the authorizing signature of Western humanist discourse. (p. 53)

Mohanty locates the cause of this problem with the Western feminist tendency to use "women" as a pre-established category. "Women" as a category, she posits, are seen as fundamentally the same by virtue of the social oppression of patriarchy which is universal across culture and class. Mohanty writes that there is an "assumption of women as an always already constituted group" (p. 56), which is then labelled powerless and exploited.

The analytical move of presupposing an unproblematic category "woman" in writing on Third World women, blocks Western feminist researchers from awareness and consideration

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[13]. See also Rey Chow 1993.

of the differences of Third World women's lives:

> It is at this point that an elision takes place
> between "women" as a discursively constructed group
> and "women" as material subjects of their own
> history. Thus, the discursively consensual
> homogeneity of "women" as a group is mistaken for
> the historically specific material reality of
> groups of women. (p.56)

The space where "the historically specific material reality"
-- the "difference"-- may have shown up in representations of
Third World women, are filled by the culturally and
historically specific understandings of what and who are women
and their struggles of the western feminist researchers
themselves. In other words, the "position" of "Third World
women" Mohanty feels, is defined by an implicit comparison
with first world western women, not by analysis of the
historically specific conditions of the subject. Writing on
Third World women "sets up its own authorial subjects as the
implicity referent, i.e., the yardstick by which to encode and
represent cultural Others" (p. 55).

Aihwa Ong (1988) also makes a powerful critique of the
loss of the subjectivities of Third World women in western
feminist discourse. Ong's main concern is the focus, in both
liberal and socialist feminist texts, on the economic aspects
of Third World women's lives. Third World women, Ong
suggests, are represented only as they are affected by global
capitalist development. This focus has created an essentialist
view of Third World women:

> our understanding of women... in the Third World
> has been framed in essentialist terms: how their

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> statuses may be explained in terms of their labor
> and reproductive powers... By and large, non-
> Western women are taken as an unproblematic
> universal category; feminists mainly differ over
> whether modernization of the capitalist or
> socialist kind will emancipate or reinforce systems
> of gender inequality found in the Third World (p.
> 82).

When focusing on socialist feminist scholarship, Ong argues,

for example, that analyses of women working in transnational

factories in the free trade zones springing up all over the

Third World represent women more in terms of "their practical

and theoretical significance as 'a source of cheap labor'" and

spend little effort on "a more careful consideration of the

social meanings these changes have for them" (p. 85). Ong

accuses socialist feminists of being more interested in

feminist theory elaboration, particularly in the examination

of the "tensions between gender and class" (p. 84), than in

adequate representations of Third World women.

Ong suggests that the construction of subjectivity in a

particular context should be an explicit focus of analysis. If

this is not done, the subject can become an "unproblematic

universal category" (Ong, p.82), which we then imbue with our

own cultural understandings. In this effort, Ong feels, only

"partial understandings" are obtainable, but these can still

be useful in helping to "speak out against female oppression

at home and overseas", which she still sees as an important

role for Western feminists due to "their privileged positions

as members of hegemonic powers" (p. 87).

For socialist feminism, subjectivity and agency are

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understood in Marx's sense of being dependent on material conditions. In this sense, the subject is "decentred", largely a social construct. Spivak points this out: "a radical decentring of the subject is, in fact, implicit in... Marx" (Spivak 1988: 271). Marxism is therefore a break with liberal philosophy in this regard, which depends on a unified, rational self:

> In a reversal of liberal priorities, early Marxist writing decentred the sovereign, rational human consciousness of liberal political philosophy and economics, making consciousness not the origin of social relations but their effect. As such, consciousness is always historically and culturally specific. (Weedon 1987: 27)

Landry and MacLean make a similar point:

> Both Marxism and feminism, in their critiques of ideology, can lead us towards a profound suspicion of everything that presents itself as natural. For what appears natural and unchangeable, Marxism would substitute a notion of the historical, while feminism would substitute the constructed or the coded, recoded, and represented. Both Marxism and feminism can thus be understood to be engaged in the de-fetishization of the self-evidently given, including... the form of subjectivity which we experience most concretely as "ourselves". (Landry and MacLean 1993: 9)

The heritage of Marxism and feminism is not, therefore, completely bereft on this issue. Clearly, however, there is a need to problematize the subject "woman" more vigorously than has been the case in the 1970's and 1980's:

> increasingly, materialist feminist analyses problematize "woman" as an obvious and homogeneous empirical entity in order to explore how "woman" as a discursive category is historically constructed and traversed by more than one differential axis. (Hennessy 1993: xii)

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In my analysis of gender and women in Chapters Five, Six and Seven, I first question whether the categories "woman" and "gender" relate intelligibly to the social world I engage with. This world is undeniably divided into a group called "women" and another called "men", with prescribed roles, rules of conduct, and norms of relations between the two sexes. There is also clearly differential power between these two groups. Hence, I posit that using the categories of "woman" (and "man"), and gender relations, does not represent a foreign imposition on this social world. As Christine Sylvester says of her research investigating the usefulness of these categories in the lives of rural Zimbabwean "women":

> No one questions gender as a meaningful identity and there are men and there are women and everyone knows who is who. The issue is which identity group should have power and not whether gender groupings make sense. (Sylvester 1995: 201)

In Chapters Five, Six and Seven, the role of gender relations in agricultural production and natural resource use as formed by historical processes and current government policies in resettlement, and how this is lodged within household dynamics is explored. To avoid an overly structuralist approach to this, women's spheres of power are emphasized, giving content to their worlds rather than merely describing them as oppressed by the layers of structures above them. While my data suggests that economics is important in defining gender relations, and important to women in how they define what is paramount in their lives, I have tried to

balance a focus on gendered access to economic resources, with consideration of cultural entitlements, and a non-Western reading of the separate-spheres of men and women. While Western women seek equality and entry into all spheres of life, women in other contexts find some power and autonomy in their social separation from men.

The need to interrogate the content of categories such as "women", "men" and "gender", is also applied to investigations of "indigenous knowledge" in this thesis. In Chapter Four, I question a tendency in developmentalism to reify and idealize something called indigenous knowledge. This move is borne of the desire to overcome past failures in development practices based on inadequate consideration of local knowledge and realities and the imposition of foreign ideas, technologies and expertise. While the idea of considering local perspectives is positive, I argue that the mode through which this consideration often occurs can give a false sense of dichotomy between something called indigenous and modern or western. The process also often lacks historicity, a sense of the contested and volatile nature of local knowledge. This issue is also important in the methodology used in the research for this thesis. As the next section shows, I have engaged in a critique of the methodologies increasingly used in developmentalism to uncover indigenous knowledge, as part of my overall theoretical critique of developmentalism.

Methodology. This study is qualitative and historical. I focus on one resettlement area, preferring to gather a detailed case study at the expense of generalizability to other resettlement areas. Since little is known about these issues in resettlement, I thought it would be useful to probe deeply in one site, laying the groundwork for later researchers who may wish to test my findings elsewhere. I narrow the study further by a selective sampling of four villages within one resettlement scheme. These villages were selected using criteria described in the next section, description of the study site.

In order to minimize my own preconception of the issues and problems, I adopted a gradual approach to the study. I had no preplanned interview schedules or questionnaires. Information gathered at one stage led to design of a research plan for a later stage. I began with **initial probing visits** wherein I talked to village chairmen, the Resettlement Officer, the Ward Councillor and the District Administer, seeking their permission to do the study, and their views on some of the basic issues of the study. Were they interested in the study? Were there problems/issues in woodland use and management? How did they conceive the problems? When permission was granted, and the interest and enthusiasm for the study was clear, I proceeded to the next phase: **general village meetings**. In these meetings I read a prepared speech

in the local language, introducing myself and describing the project in general terms. There followed general questions and answers, and a discussion of what people perceived as their resource problems. I also asked people about the local history. We set dates for the next research phase, Participatory Rural Appraisal. After the meetings, I was accompanied by a few key villagers in drives around the village resource areas, when we discussed resource issues, boundary disputes and so on.

When I arrived in Zimbabwe, there was much interest in **Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA)** methods in natural resource studies. I attended a methodology training workshop held at Gwaai in August 1995 on PRA methods, hosted by the International Development Research Centre and the Canadian International Development Agency in cooperation with the Institute of Environmental Studies at the University of Zimbabwe, with which I am affiliated. From what I had learned, PRA methods seemed a good entry point for a rural study in natural resources. Also, as a major emergent methodology in developmentalism, I wished to test them as part of my overall investigation of developmentalism (see above section on theory). I designed a two day PRA workshop for my study villages, and with the help of an expert PRA trainer[14] from the Centre for Applied Social Science (CASS), I trained four

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[14]. Nontokozo Nabane.

research assistants from my study villages in PRA methods.

PRA Methodology: What, How and Why?

PRA (Participatory Rural Appraisal) has grown out of the older "RRA" (Rapid Rural Appraisal), which was developed to replace the "quick and dirty" so-called "development tourism" described and critiqued by Chambers. RRA was developed in the 1970s as a means to increase the quality of socio-cultural information gathered for project use, while respecting the time and budget constraints of donor efforts. RRA was designed to be essentially extractive in nature. Project staff were to get information, which they would then take away and plug into already designed (or at least conceived) projects. Throughout the 1980s and 1990s, however, awareness grew among scholars and practitioners that greater involvement by recipients than was built into RRA was needed in both project design and implementation. Greater focus on participants' knowledge, needs, circumstances, and the necessary elements required for their ongoing participation in the project effort was needed. PRA, which emphasizes recipient control of problem definition and solution design, gained popularity as a means of improving project performance.

In academic research, using PRA rather than RRA means increasing the space for participants to express and control the knowledge being created. The researcher tries to limit the imposition of analytical categories in data collection, and consciously to evaluate the impact of the categories or

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organizing ideas that are inevitably imposed. These categories could be any major organizing ideas from definitions of development, to ideas about what causes deforestation, to an imported understanding of what constitutes gender relations.[15] I share this view that the conscious maximizing of the space for the research subjects to define categories and problems can only improve the understanding of the researcher. While most academic research will remain essentially extractive in nature (ie there is no project/action to follow),[16] the PRA researcher looks for ways to promote positive change (empowerment) through the research process. Examples can be

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[15]. On a faulty definition of "deforestation" in Zimbabwe see discussion of the World Bank funded Rural Afforestation Project in post-Independence Zimbabwe in McGregor 1991 and Brigham 1994. This large project, which consisted primarily of the development of eucalyptus woodlots, was based on a misunderstanding of deforestation in rural Zimbabwe as a "fuelwood crisis". Subsequent research has shown deforestation in rural Zimbabwe as largely a result of land clearance for cultivation. Rural people for the most part do not yet perceive a fuelwood shortage.

[16]. There are, of course, forms of research that are specifically designed to promote participatory change, such as Action Research and some types of feminist research. However, for the foreign student, such research practices are problematic and perhaps undesirable to undertake. Lack of citizenship and lack of connection with relevant bodies normally preclude this. It also seems the height of arrogance to assume that a foreign researcher could "help" people discover the way to "improve" their lives, particularly when she is uninvited, and arrives with a research agenda defined somewhere other than the study area. Throughout this piece of research, I cast myself as the student of my study participants. My own goal was to learn the practice of scholarship, hopefully achieve an ethical representation of a social world in a "Third World" context, and produce information relevant to the deconstruction of developmentalism.

providing training and employment for local people by hiring local assistants, providing people with information that is difficult for them to access such as names and addresses of donors or government departments if requested, validating and respecting local knowledges and realties, and facilitating local dialogue on problems.

PRA is commonly understood as a group of methods and activities designed to promote information gathering and sharing in rural settings in developing countries. Since significant portions of rural populations are often illiterate, the use of survey questionnaires and other formal methods involving paper and pens that are controlled by the researchers, are thought to be alienating, and afford little opportunity for people to express ideas in their own terms.[17] In their place, PRA emphasizes **control and definition of information by villagers, visualization** and use of **local materials**. Some common exercises can achieve all of these. For example, a group of villagers could be asked, in their own language, to draw a **map** of their village and surrounding area on the ground, using a stick to draw, and rocks, twigs, leaves and so on to mark features on the map. The object of the exercise is not to produce an accurate map of the area, which

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[17]. These "long and dirty" methods, as Chambers calls them, are also often irrelevant, not cost-efficient, never analyzed or published, or if so, available too late to be of any "applied" benefit (Chambers 1991: 516-518).

could be compared to a topographical map from a government survey department. Instead, the value is in seeing what people draw, in what order, in what detail, and with what accompanying comments. If groups are divided by gender, the exercises can be compared. Differences may reflect the different values placed by men and women on different areas, resources, or social spaces. Women, for example, are often seen to draw houses first, sometimes with great care and with labels for each family, whereas men emphasize roads, fields and pastures (Fortmann 1995).[18] A visual product, the map, is easy for people to discuss, argue about, add to or change.

Another common activity is the drawing of different types of **matrices**. My research focuses on natural resource use and management, particularly trees and their products. One part of the research investigates the extent to which these resources are commercialized, and if there is any selling of products, who controls and benefits from the income gained. Thus in one exercise, I asked people to name woodland products they gather, either for domestic use or for sale. These products were listed on a large piece of chart paper. The different uses for each product were then listed in a second column. Finally, people were asked to compare the portion of the product that is consumed to that sold, by dividing ten stones between the two last columns. A sample matrix of a women's

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[18]. This also happened in my own research.

group from one of my study villages follows:

Table 1.1. Products, Uses and Commercialization.
Women from Village 3.

PRODUCT	USES	Consumed	Sold
Firewood	cooking, warming, making fire	10	0
Poles	gardens, kraals, matara*, fencing	10	0
Thatching Grass	thatching house, compost, selling	2	8
Herbs (Medicine)	backache, diarrhea, eyes, headache, abortion, luck, concoction to make husband enjoy sex	3	7
Vegetables (Garden)	eating, selling	2	8
Fruits	eating	5	5
Fish	eating, selling	8	2

*A structure built of poles and thatch to store unthreshed maize cobs out of reach of goats and cattle.

The chart can be any size depending on how may products are named, and the column for "uses" can also be as large as necessary. Because the chart is not pre-drawn, but produced in the process, it attempts to maximize the freedom of people to contribute information.

Another common exercise used is **Wealth Ranking**. The object of the exercise is to determine indicators of wealth as defined by the villagers. These indicators give important social and economic information in themselves, but can also be used, as in my case, in later stages of the research such as in a household interview schedule. In the exercise I used, I

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also aimed to get stratification profiles of the villages. The approach uses the actual names of the village households as a starting point. Participants are asked to group the names according to their well-being or standard of living. The group is told neither how many groups to use, nor which criteria with which to sort the names. When the names are sorted, the group is asked to say why individuals were placed in the groups they were. Each group is discussed in turn. Through this questioning, the indicators are noted. The list of indicators is then put on a matrix, and the indicators are ranked through a **pairwise ranking method**. In this method, each indicator is compared with each of the others in turn, and the group is asked to say which of each pair is more important as an indication of wealth or well-being. In the end, a list of indicators in order of rank is produced, as are wealth categories. Finally, each individual household has been placed by name into a wealth category, which may be useful later, either in testing the wealth ranking itself, or in providing information for selective sampling for interviews. The advantage of this exercise is that the values are elicited from people themselves, rather than imposed by the researcher.

This discussion neither gives a full account of the activities I completed,[19] nor the full spectrum of methods

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[19]. A full account of PRA methods used, and the PRA data collected in my project are found in Appendix A.

commonly described as "PRA".[20] However, it does give a sense of the types of activities referred to, their purpose, and the underlying methodological arguments for their use.

Evaluating PRA.

PRA methods have many positive qualities and advantages. The most transparent of these is the ability to gain an efficient introduction to the study area, gathering large amounts of preliminary data that could otherwise take much time and effort. Another positive aspect is related to local power dynamics. Scholars of development are increasingly aware that attention to indigenous knowledge, to farmer first, etc, is not enough. Knowledge is embedded in power relations. There is thus no one indigenous or local knowledge, but competing perspectives. Some dominate, while others are marginalized (Chambers 1994: xiv-v; Scoones and Thompson 1994: 2; Cornwall, Guijt and Welbourne, et al 1994: 109; Mosse 1994).

PRA can provide an opportunity to observe some power relations in action. In the exercises, people interact. In my work, for example, when we had general village meetings women constantly had to be invited and reinvited for their views, while men consistently regained control once a woman had spoken. In discussions, dominant voices can be listened for. Whose views hold more weight? What positions do they hold in

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[20]. See Chambers 1991 and 1992, McCracken, Pretty and Conway, 1988, Cornwall, Guijt and Welbourne, 1994, and the journal RRA Notes for more complete lists and discussions of methods, for example Fairhead 1991, Mitchell and Slim 1991, Mosse and Mehta 1993, Welbourne 1991 and 1992.

the village or area? In gender segregated groups, I found that men's groups tended to be very argumentative, even to the point of nearly capsizing the exercise. Each man wanted his own view on the chart. Women tended to be much more agreeable about a common view. Is this because women share similar views? Or is it because the rules of interaction for men and women are different? Whatever the answer to these questions, doing public exercises like those in PRA give the researcher a privileged opportunity to observe villagers interacting, and hence gathering information on social dynamics.[21]

The process can also help to reveal a second set of power relations: those between the researcher and the study participants--the villagers. Holding public meetings and public exercises gives the researcher high visibility, and an opportunity for explanation and clarification of the research. Villagers have the opportunity to discuss the researcher together and ask directly the purpose, scope, possible benefits and so on of the research. In terms of ethics, this allows for clear establishment of the nature of the research: particularly whether or not it is linked to a development project, or funding of some kind to follow. One of my toughest early tasks was to convince people that I was not a "donor in disguise". Similarly difficult was the task of explaining the

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[21]. This is especially true for researchers who speak the local language well enough to follow debates and arguments within groups. Research Assistants can also be trained to take note of these discussions.

nature and purpose of research that is not tied to a specific project. Most importantly though, was the effectiveness of the PRA in making me known in the area, and in establishing my identity as a researcher.

Notwithstanding these positive aspects, PRA can also work to hide local relations of power. Emphasis on group work, on consensus in data expression and presentation, is particularly prone to the silencing of marginal or dissident views.[22] Awareness of this has led some researchers to divide participants into groups, such as men and women, elites and commoners (Fortmann, 1995). However, a researcher may not know enough about a community to know what forms local power relations take. I started with the view, based on previous research in the region, living experience in rural Zimbabwe, and review of secondary literature, that women would tend to be silenced, and their views marginalized in mixed groups. I wanted to hear the views of both men and women, so divided groups by gender. As later research revealed, I was not mistaken in this initial view of gender relations. However, later research also revealed other important divisions or clusters of power. Totem or clan, wealth, relationship to the

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[22]. "Consensus", by definition, means just that: an agreement manufactured through the relative persuasive power of individuals or factions in a group. This problem of dissident views being silenced in group work, is particularly intense when the researcher does not speak the local language well enough to catch the arguments in the group. For those fluent in the local language, the experience can be the opposite: that the group work facilitates learning about dissident views.

ruling party, and witchcraft, all emerged as important. These other relations of power were hidden in the PRA process.[23]

R/PRA is a public event. As such, people will decide to put a certain slant on information, depending on the goal they want to achieve in the process of information sharing. As mentioned, people were initially convinced that I was attached to some donor or project. In early village meetings, they consistently portrayed their communities as recipients, with certain development needs, such as dams, electricity, better roads and access to transport, fencing materials and so on.

A second aspect of the public nature of PRA, is the possibility of being accompanied by local officials. While this may compromise the independent status of the researcher, cultivating good relations with local officials may be crucial in maintaining permission to carry out the research. In a few cases I had different officials with me, which awakened people's suspicions concerning how the information will be used. This is related to the final point of this section, the politics of the research topic.

People in my study area have fears about the way the information will be used. The research often ventures into illegal activities in resource use, such as cutting live trees, the sale of natural resource products like firewood,

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[23]. This would not necessarily be the case for a researcher with general knowledge of the dynamics of the culture/society of the group in the study.

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hunting game and netting fish.[24] People's fears mean that the information on rules and their breaking could be distorted. There is a tendency in the study area to blame resource depletion on outsiders, specifically neighbours in Communal Lands, whose own resources have long been depleted.[25] Getting a clear picture of people's practices will involve much more than asking them, in a public setting, to describe them.

Discovering that PRA data is not transparent is no surprise, nor a disaster for the social researcher, particularly when embracing qualitative methodologies. Accounts are always representations, social constructions. However, they are also accounts of something (Moore and Vaughan 1994). Like Moore and Vaughan, I am willing to accept accounts as both social constructions and data. While interrogating and contextualizing contradictions and complexities, I nevertheless try to draw out some coherent themes and stories from the PRA data, as well as the data gathered in later work. Some types of data can be treated as more factual than others. I have, for example, accepted the lists of resource use rules gathered in the PRA workshops more

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[24]. At first, I was worried about the ethical issue of reporting on practices that may get people in trouble. Later, however, interviews with the District Administrator, Natural Resources Board staff, Resettlement Officer and the Agritex worker revealed that these illegal practices were known about by officialdom. My work maintained anonymity of individuals, and hence did not compromise informants.

[25]. I am convinced that this view is largely true, but later research revealed that resource depletion is also partly attributable to settler practices.

or less at face value. I have not, however, accepted people's statements about rule adherence at face value. Similarly, I accept people's descriptions of gendered divisions of labour as true to the prevailing ideology, but not necessarily true to practice. By using an interrogative approach to the PRA data, I believe it has yielded valid clues and starting points of inquiry into the social world of the study area.

After completing the PRA workshops, and analyzing the massive amounts of data (mostly on large pieces of messy chart paper), I constructed a number of **interview schedules** for individual household interviews, group interviews, and key informant interviews. In all, over three hundred formal interviews were completed. I rely much more heavily on the data gathered through these interviews than on the PRA data. Most of the interview schedules use open-ended questions to encourage detailed answers, and reduce the controlling aspect of set questions. I would have preferred a less formal approach, but while I achieved some facility in the local language, it was not enough to allow easy conversation. I opted for set questions and training of assistants in interviewing skills as the best method for achieving my goals in the circumstances. A summary of the schedules and their contents follows, while full scripts can be found in Appendix B.

Table 1.2(a). Village Interview Schedules.

SCHEDULE	CONTENTS	OBJECTIVES	TARGET GROUP
Household	1. Former Home and relationship with relatives 2. Protection and Management of Natural Resources 3. Role of Tradition 4. Indicators	-to explore the connections (if any), of resource degradation to use by non-resident relatives, practices of existing institutions, aspects of cultural change as related to the move to RA, patterns and ideas about drought, and socio-economic status	Stratified sample of 15 persons in each of 4 villages. Stratification on basis of wealth indicators, and approximately equal numbers of men and women **Total Sample: 60**
Gender Division of Labour	1. Division of labour in activities related to natural resources; earning and controlling income from different sources	-to gather data on division of labour that may explain gender differences of perception in resource use found in PRA -to build a model of the economic household in this context, tracing gendered divisions of labour and power	Small groups (4-5) of men and women in each village **Total Sample: 9 groups (over 70 individuals)**

Table 1.2(a) Continued.

SCHEDULE	CONTENTS	OBJECTIVES	TARGET GROUP
Tenure	1. Commercializ-ation of Natural Resources 2. Tenure in homesteads and fields	-to test the PRA data for reliability, and gather more information on commod-ification -to gather data on tenure niches not well covered in PRA (homesteads and fields)	5 men and 5 women from each village **Total Sample:** 40
Women	1. Women's access to land 2. Women's crops 3. Women's situation as compared to communal lands 4. Widowhood and inheritance	-to gather data womens status as measured by access and control of land, gender relations in marriage, practices in widowhood and inheritance from women's points of view	Women as individuals; 5 women in each of 4 villages **Total Sample:** 20
Institutions, Land Management, Crops, Women (men's views)	1. Care of the land (institutions) 2. Crops, Division of Labour/ Authority 3. Women and land; widowhood and inheritance	-explore further the roles and practices of existing institutions -increase data on livelihood strategies (crops grown) -explore gender in crop production and women's status from men's points of view	Men as individuals; 5 men from each of 4 villages **Total Sample:** 20

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Table 1.2(a) Continued.

SCHEDULE	CONTENTS	OBJECTIVES	TARGET GROUP
Commercializ-ation of Natural Resources	Comparison of proportions of product sold to that used domestically	-to amass individual data from enough respondents to justify questioning PRA data on this topic	20 men and 20 women from each of 4 villages **Total Sample: 160**

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Table 1.2(b). Key Informant Interview Schedules.

SCHEDULE	CONTENTS
Resettlement Officer **Schedule 1**	1. Rules, goals and achievements of resettlement; selection process of settlers 2. Subdivision of land 3. Conflicts and disputes 4. Special projects
Resettlement Officer **Schedule 2**	1. Institutions in the care of the land and resources 2. Views on resource degradation 3. Women and the land (access, use) 4. Divorce, widowhood and inheritance
Agritex Worker **Schedule 1**	1. Roles and responsibilities of Agritex 2. Role of agroforestry or other tree planting/management in Agritex extension packages 3. View on farmers' agricultural performance 4. Are women "farmers"? 5. Projects: irrigation and cattle fattening 6. Goals and achievements of resettlement
Agritex Worker **Schedule 2**	1. Views on resource degradation and management 2. Women and the land (access, crops) 3. View on land tenure as related to woodland management
Forestry Commission and Natural Resources Board (NRB) (same schedule)	1. Mandate and function of the office. 2. Rules, enforcement and effectiveness in woodland use in resettlement 3. Views on deforestation in resettlement 4. Views on problem of CA poaching of resources in resettlement
District Administrator	1. Views on proposed changes to tenure in Resettlement 2. Views on CA poaching of resources in resettlement 3. Changes in settler selection process 4. Changes in structure administrative bodies 5. Views on deforestation in resettlement

Local Clinic	1. Major activities/functions of the clinic 2. Major diseases and illness in resettlement 3. Most frequent clients (women, men, children) 4. Major problems in fulling mandate

The field work was conducted through a series of about twenty five field visits, each lasting between two and five days. I had the use of a driver and a four wheel drive truck as part of the International Development Research Council (IDRC) Value of Trees project. During field visits, I at first stayed with the Resettlement Officer, but soon was taken in by the local secondary school headmaster and his wife, who soon became key informants and invaluable friends. Mai Simba, the headmaster's wife, eventually became my chief research assistant and interpretor.

Given the cultural, wealth, race and linguistic distance between myself and my respondents, there are limits on the extent to which I can interpret the information gathered through the interviews. I have cross checked information using different methods (for example checking some PRA data through interviews, observation and informal chats), and contextualized responses according to what information I have about power dynamics, socio-cultural-economic factors and historical issues. However, this account remains that of an outsider and an academic, who has tried, but may nevertheless have failed, to adequately interrogate her own biases and perceptions:

> Every anthropologist and historian knows that one comes to understand the politics, agriculture, and ecology of an area through practical engagement which both grounds and goes beyond intellectual appreciation, but knowing this does not always allow us to see exactly where our knowledge comes from and what it inheres in. (Moore and Vaughan 1994: xxi)

In analyzing responses, I have looked for patterns and themes, have attempted to show dominant and minority views, and how these are embedded in prevailing power relations and ideologies of various types. The Household Interview is central, providing the largest sample of any one schedule (sixty respondents),[26] and the broadest range of issues. While other schedules have fewer respondents (between twenty to forty), I still have confidence that the views expressed provide an adequate sense of the range of views on the topics. I have given authority to key informant views where these represent specialized knowledge, or concur with those views held more broadly by villagers.

Other sources.

I have relied on oral historical accounts by key informants and published secondary sources for local history. For perspectives on colonial and post-colonial policies and perceptions, I have relied on published secondary sources and government documents. In the case of published sources, I have in many cases tracked down the original documents used, and

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[26]. Except the Commercialization Schedule, with 160. This schedule was focused on checking a specific piece of information.

slightly altered interpretations in the historiography. The
work in Chapter Three on the history of government woodlands
policy and intervention in the former Tribal Trust Lands in
Rhodesia, I have not seen documented elsewhere. I was given
access to registry and other documents at the Resettlement
Office of the study site.

For contemporary issues and debates regarding
resettlement, environmental, political, and economic issues,
I have consulted the government controlled local press--The
Herald and The Sunday Mail, and the local independent press--
The Zimbabwe Independent, Speak Out, Moto, Sapem, The
Financial Gazette and Women Plus. I have also consulted many
unpublished documents, or Working Paper documents from various
departments of the University of Zimbabwe.[27]

The Study Site

In selecting a Resettlement Area as my study site, I
followed several criteria. First of all, the site must be well
established, preferably one of the original sites of the early
1980s. This was so that institutional dynamics and use and
management patterns would be firmly in place. The second
criterion was that the area be adjacent to a Communal Area and
have resource conflicts with the CA neighbours. I was
interested in studying this type of conflict over resources,

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[27]. These are particularly important as they represent
work of local scholars who face various obstacles in
publishing their work in refereed international journals, and
hence can be effectively invisible to the foreign researcher.

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which the literature says is prevalent. The third criterion

was that the area be relatively rich in woodland resources, as

I was interested in studying a context of abundance, rather

than scarcity. I also wished to study a Model A Resettlement,

that is intensive family farm model, as this is the most

prevalent type to be established.[28]

After visiting a few sites, I decided on Sengezi

Resettlement Area, near Hwedza growth point, and about 170

kilometres southeast of Harare, along the Seke Road (see Map

1.2). Established in 1981, Sengezi lies in natural regions II

and III, with mean annual rainfall at about 800mm/yr (Kinsey

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[28]. Resettlement Schemes are of five main types:
1. Model A. Normal Intensive Resettlement. Individual family farms, with individual homestead and land holdings in nucleated villages, plus communal grazing within village boundaries. Later this included "Accelerated Intensive Resettlement" which was designed to deal with widespread "squatting" problems on unused commercial land.
2. Model B. Cooperative Resettlement. Settlement of between 50 and 200 people under communal living and cooperative farming.
3. Model C. State Land Resettlement. Individual settlement centred around state land core estate, meant to extend access to state infrastructure on state land to settlers.
4. Model D. Managed Grazing. Not a resettlement model as such, but a programme designed to give peasant farmers in drier
regions planned grazing access to commercial ranches.
5. Model E. Group Ranching. Group settlement on former commercial ranches, with possible game management components, in areas not viable for arable land use (Zinyama 1991).
The dominant model is by far Model A with 90% of resettlement land being settled according to this model (Bratton 1994: 76). A Model A scheme is the basis for this study, and other models are not considered.

1986).[29] This means that the area is quite well suited to semi-or intensive crop and livestock production. The scheme is bordered by two Communal Areas (CAs), Save North and Wedza, and on my first visit to the area, settlers complained loudly about resource pillaging by their neighbours. Sengezi also shares a border with actively farmed commercial land, adding the dynamic of possible conflict over resources with commercial farmers. The area is still well-wooded, especially in comparison to the CAs that border it, although settlers say it is extensively deforested compared to when they arrived in 1981. The former commercial farms that make up the resettlement area, were used either as tobacco or cattle ranching farms. Soil types are variable, even within short distances. Some settlers have very good fields, while others struggle with sandy soils, or heavy soils that drain poorly. The landscape is dominated by the Wedza Mountain range, lying to the south in Wedza Communal Area. It is a sacred mountain, and was also used as a base for the Rhodesian Front during the guerrilla war in the 1970s. The resettlement scheme proper is

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[29]. Zimbabwe is classified into five natural agroecological regions, for the purpose of commercial farming, based mainly on average annual rainfall. The regions are decreasingly viable from regions I down to V. Regions IV and V receive little rainfall, and are considered suitable only for extensive livestock and game ranching. Region III is suitable for semi-intensive farming based on both livestock and crop production. Regions I and II are the only regions with reliable rainfall and suitable for intensive crop and livestock production. As most land acquired for resettlement has been on a willing seller bases, the programme has tended to acquire land in regions III, IV and V, rather in the better regions II and I (Zinyama 1991).

dotted with small rocky hills, known as kopjes, which tend to be well-wooded, and lines of tall eucalyptus planted by the former white farmers.

I received warm interest when first visiting Village Chairmen, the Resettlement Officer, and the District Administrator, and the Shona spoken in the area was fairly close to zezuru, the "high Shona" taught in language schools in Harare. I was also very lucky to have connections through my driver, who had family in the Resettlement. This quickly opened many doors for me.

Within the scheme I chose four of the original six villages established in 1981.[30] Two of these lay right on a border with a CA, while the other two were in the interior of the resettlement. This allowed for comparison of border villages with those farther away from pillagers of resources. This proved interesting as it emerged that settlers complained about resource poaching by neighbouring resettlement villages as well as CA neighbours.

In general, each village within the scheme occupies the area of a former commercial farm. Settlers are grouped as family units in nucleated villages, close to the access roads. Each household has a stand, a plot of about half an acre, upon which stands one rectangular cement, asbestos roofed house,

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[30]. To date, there are about 17 villages established in the scheme, which has expanded as more commercial farms are acquired. About half of these villages are not yet fully settled (Sengezi Resettlement Register, I, II, Zana and Ruunzi, 1995).

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generally used as a bedroom for the parents, and as a formal sitting room. There is also one cement pit toilet. Both of these structures were built by the Resettlement authority, with the cost recorded as a debt to each settler.[31] The homesteads also have a kitchen hut, built of the more traditional materials of mud bricks, poles and thatched roofs. These kitchens are of the traditional Shona type, with a fire pit in the centre at which most of the family's meals are prepared using firewood as fuel. Kitchen utensils are stored here, and food is usually eaten inside. Other structures on the plot include a granary of mud, poles and thatch, a high wooden structure (Shona **matara**) for storing harvested grain for drying, and perhaps another structure for keeping chickens. If grown married children still live with the family, a second kitchen hut or bedroom may also be built. A small homefield is generally ploughed at the homestead, where families grow maize, pumpkins, or even potatoes. In Village 1, which has piped water at each homestead, people generally keep a market garden in this homefield. In other villages, women establish gardens in wetland areas, such as near rivers or in vleis or dambos. Each household is allocated five hectares of arable land, which, in a good year, is capable of yielding at least ten tonnes of maize. An average family needs about two

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[31]. To date, most people have not paid this debt, which is now about four times its original value (Interview with Resettlement Officer, "Drive to Harare", February 16, 1996. Fieldnotes II, p. 10).

tonnes for consumption, so this leaves a healthy remainder as a cash crop. Farmers plant most of their area with maize, but they also plant other subsistence and cash crops such as sunflower, rapoko, groundnuts (peanuts), beans, and in a few cases sorghum, rice and soyabeans.[32] The rainy season usually begins in November, when people plough and plant their rainfed fields. From November through February, people are very busy weeding and cultivating in the fields. Harvesting occurs from March through June. The dry winter months of July and August comprise a restful period of much visiting and eating.[33]

Each household has the right to depasture seven livestock units in the common property grazing lands allocated to each village.[34] The Sabi River borders the area, while the Sengezi River runs through it, providing year round livestock watering areas. Livestock rearing, particularly cattle, is a significant source of income for many households. A fattened beast can fetch as much as 3 000 Zimbabwe dollars from private

[32]. The Agritex worker wants to establish tobacco, but farmers are reluctant to take the risk and find it difficult to cooperate concerning the building of a cooperative tobacco barn. Only seven farmers have tried tobacco so far (Agritex Worker, August 25 1996, Schedule II; Agritex Worker, February 18 1997).

[33]. PRA data, Seasonality Diagrams.

[34]. In practice, some households have many cattle, and others none or few. Households borrow grazing land from those who are not using it. This is also true of fields, with some successful farmers nearly doubling their hectarage through borrowing.
Altogether, the mean area available per household, including homestead, arable land and pasture, is 29 hectares (Kinsey 1986).

buyers who come directly to the villages to purchase beasts, which they then resell at a profit to the central Cold Storage Commission.

There is a main Resettlement centre where the Resettlement Office, Agritex office, Veterinary services and clinic are located. The core resettlement staff peopling these offices, plus primary school teachers, have their residences here. There is a line of dry goods and bottle stores at the centre, and a carpentry and blacksmith centre run by Glen Forest. A primary school is nearby, and a secondary school is a few kilometres down the road. Neither school has electricity or piped water. The centre has no electricity, but does have running water (most of the time), pumped by a generator. The settlers living next to this centre also have piped water at each of their homesteads, a luxury not shared by any other village in the scheme. The other villages have at least one borehole, but these are frequently out of order so many settlers have dug wells.

The area is serviced by several bus lines, and most villages are within twenty kilometres of Hwedza growth point, where goods can be marketed. However, settlers complain about transport problems, particularly the high cost of ferrying their maize to the Grain Marketing Board (GMB)[35] depot. They also complain about the lack of electricity, which was

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[35]. The GMB is the government owned, centralized grain buying facility in the country that sets prices, and buys most of the grain produced either by small or large-scale farmers.

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promised to them by the government, and the lack of other infrastructural developments, such as dams. There are two irrigation schemes in the resettlement, one which benefits Village 4, the other which services a village not in the study sample. On the irrigation schemes villagers grow rape,[36] tomatoes, beans and maize in the off-season when they can get a good price for green mealies, tender maize cobs that can be roasted or boiled, and considered a great treat. These schemes are highly successful, and provide villagers with significant additional income.

Given these resources and conditions, and barring drought, families have the opportunity to live a rural life above mere subsistence level. On average, however, they tend to be worse off than most people in Communal Areas. This is because although resettlement farmers generally produce more from farming than CA residents because of their larger arable fields, CA people are better established and most of their income comes from family members engaged in waged work. Most CAs are rural homes for urban migrants,[37] whereas resettlement farmers must exist on farm income alone.[38] Hence, comparing

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[36]. A leafy green vegetable used to make the standard relish to accompany the staple food of sadza, a thick porridge made from ground white maize.

[37]. Agritex Worker, February 18 1997; Resettlement Officer, February 19 1997. The history behind the creation of CAs as rural homes for urban migrants is discussed in Chapter Five.

[38]. The rule disallowing migration for employment of household heads in resettlement is discussed in later

living standards between CA and RA dwellers requires more than comparing size of arable land available to the average family. Wealth in CAs is largely dependent on access to waged work, while in RAs farming success is central. To get a better sense of how to evaluate people's general living standard, I turn to definitions and standards of wealth.

Wealth Definition and Differentiation in the Study Villages

The four study villages, which I call Villages 1-4, have 41, 49, 55 and 36 households respectively. In spite of being allocated the same hectarage of fields, and being recipients of the same government schemes, such as seed loans and extension services, villages are significantly differentiated by wealth. To create stratification profiles of the villages, I used a wealth ranking exercise in the PRA village workshops. The object of the exercise was to determine indicators of wealth as defined by the villagers to avoid the imposition of inappropriate definitions and categories. The approach I chose is described in the methodology section above. The wealth ranking exercises yielded the following information:

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chapters. RA households do rely to a certain extent on contributions from extended family members, but this does not compare to the centrality of waged work income in CA households.

While Communal Area residents have relied on the input of migrant workers to survive, extensive unemployment and shrinking real incomes mean increasing poverty in these areas. Recent data from farm management surveys by the ministry of agriculture show that poverty hits a third of all CA dwellers, and dire poverty affects about 10%. Overall, the situation in resettlement is worse, with 41% of the people defined as "poor", and 14% as very poor ("Poverty burden heavy in Communal Areas" The Herald September 1995).

a) **The Indicators.** In all four villages, the five or six indicators arrived at were virtually the same. The top three indicators were cattle, farming implements and agricultural yields, in all four villages. The other indicators, scotchcarts,[39] income generating projects, and toilets occupied the other positions in various mixes (see Table 1.3). The consistency in the indicators suggests that they should be adopted as an appropriate means of measuring wealth, as the people define it, in the area.

Table 1.3 Indicators of Wealth in Order of Importance for Study Villages.

Village 1	Village 2	Village 3	Village 4
cattle	cattle	cattle	cattle
farming implements	farming implements	farming implements	farming implements
agricultural yields	agricultural yields	agricultural yields	agricultural yields
scotchcarts	income generating projects	income generating projects	scotchcart
income generating projects	scotchcarts	toilets	
	toilets	scotchcarts	

b) **Nature of the Groups.** Three villages used four groups, one

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[39]. Scotchcarts are ox- or mule-pulled carts constructed of old car wheels, wood, and pieces of metal such as welded parts from old pick-up trucks. They are crucial in transporting harvests from the field, transporting goods such as furniture, taking produce to markets, or transporting large loads of firewood. People often rent them out to others, and hence gain income through their possession.

village used six. The definition of the groups was remarkably similar: mainly numbers of cattle, ownership of farming implements and level of agricultural yield. For the village with six categories, if groups C and D and groups E and F are collapsed, there is little difference in the way the categories are defined for all villages (see Table 1.4).

Table 1.4. Wealth Categorization of Groups in Study Villages.

Group	Village 1	Village 2	Village 3	Village 4
A	-average 10 cattle -high yields maize (6 tonnes +) -implements like carts, cultivators and ploughs -goats and sheep	-average 15-20 cattle -all equipment for farm and home -grow enough for consumption and sale -some are businessmen, or have income-generating projects -toilets -some have cars -small livestock	-average 10+ cattle -all farm implements -grow enough for household and good surplus (4 tonnes +) -income generating projects -good farmers	-20+ cattle -all farm equipment -farming knowledge

B	-10 or less cattle -good yields (about same as A) -some have no cultivator (have to borrow from A)	-6-10 cattle -enough yields for consumption and selling -have some equipment, but some have to borrow certain ones (scotchcart, harrow, plough) -toilets -small livestock	-average 3+ cattle -have some but not all equipment -enough yield for household and some for sale (1-2 tonnes) -work hard	-"average", "in the middle" -5-20 cattle -have some but not all equipment -enough yield for household and some for sale

Table 1.4. Continued.

Group	Village 1	Village 2	Village 3	Village 4
C	-0-2 cattle -sometimes have to buy maize -little equipment, so have to borrow	-0-3 cattle -yield for consumption but little surplus -most have to borrow equipment -toilets	-average 3+ cattle -not enough equipment so work as a cooperative or borrow -enough yield for household	-some have a few cattle, others none -little or no equipment -food for household only -need help from others

Group	Village 1	Village 2	Village 3	Village 4
D	-0 cattle -no implements -low yields (can't sell anything and not enough for household)	-no cattle -no implements -assisted by group A -survive by handouts (don't grow enough)	-0-3 cattle -most have little equipment -low yields, but usually enough for household	-0-3 cattle -no equipment -often little or no food (depend on others)
E			-average 1 cattle -little or no equipment -not enough yield for household (have to buy)	
F			-no cattle -no equipment -yield not enough for household (have to buy)	

Where there was significant variation is in the percentages

of villagers in each group (see Table 1.5).

Table 1.5. Percentage of Households in Wealth Categories by
    Village
(Actual Number of Households in Brackets)

Category	Village 1	Village 2	Village 3	Village 4
A	24.4 (10)	51.0 (25)	24.0 (13)	33.3 (12)
B	41.4 (17)	22.5 (11)	16.7 (9)	33.3 (12)
C	24.4 (10)	12.2 (6)	16.7 (9)	27.8 (10)
D	9.8 (4)	14.3 (7)	11.1 (6)	5.6 (2)
E	N/A	N/A	11.1 (6)	N/A
F	N/A	N/A	20.4 (11)	N/A
Female Headed Households (Widows)[40]	9.8 (4)	22.5 (11)	11.1 (6)	33.3 (12)
Number of Households in Village	N= 41	N= 49	N= 54	N= 36

The fact that the indicators and the nature of the categories
are virtually the same in each village, suggests that the
differences in the group sizes reflects differences in the
social stratification profile among the villages. While in

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[40]. In the four study villages, nearly all of the "single"
women with stands were widows. There is only one divorced
woman with a stand in one of the study villages. In this
unusual case, the husband left after the divorce, and the
stand fell to the woman (Resettlement Officer, February 19
1997). Although divorce and remarriage is a common occurrence
(village discussion field notes), divorced women normally move
away while the husband retains claim to the stand. Figures for
number of widows were obtained through questions to the group
in the PRA exercises, and were checked against the records
held by the Resettlement Officer.

Village 1 a majority (51%) are considered to be in the most well-off group, two others put only around 24% in that group. However, in villages 1, 2 and 4, over 65% of households are placed in either A or B, which means they are producing enough for household consumption, and surplus for sale. As such, they enjoy an enviable position in the Zimbabwean peasantry. By contrast, only around 40% of households produce a surplus in Village 3. In village 3, if the categories are collapsed as suggested above, 31.5% of villagers occupy the lowest category, whereas all other villages have less than 15% of their households in this category. The data suggests that the relative poverty of village 3 may not be related to number of female-headed households (see Table 1.5). Probably the most important factor in Village 3 is the poorer sandy soils.

The important points to note here as background to the study are, first, that the settlers in the study site define wealth by number of cattle, agricultural yields, and the possession of agricultural implements. These form the bases of their livelihood. The second point is that while settlers have more land than most people in Communal Areas, they are not better off overall, because the basis of wealth is essentially different. CA people rely mostly on income from waged work.[41]

[41]. Comparisons of average standards of living between RAs and CAs must remain qualitative here, as recent statistically data on national incomes is unavailable, and measures of wealth differ. My sample of households was not random, and did not ask people about income as this was thought to be too private, and because villagers themselves did not list "income" as part of their definition of wealth. It is

However, settlers in the study site are relatively well off as compared to settlers in many other Resettlement schemes, particularly those that were initiated after the mid-1980s when government was forced to restrict inputs in the way of infrastructure and loans (see Chapter Two),[42] and those that lie in less viable farming regions. The third important point here is that there is significant variation in the living standard of villagers. The resettlement villages are not homogeneous in nature. This thesis also investigates other aspects of village heterogeneity such as gender, religion and household forms, and how these relate to the nature of the social forest.

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therefore difficult to compare the wealth status of the sample group in the RA with neighbours in CAs except through general qualitative means.

[42]. See for example, "No development", The Herald August 7, 1996: 4. In a letter from Chinyika resettlement area, a settler laments that "This place is hundred percent underdeveloped and there seems to be no hope of improvement... The roads are no better than dongas and pits such that bus operators are deterred from applying for permits to use the road."

Map 1.1 Resettlement Schemes in Zimbabwe

Index
1 Sengezi
2 Sate Source
3 Umfurudzi
4 Makasi
5 Tugwi
6 Mayo
7 Mupudzi
8 Nyagundi
9 Mnezi
10 Kamuzizi
11 Mvimvi
12 Byadhiri
13 Mutanda
14 Umguza
15 Dombodema
16 Copper Queen
17 Nyagedza
18 Sengezi B
19 Goeroei
20 Nevuvu
21 Murara
22 Sombezi
23 Chechera
24 Devuli
25 Chinyika
26 Umfurudzi
27 Pfura
28 Muzvezve
29 Katanai
30 Chizvirizvi
31 Nyahombe
32 Mushandike
33 Inyanga South
34 Mufusire
35 Tokwe Goeue
36 Shinja
37 Katanai II
38 Mutanda
39 Nyama
40 Pote

41 Ruaitu
42 Goenzi
43 Nyamazuru
44 Musengezi
45 Gutu South
46 Pfura II
47 Wanezi
48 Matopos South
49 Shobi Block
50 Wedza Block
51 Lot 6 of Jempembi
52 Karma Block

Source: Wekwete 1991: 130.

Map 1.2 Sengezi Resettlement Scheme
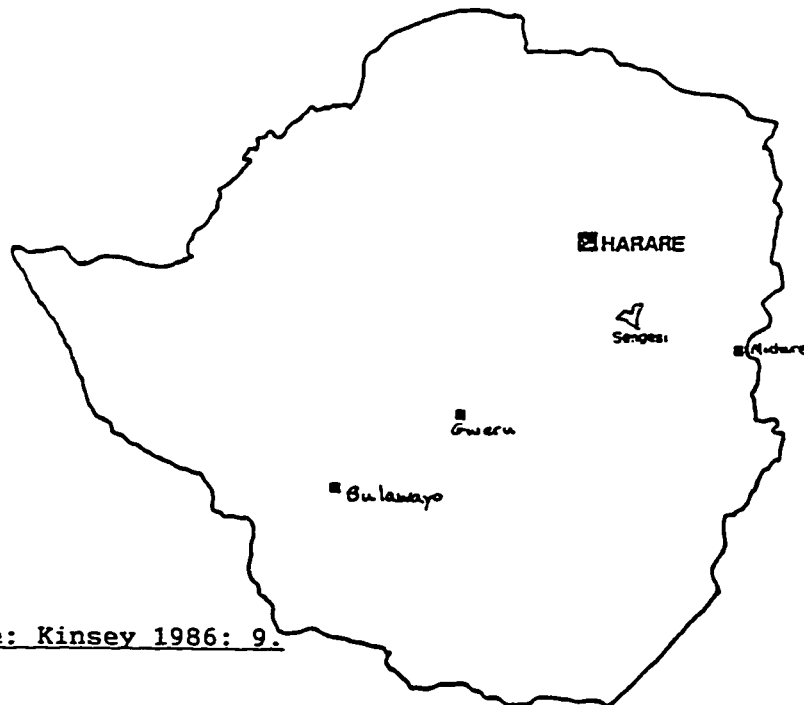
Source: Kinsey 1986: 9.

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CHAPTER TWO

**Historical and Contemporary Issues
in a Study of the Social Forest in Resettlement.**

Environment and Development in Zimbabwe

Concern for the state of the environment is a consistent part of political discourse in Zimbabwe. A few months after Independence in 1980, Prime Minister Mugabe pledged support for conservation, maintaining the Natural Resources Board, the main environmental rule-maker of colonial times (Elliott 1991). Government proclaimed a "National Conservation Strategy" in 1987.[1] Environmental issues are raised in parliament, frequently reported in the press, and government actively promotes special conferences, programmes and environmental campaigns.[2] Environmental discourse in Zimbabwe

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[1]. Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism 1987. The National Conservation Strategy. Harare: Ministry of Information, Posts and Telecommunications.

[2]. For a few samples from the local press see the following articles published in the government-controlled papers The Herald and The Sunday Mail:
"Environmental catastrophe looms" Sept. 12 1995: 6.
"Land degradation blamed on poverty, poor farming" Nov. 14 1995.
"Environment under spotlight" July 14 1996.
"Big boost for Natural Resources' environmental programme" March 12 1996: 11.
"Holistic approach needed to conservation: CAMPFIRE" Sept. 8 1996.
"National Tree Planting Day" Dec. 2 1995.
"We can't afford to lose more forests" Dec. 7 1996.
"National Tree Planting Supplement" Dec. 7 1996.
"Tree cutters to be jailed: President" Dec. 8 1996.

Tree planting Day and Green Ribbon Week are two national campaigns to raise awareness of the importance of trees and

is textured by differing perspectives, such as a predominantly

Western ecological view of endangered species and habitat

protection, views that emphasize the livelihood crises for the

rural poor, and the imposition of ideologies of sustainable

development by foreign bodies. International development

agencies increasingly impose environmental conditionality in

their projects, without necessarily evaluating the relevance

of their perspective on the target population of the projects

(Moyo et al 1991). While Zimbabwe at times opposes aspects of

the environmentalist agenda of the North, such as in the case

of the ban on the trade in elephant ivory,[3] the language and

practices of sustainable development, are now entrenched parts

of the development of Zimbabwe, whether through government

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protecting the environment. Government also supports CAMPFIRE
(Communal Areas Management Programme for Indigenous
Resources), which seeks to protect resources such as wildlife,
through involving rural people in the benefits accruing from
protection. Zimbabwe recently (Sept. 1996) hosted the first
world conference on solar power (United Nations), and will
host the CITES meeting in 1997. The University of Zimbabwe
recently established the Institute of Environmental Studies,
which operates joint research projects in social forestry with
donor partners such as the International Development Research
Council (Canada), the Canadian International Development
Agency (CIDA), the Centre for International Forestry Research
(CIFOR), and others.

[3]. See Hill 1995; `Implement Cites pacts sensibly', The
Herald, April 17 1996, p. 10. The Zimbabwean position is to
remove the ban on trade in elephant ivory, as the elephant
population in Zimbabwe far exceeds the capacity of the
available land for elephant habitation, and the resulting
overstress is damaging the ecosystems of the areas. The loss
of revenue from ivory trade has drastically reduced the funds
available to National Parks and Wildlife resulting in much
reduced ability for Zimbabwe to manage and protect is natural
resources and habitats.

programs, NGOs, or bilateral assistance.

The gap between official rhetoric and meaningful action against environmental destruction, however, is large. As one analyst posits, environmental management in Zimbabwe has been piecemeal and inadequate. The National Conservation Strategy has largely remained a policy document; it has not been implemented" (Nkala 1996: 60). More specifically on rural development:

> despite policy changes to bring about a balance between development and environmental preservation in the agricultural sector, the policies on land use and management still result in poor land management and a worsening environmental situation. (Nkala 1996: 51)

Land degradation and deforestation appear to be serious problems in Zimbabwe. Annual soil losses are estimated at 100 tonnes per hectare per year, while between 70,000 to 100,000 hectares of forest is lost per year due to human activity.[4] Degradation and deforestation are largely linked, in the literature, to land distribution, tenure issues, poverty and population growth in the rural areas (Mandishona 1996). Forests are lost mainly due to clearance of land for cultivation, but also to use as fuelwood and building materials. It is estimated, for example, that 55% of Zimbabwe's districts have fuelwood deficits. Cattle and goats

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[4]. Nkala 1996 cites Zimbabwe's National Report to the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development, Harare 1992: 3-4.

also apply severe stress on the land in rural areas.[5] Environmental problems are evident in other sectors as well. Large scale commercial farms use large quantities of agro-chemicals that end up in the water courses. Industrial wastes are poorly managed (Moyo et al 1991), as evidenced by several crises regarding the poisoning of watercourses feeding Harare's main water supplies in 1995-7.[6] Air pollution in Harare has reached distressing levels with little being done to curb vehicle exhaust and industrial emissions. While there is clearly reason for focusing on the environment in the Zimbabwean context, it is not clear that the state is interested in shifting real (as opposed to rhetorical) effort towards sustainable development. In other words, the situation differs little from the prevailing global context: short term economic and political interests preclude any serious attention to long-term environmental disaster.[7]

Historical Background: Linking Conservation with Land Distribution

Environmentalism has an important history in Zimbabwe/Rhodesia. Early settler governments in the first

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[5]. Up to 70% of the cattle in CAs belongs to urban dwellers (Nkala 1996). As such, the environmental problem of over-grazing must be set within the context of urban-rural relations.

[6]. See "Israeli firm hired to solve sludge problem" The Herald January 27 1997: 1.

[7]. "World turning blind eye to catastrophe" The Guardian Weekly February 2 1997: 1.

decades of this century were concerned about the destructive mining and farming practices of white settlers causing rapid deforestation, river siltation and soil exhaustion (Elliott 1991; Grove 1989; McGregor 1995; Beinart 1984 and 1989). These concerns were also raised in other colonies of Southern Africa, in India, Australia and in the United States, reflecting a scientific discourse of the time which predicted rapid deforestation and desertification (Beinart 1984; Grove 1989).[8]

Colonial governments in Southern Africa responded to the perceived crisis by developing rational-technical approaches to conservation. These initially were directed at white commercial farmers, in the interest of saving a future for capitalist farming in the region (Beinart 1984). In the 1920s, the colonial concern for conservation increasingly included African areas. Some officials argued that African farmers caused more destruction than Europeans (McGregor 1995). In 1927, E.D. Alvord, then a senior technical assistant in the Agricultural Department, undertook the first serious efforts to improve native agriculture by sending native agricultural demonstrators to the Reserves. Using demonstration plots with cooperating farmers, the department initiated the Master Farmer Certificate system, wherein farmers undertaking the modern methods were issued with certificates. The first such

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[8]. On Lesotho, a country in Southern Africa with possibly the worst history of soil erosion, see Showers 1989 and Showers and Malahleha 1992.

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certificate was issued in 1933. By 1944, 174 had been issued (Southern Rhodesia 1944: 22-3).[9] Besides farming practices, the interventions included centralization, beginning in 1929 in Rhodesia, which rationalized African areas by designating planned settlement, arable, and grazing areas. In the 1930s and 1940s, African farmers, who were thought of as "careless and dangerous to the environment" (Beinart 1984: 61), were also instructed to preserve forests and streambanks, fill in erosion ditches, but mostly, to improve tillage practices, destock and dig contour ridges (Beinart 1984; McGregor 1995). The new methods were about development, but also conservation (Beinart 1984 and 1989; Drinkwater 1989; McGregor 1995; Wilson 1995). The approach included elements of social Darwinist thinking which cast Africans as unscientific and backward,[10]

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[9]. In addition to identifying and training "progressive" farmers in the Reserves, the Land Apportionment Act of 1930 created Native Purchase Areas. Before 1930, Africans technically held the right to own land, and the Morris Carter Commission of 1925 identified a small number of African land holders, mostly originating from South Africa. White settlers were nervous about this, as well as "Reserve entrepreneurs", or successful peasant farmers who expanded land holdings in the Reserves and hence squeezed poorer farmers and threatened the capacity of the Reserves to serve the subsistence needs of the African population. By providing Purchase Areas for Africans, the 1930 Act regulated native land purchase, hence protecting European land dominance, while providing an outlet for aspiring and successful African farmers. As it turned out, Purchase Areas also attracted urban and mission dwellers, and the farmers, who remained small in number nevertheless "became, in effect, a rural middle-class" (Shutt 1995: xiv).

[10]. The following quotations from the Report of Native Production and Trade Commission, Southern Rhodesia 1944, give some sense of colonial thinking on the nature of the African as farmer:

making it difficult for officials to see indigenous practices as purposefully ecological (Beinart 1989).[11] Practices such as

> The male Native in the Reserves appears to suffer from an extraordinary form of lethargy... a large number of male adult Natives in the Reserves seem to be without desire to improve their conditions of life and appear to be content to continue to live under existing conditions... The task of the Government and the officials of the Native Department... is therefore no easy one in their endeavours to bring him slowly and surely -- there is no short-cut -- to understand, appreciate and practise our ideas of civilization and to realize that whatever is done for him cannot be of lasting benefit without considerable effort on his part (Paragragh VIII, p. 7).

> ...irresponsibility and indiscipline were prevalent among Natives... practical measures to remove or diminish these undesirable features became a major issue of our inquiry (p. 10).

> forward peoples while preserving their settled economy have a duty by all reasonable and proper means to assist backward peoples to progress and for that purpose to enforce discipline without oppression... it is the duty of backward peoples to contribute to their own advancement to the limit of their powers and to observe proper discipline (p. 10).

[11]. Both Elliot (1991) and Beinart (1984) uncover opposition by some officials, particularly those working directly with African farmers, to labelling Africans as destructive and ignorant. In 1929, the Native Commissioner for Marandellas laments the loss of indigenous knowledge caused by European educational programmes (cited in Elliot 1991: 79), while others pointed out that African practices were far less destructive than those used by the white settlers. Also, it does not seem to be the case that African practices were thought of as **inherently** destructive, but that they were problematic in the new context of intensive agriculture created by the settling of Africans permanently in the Reserves. Prior to this, the shifting slash and burn agricultural practices were not thought to do permanent damage, as land was left to regenerate (Southern Rhodesia 1944: 21-2).

the leaving of trees in arable fields were not understood as part of traditional environmental management, but signs of backwardness and laziness (Wilson 1989). The focus on peasant practices and "ignorance" in environmental management also provided an ideological context where the injustice of land segregation was a non-issue. African development meant technical improvement and modernization of practices. This official approach to African agriculture culminated in the Native Land Husbandry Act of 1951, which attempted a form of privatization of African land holdings, and enforce strict conservationist methods in farming (Elliott 1991).[12] Implementation of this Act had to be abandoned due to extensive resistance. It is often held that more than any other factor, resistance to these impositions, particularly destocking, solidified peasant support for the guerrilla movement that eventually liberated Zimbabwe from white rule (Moyana 1984; Ranger 1985).[13]

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[12]. The Native Land Husbandry Act is discussed in more detail in Chapter Three. The Act states its overall purpose as follows:

> "To provide for the control of the utilisation and allocation of land occupied by natives and to ensure its efficient use for agricultural purposes; to require natives to perform labour for conserving natural resources and for promoting good land husbandry" (p. 893). (Southern Rhodesia 1952. "Native Land Husbandry Act 1951". The Statutes of Law of Southern Rhodesia 1951. Acts of Parliament January to December: 893-922.)

[13]. Kriger (1992), takes a different angle on this, arguing that peasants were less radicalized in this period than historians of the war have suggested. Instead, she argues that "peasant resistance" was in large part imposed by

Throughout the 1960s and 1970s the Rhodesian government continued efforts to increase agricultural productivity in the Tribal Trust Lands, or Reserves, through irrigation schemes, improving access to credit and other interventions. The Tribal Trust Lands Act of 1967 fixed boundaries for the TTLs, and the Land Tenure Act of 1969 confirmed this distribution, and attempted to improve land use and conservation through enforcement of rules on stock limitation and land management. The Land Husbandry Act of 1970 provided for the use of traditional leaders to supervise conservation, which had implications for dynamics of local leadership vis-a-vis the guerrillas in the 1970s (Nkala 1996: 63-4). This dynamic is discussed further in Chapters Three and Four. At this juncture, the main point is that the state's efforts in the 1960s and 1970s to improve African agriculture and conservation practices largely failed due to the increased disturbances of the bush war (Wekwete 1991; Zinyama 1991). The language used to describe African peasant farmers in documents from the 1970s is much tamer than that of earlier times, but the analysis remains the same: the only hope for African farming is to modernize methods through a system of rural improvement and identification and support for progressive farmers.[14]

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guerrillas, often through coercive means. Dictates to resist practices such as contour ridging were part of this.

[14]. For example, the Agricultural Development Authority Rhodesia. Annual Report and Accounts 1973, presents the

The transition government of Zimbabwe-Rhodesia published a development plan in 1979.[15] The document included a resettlement plan[16] designed to relieve some pressure on the Tribal Trust Lands, but not disturb the commercial sector. It proposed the resettlement of 10,100 "good farming" families on 4.1 million hectares (that is, about 27% of commercial farming land) of underutilized commercial farming land, over a ten year period. The plan rejected large-scale resettlement as it would threaten commercial agriculture which was central to the economy, and "extend the deterioration of the present tribal trust lands across the whole country" (Zimbabwe-Rhodesia 1979: 2). The most important plank in the plan for the development of African rural areas, the document suggests, is the improvement of basic services and practices in the Reserves, and relief of population pressure. Many of those farming in the Reserves are not real farmers, but those people who have nowhere else to go. Hence, the plan argued, job creation and urbanization are key to relief on the resource base in the Reserves. The overall most important aspect of agricultural

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following position:
> The Authority believes that certain groups of tribesmen are willing to subject themselves to self-control in order to obtain the development required to institute properly managed economic schemes (Rhodesia 1973: 9).

[15]. Zimbabwe-Rhodesia 1979. _Integrated Plan for Rural Development July 1978_. Ministry of Finance, Salisbury.

[16]. The Rural Land Act of 1979 provided the legal basis for the establishment of resettlement areas (Nkala 1996: 53).

development is support of the commercial farming sector which earns about half of the country's foreign exchange and employs 38% of wage earning Africans.

The Post-Independence Context

In the early years of post-Independence Zimbabwe, the critical views of the Liberation War set the tone for government analysis of land degradation in the African sector. Degradation was said to be caused by the unjust land distribution policy of the colonialists, wherein peasants were forced off the most fertile land, and pushed into unsustainable practices due to land shortage. The remedy was large scale land redistribution and resettlement. The Transitional National Development Plan 1982/83 - 1984/85, speaks of the "opportunity to create a new order, to rid the Zimbabwean society of vestiges of exploitation, unemployment, poverty, disease, ignorance and social insecurity" (p. 1). The opening remarks include the view that

> Resettlement of landless people in areas where they can make a decent living is a priority and must be implemented urgently if the unity of the nation is to be sustained (p. 2).

The plan points out that 6,000 mostly white commercial farmers own 44% of the total land in Zimbabwe, mostly in the three best agro-ecological zones, while 700,000 African families occupy 42% of the land. This land is in poorer zones, and has

a carrying capacity of less than half the current numbers.[17] The African areas suffer severe soil erosion caused by population pressure, poor services and poor land husbandry. Half of rural people own no cattle for draught power, and one fifth have no rights to land. Government's first objective for rural and agricultural development was hence an acceptable and fair distribution of land ownership and use. Its number one strategy to achieve this was a land resettlement programme. Government planned to spend $260 million over the plan period to settle 162,000 families on 4.2 million hectares of unutilized and 3 million hectares of underutilized commercial land. The plan recognized the need to protect the interests of commercial farming, and hence suggested use of land currently out of serious commercial production. It also recognized the limits of resettlement in dealing with the problems of population pressure and resource exhaustion in the Reserves (now Communal Areas), and hence planned large scale improvements in the Communal Areas:

> The resettlement programme will go some way towards redressing inequities in land distribution and relieving some of the population pressure in the Communal Areas. However, this programme by itself will not provide a lasting solution to the problem posed by a rapidly growing population and finite land supply... Therefore measures will be taken to improve productivity in Communal Lands, generate maximum off-farm employment and increase levels of employment in the industrial sector (Zimbabwe 1982: 61).

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[17]. See Palmer 1977 for a history of racial discrimination in land distribution.

The approach to environmentally sound land management in the Communal Areas was the implementation of "technical measures and education of people to increase their consciousness of the importance of conserving our land resources" (Ibid 1982: 61).

The approach of the early Independent government shares many similarities with the colonial and transitional government approach (see also Alexander 1994: 331-2). Emphasis is laid on modernizing farming practices in peasant areas, and increasing awareness and practices of environmentally sound use systems. The major difference is the emphasis on resettlement. The Independent government envisioned settling 162,000 families in the first five years of Independence, while the transitional government suggested only 10,100 over a period of ten years. Also, the Independent government emphasized meeting the needs of the landless, while the transitional government urged that settlers be "good farming families".

From the beginning, however, resettlement was hampered by the conciliatory approach government took to the transition of power. Obtaining land under the Lancaster House Agreement (1979) limited the government to willing seller/buyer deals. Although London pledged economic support for land purchase, Zimbabwe was required to come up with the money first, in hard currency, which would then be reimbursed (Alexander 1994;

Zinyama 1991; Wekwete 1991; Cliffe 1988b).[18] By 1984, only 28,600 families had been resettled.

Resettlement also faced bureaucratic instability. In 1980, the Ministry of Lands, Resettlement and Rural Development was formed, giving resettlement a high profile. However, its activities soon became squeezed by the older ministries of Agriculture and Local Government and Town Planning, and hampered by its dependency on the technical expertise lodged in the Ministry of Agriculture. In 1985, Lands, Resettlement and Rural Development was dissolved, and its responsibilities divided between the two older ministries, seriously reducing the profile for resettlement (Wekwete 1991). Resettlement has since undergone another bureaucratic shift, being currently housed within the Ministry of Lands and Water Development in the Department of Rural Development (DERUDE). There have also been changes in government structures as the district level affecting resettlement. In 1993, the Rural District Council Act of 1988 was implemented, amalgamating the District Councils (D.C.s) and Rural District Councils (R.D.C.s). Prior to this, resettlement fell under the jurisdiction of the D.C., as did the Communal Areas, while the R.D.C. administered the commercial farms. This dual structure was a legacy of white rule, wherein African and European areas

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[18]. White commercial farmers were quick to take advantage of government desire to purchase land, selling off their least productive lands at high prices, thereby increasing their own efficiency and profitability (Munslow 1985: 45).

were administered separately.[19] Although resettlement technically fell under the D.C. before 1993, such activities as the maintenance of roads and the development of schools were the responsibility of the resettlement authority, while such responsibilities in neighbouring CAs fell to the District Council. In practice, this bred confusion and inefficiency.[20] Currently, twenty-five ministries, departments or parastatals have a role in resettlement (Lopes 1996: 23).

From the beginning the new government recognized the importance of white commercial farming for a large portion of the country's domestic food production and export earnings (Zimbabwe 1982). Its original plan for resettlement meant to respect this by only using land not currently under full use by commercial farmers (see above). However, throughout the 1980s, it appears that government bowed further to commercial farmer interests, and delayed in demarcating much of the land it had previously stated was "underutilized" (Drinkwater 1989; Elliott 1991; Jacobs 1991; Zinyama 1991; Wekwete 1991). Partly this was due to external macro-economic and political pressures. The world wide economic recession of the early 1980s led to rapid decline in annual growth rates in Zimbabwe, and pressures from the United States and Britain not to disturb the economic contribution of commercial farming. These

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[19]. Interview with District Administrator, Wedza Rural District Council, February 18 1997.

[20]. Interview, Secondary School Headmaster, October 7 1996. Field Notes II, p. 32.

pressures were part of a wider tendency in the donor community not to include land reform as part of the conception of development in Zimbabwe, supporting instead efforts to improve practices in the existing land distribution context (Moyo 1996). Agriculture, mining and manufacturing all suffered declines that led to costly short-term borrowing by the government, particularly through International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank (WB) programmes.[21]

These economic difficulties and external political pressures contributed to the call in the July 1983 budget for a one-year halt on the purchase of land for resettlement (Munslow 1985: 53). In 1985, the World Bank spoke against a hasty decrease in commercial farm land as potentially devastating to food security (World Bank 1985).[22] There was also an overall shift in development policy by the late 1980s, from one of state-led social and economic transformation, to macro economic policies that encouraged foreign investment,

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[21]. The new government inherited a state with very limited indebtedness in 1980. However, it joined the IMF in 1980 and quickly became indebted through IMF borrowing to help cover massive spending on social programmes and government expansion in the early 1980s (Kadhani 1986; Stoneman 1988).

[22]. Failure to meet credit targets led to IMF cancellation of the stand-by facility for Zimbabwe. The country then went without IMF lending from 1984-7, and hence Zimbabwe was fairly resistant to IMF pressures in the mid-1980s. However, since 1980, the World Bank was Zimbabwe's largest single aid-donor, and hence was able to exert significant leverage over Zimbabwean policy, much of which shared IMF thinking (Kadhani 1986; Stoneman 1988).

fiscal restraint and the role of the private sector.[23] This change is clearly outlined in the Second Five-Year National Development Plan 1991-1995 (Zimbabwe 1991: "Foreword").

Elsewhere in Africa and the Third World, World Bank and International Monetary Fund led Structural Adjustment packages were well-established by this point. In Zimbabwe, by the late 1980s, it had become clear to government that macro economic policies had to change. Low foreign investment, budget deficits, escalation of debt, increasing inflation, decreasing industrial output and general infrastructural decay persisted in spite of some good internal economic growth (Lopes 1996). In 1989-90, there was an attempt to formulate a "made in Zimbabwe" adjustment package, which took into account government priorities in protecting the significant gains in human development.[24] However, as the IMF/WB stepped in in 1990, the traditional package of reforms gradually overtook the made in Zimbabwe attempt (Lopes 1996: 18-20).[25] By the early 1990s,

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[23]. Today, this dependence on foreign capital sends Zimbabwean politicians around the world on trade missions. The local press reports these trips in glowing terms, often on the front page. See for example "Investment opportunities vast: Mugabe" and "Future of Zimbabwe Bright" (The Herald September 25 1996: 1) reporting on a trade mission to Germany.

[24]. See UNDP 1992, Human Development Report, in which Zimbabwe is shown to have made gains in the major human development indicators, such as infant mortality, adult literacy, child malnourishment, access to health services and primary and secondary school enrolment.

[25]. This discussion is necessarily short and oversimplified. To expand briefly, the 1970s was characterized by massive borrowing by third world governments, including those in southern Africa, mostly from commercial banks that

economic reform IMF/WB style was well-entrenched with the Economic Structural Adjustment Programme (ESAP). This shift meant a stronger focus on private enterprise such as commercial farming, and less on state-led programmes. This has hurt poorer households, with cuts in health services, skyrocketing inflation and elimination of important subsidies such as those on basic foodstuffs. As a result, human

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were awash with oil money. Development institutions encouraged large and expensive infrastructural developments, such as dams, power stations and roads, and much of the money also left third world countries through widescale corruption by unaccountable dictators. With the 1980s, the debt crisis hit, with rising interest rates, and inadequate economic growth in third world states to finance debt payments. Structural Adjustment was introduced by the World Bank in partnership with the International Monetary Fund, in an attempt to facilitate the repayment of outstanding debts. In exchange for debt rescheduling, third world countries had to accept a package of economic reforms that included severe curbing of government spending, especially in "non-economic" sectors such as health, education, food subsidies and the public payroll, demand reducing fiscal policies, deflation and export-oriented production. These reforms led to severe setbacks in gains some countries had made in increasing literacy and life expectancy, provoked food riots in Africa and Latin America, and in general caused massive hardship, particularly among the poorest in the Third World. These conditions have also been linked to uncontrolled environmental destruction (Adams 1991). This has lead some development observers to label the 1980s "the lost decade" for development (see Cornia, Jolly and Stewart 1987; Chinery-Hesse 1989; Elson 1991; Beneria and Feldman 1992; Gladwin 1993). The 1990s sees a continuation of Structural Adjustment, particularly policies of fiscal restraint, export-orientation and policies to attract foreign investment. The crises in health and education, including in Zimbabwe, which has faced both a serious civil servants' strike, and a nurses and junior doctors' strike in 1996 alone, are not being adequately addressed, and infrastructure is collapsing. There is little development vision, except vague predictions of economic growth, which should eventually lead to increased employment. In the meantime, donor projects focus heavily on income generation in the informal sector, on environmental issues, urban housing, family planning, AIDS, and cultural development.

indicators have suffered severe blows, virtually wiping out some of the post-independent gains (Lopes 1996; Moyo 1996). This trend was recognized by government, which proposed a Poverty Alleviation Action Plan in 1993, with the support of UNDP. In this plan, government acknowledges that economic adjustment has not made allowance for equity and protection of the poor:

> Whereas Zimbabwe's economic stabilization and reform programmed has assured positive real growth, there is need for effective comparable programmes to ensure equity, and to translate these gains to greater prosperity for the disadvantaged population and poor in general. The levels of social expenditures and per capita growth are still below that required for rapid poverty reduction. At this time, Zimbabwe's social indicators are revealing worrisome decline in social conditions, which coupled with inflation, means severe hardship for the disadvantaged and the poor (Zimbabwe 1993: 3).

General hardship has continued throughout the 1990s, the effects of ESAP having been deepened by a devastating drought in 1992. ESAP has not had the intended economic effects. Inflation has remained high, while foreign exchange earnings and incomes have dropped. High interest rates and prices for imported goods have hamstrung local businesses and the flow of capital into the country (Lopes 1996).

The severe fiscal restrictions had definite effects for resettlement, and debates about land reform became increasingly conservative (Moyo 1996: 1). While the 1991 plan pledged $400m to the resettlement programme, little of this was ever allocated in succeeding budgets. In 1995 the programme was allocated a tiny $10m, which would cover costs

of acquiring only three farms, with nothing left over for infrastructural development.[26] In the 1996 budget, resettlement was given an even smaller allotment of $7m.[27]

These macro economic pressures are clearly central. However, there are indications that the new government also gradually adopted colonial ideology, which separated the problem of environmental degradation in African areas from the issue of access to land (Vivian 1994; Drinkwater 1989; Elliott 1991; Cliffe 1988a; Wekwete 1991). As noted above, the early post-Independence government position placed resettlement at the centre of rural development. While services, agricultural extension and other developments were to be improved in Communal Lands, land reform distinctly emphasized land redistribution. Problems of land deterioration in Communal Lands were clearly linked to problems of inequitable access to land. By 1985, however, government placed increasing emphasis on peasant practices in Communal Areas as part of land reform, while resettlement received less commitment. The First Five-Year National Development Plan 1986-91 vol. 1 included a plan to reorganize settlement patterns in Communal Areas, and

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[26]. "Resettlement gets low priority: ZFU" The Herald August 7 1995: 1.

[27]. "Cost-recovery measures sought for resettlement" The Herald February 22 1996. To put this in the depressing context of state spending on the maintenance of the personal class interests of its chosen elite, compare the $6 million recently spent on a new mansion for Grace Mugabe, the new wife of the president ("Grace lands a $6m house" Zimbabwe Independent October 11 to October 17 1996: 1).

recognized that "the programme of land reform and resettlement which were some of the cornerstones of the Transitional National Development Plan (TNDP) fell far short of resettling 162 000 families" (Zimbabwe 1986: 28). Volume 2 of the First Five-Year Plan named the reorganization of Communal Areas as a "new feature of the resettlement exercise" (Zimbabwe 1988: 13). In addition, targets for resettlement were significantly reduced. In the 1984/85 budget, the Finance Minister announced that resettlement efforts would focus on improving infrastructure for existing settlements (Zinyama 1991).[28] The 1986-91 plan envisaged settling 15,000 families per year, but these targets went unmet due to lack of available land, and lack of the money with which to buy it (Wekwete 1991).

Influential voices had urged a focus on peasant practices in Communal Lands and caution regarding the role of resettlement in rural development since Independence (Drinkwater 1989). The Riddell Commission of 1981,[29] while noting the need to devote some land to resettlement, recommended "a substantial restructuring and transformation of agricultural production within the peasant sector" (para 686).

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[28]. This new focus is echoed in the World Bank perspective on resettlement in the 1990s. See Christiansen (1993), who argues that the pace of resettlement should be slowed to perhaps about 2,000 families per year, and more effort put into improving productivity on existing schemes.

[29].Riddell, R. 1981. Report of the Commission of Inquiry into Incomes, Prices and Conditions of Service ("The Riddell Commission"). Harare: Government Printers.

The Chavunduka Commission of 1982[30] recognized the problem of land shortage, but suggested that bad husbandry practices were a more serious and fundamental problem:

> The main demand for land arises from people with few economic resources who often fail to follow good farming practices. To give these people more land without taking into account the need for major agricultural change will fail to have any long term effect on rural poverty and will result in the depletion of the remainder of Zimbabwe's scarce agricultural resources. Unless this issue is faced squarely there can be no prospect of preserving a healthy and viable agricultural industry (para 266).

The Commission urged caution in focusing on resettlement to the cost of improvement in Communal Areas:

> The Commission is concerned that it may prove financially impossible to run a resettlement programme of this scale and also implement needed development in the neglected communal areas (para 284).

The shift towards accepting these views around the mid-1980s can be attributed in part to "much realignment and realliance of class forces in the country" (Elliott 1991: 85). Although there is still much white control in commercial arenas in Zimbabwe, there is some "Africanisation" of the bourgeoisie. This strains the revolutionary notion that the African state serves the interests of the rural poor majority (Weiner 1988). Like other key areas of the economy, commercial agriculture, and by implication, the land allocation issue,

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[30]. Chavunduka, G. L. 1982. Report on the Commission of Inquiry into the Agricultural Industry ("The Chavunduka Commission"). Harare: Government Printers.

has entered the "indigenisation" discourse.[31] This sidelines

the interests of the rural poor in favour of providing land

for large-scale black farmers (Bratton 1994; Nkala 1996).[32]

Redistribution of land has lacked transparency, and some claim

that it has been marked by regional, ethnic and class biases,

which favour elite blacks from the regions and ethnic groups

that dominate in the ruling ZanuPF party (Moyo 1996). There

have been consistent whispers of corruption, wherein

government members are said to have acquired vast parcels of

land originally designated for peasant farmers.[33] In the mid-

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[31]. "Indigenisation" simply means the shifting of control of key aspects of the economy from white to black hands.

[32]. See also "Comment: Landmark decision" The Sunday Mail August 18 1996: 10. In this editorial, the issue of granting long term leases to small-scale farmers is linked to the drive to indigenise commercial farming, and the need to ensure that "Black farmers, especially those under the auspices of the Zimbabwe Farmers' Union and the Indigenous Commercial Farmers' Union... as well as graduates of agricultural colleges" will be given the "first opportunity" on newly available farm land.

[33]. In the mid-1980s, government refused to purchase many farms on offer which then went on to the private market. From there they were purchased by wealthy blacks connected to government (Alexander 1994: 337; Munslow 1985: 50-1).
    The Guardian Weekly (June 30 1996: 4) reports: "In 1992 the
Zimbabwean parliament passed the Land Acquisition Act, authorising the government to buy land compulsorily. Two years later it was revealed that the first farms compulsorily purchased had been allocated to cabinet ministers, top civil servants and army generals."
    A recent call to look into another resettlement scandal has not been followed up: "A proper commission of inquiry should be appointed to look into, and establish the veracity of allegations made at the weekend that senior Government officials in Masvingo have taken over a farm earmarked for resettling landless peasants, and that they are helping themselves to the farm. If true, it is a serious case, amounting to a betrayal of the aspirations of hundreds of

1980s, Ibbo Mandaza pointed out that continued white presence served as a convenient excuse for delaying the fulfilment of popular demands, that is, government could blame continued white control on its inability to change the lot of the black majority. At the same time, white presence served as a justification for government supported black empowerment of the rising black middle class and elites. This insight still stands in the 1990s, perhaps being even more descriptive of current racial rhetoric of politicians.

The stall on resettlement has held throughout the 1990s. Although government has been released from the constraints of the Lancaster agreement since 1992 when the Land Acquisition Act was passed, allowing forced selling of land to government, little has changed.[34] To date, between 62,000 and 70,000 families have been resettled,[35] while government estimates that about 200,000 families are waiting for resettlement plots.[36] In 1996 government began a process of demarcation of

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thousands of Zimbabweans who desperately need land" ("Comment", The Herald July 1 1996: 10).

[34]. See Masoka 1994 for discussion of the Land Act 1992 which followed amendments to the Lancaster House constitution and the proclamation of the National Land Policy of 1991. The Land Act removed many of the impediments to land acquisition imposed at Lancaster.

[35]. "Land shortage problem deteriorates" The Sunday Mail June 16 1996.

[36] "Resettlement funds too low" The Herald August 3 1995: 12. A more recent article, "3 million ha bought for resettlement since 1980" Herald November 26 1996, p. 9, unaccountably reduces this figure to 80,000 families waiting.

commercial farms for resettlement, but the process has been stalled by the launch of a legal challenge by white farmers whose land is being demarcated.[37] Nevertheless, it is claimed that in 1995-6, government acquired 23 farms, upon which 4,000 people (not "families"), have been resettled.[38]

The other major problem consistently named by government is lack of funds, and government continues to look to Britain, as the former colonial power, for funding assistance.[39]

Whatever the line the government chooses to give, it is clear that it has stalled on its commitment to large scale resettlement for the rural peasantry. This has come about partly in response to the reality of international macro economic forces. It has also come about as a result of the sea change undergone by a liberation force turned government. As the class interest of people in government shifts, the logic

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[37]."State to compulsorily acquire 27 farms" The Herald December 29 1995:1.
   "Land shortage problem deteriorates" The Sunday Mail June 16 1996.
   "Farmers turn abusive over land issue" The Sunday Mail June 23 1996: 1.

[38]. "3 million ha bought for resettlement since 1980" The Herald November 26 1996: 9.

[39]. See "No cash for resettlement programme as State acquires 25 farms" The Herald April 4 1996:1.
   "Land re-distribution hit by lack of funds" The Herald April 21 1996: 9.
   "Zimbabwe and Britain still discuss resettlement funding" The Herald May 21 1996.
   "Land programme supported" The Herald June 20 1996.
   "State to get British help to acquire land" The Herald September 7 1996.

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of the colonialists that cast poor peasant farmers as backward
and environmentally destructive increasingly makes sense.[40]
Hence, current policies of agrarian reform do not differ much
from those of the colonial state. Centralized bureaucratic
control and the importance of technical change to improve
backward African practices, dominate (Drinkwater 1989;
Alexander 1994).

Reconstructing the Meaning of "Resettlement"

As a result of these shifts in government thinking and
practice on resettlement, the terms of the discourse changed.
At the beginning, the goals of resettlement were predominantly
social and political:

-relief of population pressure in the Communal Areas
(formerly "Tribal Trust Lands")

-extension and improvement of the base for productive
agriculture in the peasant farming sector

-improvement of the standard of living of the largest and
poorest sector of Zimbabwe's population

-to help people affected by the war, to help the landless
and the destitute

-to bring abandoned or underutilized land into production

-to expand or improve infrastructure and services to
promote growth of people and economic production

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[40]. See Bell and Hotchkiss 1989 and 1991 for a discussion
of the reluctance in government to accept peasant cultivation
of wetlands as environmentally sound, despite evidence of
sustainable management.

-to achieve national stability and progress (DERUDE 1981; Chavunduka 1982: 67; Zinyama 1991).[41]

Given the small contribution to commercial agriculture made by the vast numbers of African peasant farmers, the goal of increasing overall commercial agricultural production through providing viable pieces of arable land, infrastructure, extension services, and access to loan and marketing facilities, was also important.[42] Although increasing productivity through resettlement was part of the original goals, the issue of justice for the landless and the poor came first.

As government position on the macro economic and political pressures described above began changing, the emphasis in resettlement increasingly shifted from justice to the productivity goal. With this shift also came a tendency for government bureaucrats to view small scale peasant

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[41]. Resettlement Officer, July 17 1996, Schedule 1, . 7. In his view, the original goals of Resettlement were to uplift the standard of living of the poor, and to relieve population pressure in the Communal Areas. Increasing productivity was a minor issue. Now, government is much more insistent about the goal of productivity increases in Resettlement. This view is echoed by the District Administrator of Hwedza District (Interview February 18 1997). The DA holds that the original emphasis was black empowerment, while currently there is much more emphasis on productivity.

[42]. In the period 1975-9, for example, the commercial (European) farming sector accounted for about 90% of the value of marketed agricultural produce, African Purchase Areas (areas where Africans were able to buy title to small scale farms) for
2-3%, and Tribal Trust Lands (now Communal Areas) for 5-7% (Zinyama 1991).

farmers, including those in resettlement, as "inefficient and destructive of land fertility" (Wekwete 1991: 115):

> Lessons learnt from the past decade and half demand that resettlement programmes be implemented with greater concern shown about their future sustainability. So far, efforts have tended to focus on meeting the immediate needs at the expense of the future.
> But such approaches only contribute to creating an environmental wasteland of this country's otherwise rich forests and land...
> The Government wants to formulate a fine-tuned land management programme, which will see resettled villagers receiving knowledge on, and becoming more appreciative of the need to institute better agro-practices and other land use patterns.[43]
>
> Farmers told to use land properly: People in resettlement areas must appreciate Government efforts to resettle them by using their land, a senior Agritex officer has said... called for proper land use to maximize on production telling lazy farmers who spent much of their time drinking beer that the land was not meant for burial purposes.[44]

The view of resettlement farmers as "lazy" and unproductive became conventional wisdom despite the fact that settlers achieved major increases in cash crop production throughout the 1980s. These increases were achieved even while the provision of infrastructure and services had not kept pace with the opening of resettlement schemes, and while most schemes were established in marginal agricultural land because of the "willing seller" stipulation of Lancaster. The 1980s also saw two debilitating droughts in 1982/3 and 1987/8

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[43]. "Comment" The Herald October 20 1995.

[44]. The Herald July 22 1996: 6.
See also "Manage farms well--farmers told" The Herald July 25 1996.

(Bratton 1994; Cliffe 1988(b); Wekwete 1991). The Land Tenure Commission of 1994, under Professor Rukuni, also found resettlement farmers to be more productive than either Communal farmers or small-scale farmers (formerly African Purchase Areas): "The conventional wisdom that resettlement areas are unproductive is therefore not objective and contrary to the facts on the ground" (Rukuni 1994, Volume 1: 66).[45]

Clearly, there is a contradiction between government constructions of resettlement farmers as "inefficient and destructive", and the farmers' actual achievements. It is argued here that government's negative constructing of resettlement farmers in a way that obfuscates their real productivity achievements is part of a wider shift away from a commitment to equitable land redistribution. This move can also be traced in the reaction to the dramatic productivity successes of Communal Area farmers in the first half of the 1980s. Ironically, rather than this being seen as justification for giving more land to small-scale peasant farmers, this was used to justify decreased targets for resettlement, as the need to boost small-scale production became less acute (Moyo 1986; Alexander 1994: 336). This is

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[45]. Bratton 1994 emphasizes that viable productivity in Model A resettlement schemes varies with agro-ecological region and the economic status of the families before resettlement. Hence, resettlement farms situated in poor regions may not be viable without the input of migrant labour earnings, and "destitute" settlers may face extreme difficulties in achieving high productivity levels (Bratton 1994: 76-8).

despite the fact that less than 20% of the peasantry in Communal Areas benefitted from this increased productivity, and hence differentiation intensified in rural areas with many becoming even more impoverished (Moyo 1986 and 1996; Cliffe 1988(b); Weiner 1988). This has also meant that increased productivity overall has gone together with increased absolute levels of malnutrition and hunger in Communal Areas (Jayne et al 1994: 289). These trends together with annual population growth rates of about 3%[46] since Independence, mean that "population pressure and land degradation in the rural areas are more severe today than they were in 1980" (Bratton 1994: 70).

It is yet to be seen if the views of the Rukuni Commission make inroads on the dominant discourse which seeks to justify minimizing resettlement, and utilizes faulty "facts" to emphasize productivity over equitable land distribution. In the meantime, to back up the ideological emphasis on productivity, the criteria for settler selection

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[46]. The 1992 Census puts the annual population growth rate at 3.14% (Central Statistical Office 1994). A recent study released by the Blair Research Institute and Oxford University's Centre for the Epidemiology of Infectious Disease, predicts that AIDS related deaths will reach such high proportions in Zimbabwe that population will stay steady over the next three decades. Currently the AIDS related death rate is estimated at about 500 deaths per week, in a population of nearly twelve million. The effects of decreasing the population growth rate through this means is predicted as devastating for the economy and the society, as those of prime economically active age will be struck down ("Static population size does not mean less environmental problems" The Sunday Mail Magazine March 2 1997: 10).

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has changed. In the beginning, the landless, returning war refugees, and the poorest people were granted land (Zinyama 1991; Wekwete 1991).[47] As early as 1982, however, plots were granted to Master Farmers as well as the "landless poor" (Alexander 1994: 333; Munslow 1985: 46). By the mid 1980s, Government perceived that the land was underutilized, and all settlers were to have Master Farmer training by 1986/7. But as the available land quickly filled up, criteria became even stricter: in the current context, applicants must also demonstrate farmer success through ownership of such implements as a scotchcart and a plough.[48] As the Minister of Lands and Water Resources, Cde Kumbirai Kangai states: "Land should only be given to people with the potential to fully

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[47]. In my area, this was indeed the case on the ground, not just on paper. Preferred settlers were refugees or squatters, particularly those whose current status was a result of the war. Particular favour was given to those who had been active in the war, either as soldiers or "helpers" to guerrillas who came to the area, such as mujibha (boys) or chimbwido (girls) who helped the fighters as messages, cooks, and finders of clothes and other supplies. People were asked if they had been to Mozambique, Zambia, Botswana or Tanzania because of the war (Former Ward Councillor, September 1996, Field Assistant Interview, Field Diary Village 3, Book I).

[48]. Resettlement Officer, July 17 1996. Schedule 1, qu. 2; Former Ward Councillor, September 1996, Research Assistant Interview, Field Diary Village 3, Book I. The District Administrator of Hwedza District asserts, however, that while there is no shortage of applicants who meet the new criteria (they have a waiting list of about 500 people), allocations are still made to the "needy" such as those displaced by developments like dam construction or the expansion of the growth point (Interview February 18 1997).

utilize it".[49] As only about 20% of farmers in Communal Areas will be able to meet the new criteria, the selection process is likely to enhance the differentiation processes in rural areas further, deepening inequality in terms of land distribution (Moyo 1996).

Together with this focus on productive farmers, is support for increasing productivity of existing settlers, and training courses for new ones. Training schemes on model resettlement farms, and other special donor projects are honing in on a numerically small group of keen and able farmers to boost productivity and launch them as a truly commercial class of farmers.[50] This is also linked to the concern to reduce costs to government of resettlement. By increasing settlers' productivity they become more viable loan risks, and hence less dependent on government support. There is also talk of reducing government's burden by making

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[49]. "Land Shortage Problem Deteriorates". The Sunday Mail June 16 1996.
    See also:
    "Resettlement must depend on productivity: seminar" The Herald April 16 1996: 1.
    "Comment: Landmark decision" The Sunday Mail August 18 1996: 10.
    "Residents with resources sought for resettlement" The Herald August 20 1996: 7.

[50]. "New plan to groom communal farmers" The Herald October 7 1995: 1.
    "Trusts proposed for communal land" The Herald December 24 1995: 1.
    "Scheme set to ease resettlement woes" The Herald January 24 1996.

settlers pay for infrastructure.[51]

The debates and changes concerning land tenure also affect change in the discourse of resettlement. This issue is taken up in greater detail in Chapter Three.

Politics and the "Squatter Problem"

This direction on resettlement is somewhat mystified by the continued political grandstanding on the issue of historical land injustice. Resettlement becomes a hot topic in elections and political speeches, when revolutionary and anti-white rhetoric are the norm.[52] However, there is also a more serious recognition of the real problems created by land shortage for the poor:

> The Secretary for Local Government, Rural and Urban Development, Mr. Willard Chiwewe, has warned of a second revolution unless Government takes a radical approach in resettling millions of landless Zimbabweans... Zimbabwe was sitting on a time bomb which could explode at any time if Government failed to redress land imbalances... 'One of the

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[51]. "Cost-recovery measures sought for resettlement" The Herald February 22 1996.

[52]. See for example "Set up land acquisition terms, governors urged" (The Herald March 7, 1996), where President Mugabe is quoted as saying in an election speech: "We are now going to use the Land Apportionment Act method they used to take away good land from the blacks. I want to emphasize that we won't buy this land but will acquire it for free."
Also, Vice-President Dr. Joshua Nkomo is quoted as saying,
"It's up to us as Government to move now and take some of our people where the whites are. It's not easy but it can be done and it shall be done." In his speech he drew attention to the historical injustice of land distribution, and called for the dismantling of communal lands, and the settling of Africans on the land of the white farmers ("Ease land pressure in the communal lands--Nkomo" Sunday Mail July 30 1995).

greatest forces for the liberation struggle was for land and at assuming independence, land redistribution was a national need. The landless group is the most volatile'.[53]

There is also some recognition that there is not enough land, even if all commercial land was reallocated, to satisfy the land needs of the rural poor.[54]

An even more pressing problem than the potential second revolution, however, is that many members of this most volatile group, have already "voted with their feet": they

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[53]. "Land issue a time bomb: Chiwewe" The Herald July 29 1996.

[54]. This fact is common knowledge in academic circles (E. Moyo 1996: 5). But even some politicians have admitted this. Manicaland provincial governor, Cde Kenneth Manyonda, was reported to address the Zimbabwe Farmers' Union in Mutare in the following way:

> ...the land problem had to be resolved as a national issue to allow the disadvantaged and the landless to acquire productive land and wean them from handouts.
> 'The history of this country has made a mess of our relationships and things are going to be worse for our children because of these land inequalities as they will be on each other's throats asking why the majority of the Zimbabweans have no land and how that came about, hence the need for us to make it a national issue and resolve it amicably before we die.'
> However, Zimbabweans should understand that there would never be enough land on which to resettle

everyone countrywide, hence land problems would always be there.

> 'Land is inelastic and we cannot have all the land that we want. All we are saying is that there should be equitable distribution of land. Be assured that Government will always encourage commercial farming and see to it that it improves as it is the back bone of our economy' (The Herald August 15 1996: 5).

have moved onto state, or designated land and become "squatters".[55] Government has had a tendency implicitly to condone this practice by following up later with formal resettlement of squatters.[56] Recently, however, the Minister of Lands and Water Development called for the eviction of 6,000 squatters on state land.[57] Squatting is also a serious issue in the newly opened land in the Zambezi Valley (after successful tsetse fly eradication).[58] Reports on squatters are characterized by strong language describing the environmental destruction their activities wreak:

> The main argument for their removal is the frightening damage to the environment, resulting from the activities of the squatters. Their actions, in some respects, demonstrate total disregard for the future and their own well-being.[59]

> About 3000 illegal settlers in Muzarabani's new lands, blamed for having moved in hundreds of cattle in excess of the area's carrying capacity,

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[55]. The Chavunduka Report (1982), mentions squatters as already a serious problem, particularly in Victoria Province and the Eastern Districts. The report comments that this makes planned resettlement difficult as many of the squatters are ineligible as settlers, either because they are employed or have rights in Communal Lands (Chavunduka 1982: para 290-1).

[56]. "Comment: Resettlement must have future in mind" The Herald October 20 1995: 10.

[57]. "25 farms acquired for resettlement" The Herald June 4 1996: 1.
     "Land shortage problem deteriorates" The Sunday Mail June 16 1996.

[58]. "Muzarabani to evict 3,000 illegal settlers" The Herald November 8, 1995: 12.

[59]. "Comment: Resettlement must have future in mind" The Herald October 20 1995: 10.

will be evicted to avert environmental disaster...[60]

> More than 6000 squatters have moved onto State land
> and the result has been quite adverse with the
> wanton destruction of the environment, problems of
> siltation, diseases and crime becoming the order of
> the day at such settlements.[61]

Some estimate that over 200 000 families are squatters in

Communal Areas, commercial farms and state lands (Moyo 1996:

8). Squatting can be read as the major political expression of

the rural masses with the pace of official resettlement.[62]

This discussion has indicated several important

contextual issues to be considered in a contemporary study of

environment and development in a Resettlement Area in

Zimbabwe. First a focus on environment must be located in the

international politics of green imperialism. Third world

governments, including Zimbabwe, are increasingly required by

multilateral institutions, bilateral donors and NGOs, to put

emphasis on environmental management. Second, the historical

linkages in settler government thinking between peasant

practices and environmental destruction must be considered. It

has been shown that these ideas have lingering effects in

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[60]. "Muzarabani to evict 3000 illegal settlers" The Herald
November 8 1996: 12.

[61]. "25 farms acquired for resettlement" The Herald June
4 1996: 1.

[62]. Ibid. Moyo 1996 discusses the lack of political voice
of the rural poor. He points out that their only lobby group
with a government ear, the Zimbabwe Farmers Union (which
represents Communal and Resettlement farmers), is dominated by
a small proportion of better off black farmers (Moyo 1996: 24-
29).

post-Independence Zimbabwe. Third, the revolutionary ideology on land redistribution in post-Independence Zimbabwe must be examined. Practical constraints and ideological shifts over the seventeen years since Independence have altered the original position on large-scale land redistribution, to a much reduced plan for developing a small, commercially viable African peasant farming class. Along with this has come a growing acceptance of the pre-Independence construction of the problem of resource deterioration in Communal Areas as a problem of peasant practices, rather than a larger problem of land shortage caused by inequitable land distribution. This construction of the African peasant as destructive facilitates changing the emphasis of the aims of resettlement from an issue of justice, to one of productivity and sustainable resource management, and the change in settler selection criteria from the landless and the poorest of the poor, to the skilled and successful among the African peasantry. If we scratch the surface of current ideological commitment to conservation, we may find a determination to keep access to land under the control of large-scale commercial farming, be the farmers black or white.

This ideological climate at the government level dovetails nicely with that of social forestry efforts in international developmentalism (see Chapter One). As mentioned above, putting aside the question of land shortage for peasants as a result of historically unjust land distribution

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makes room for a focus on peasant practices, and the technical fix paradigm. This study raises the question of whether it is, in fact, settler practices which are at the root of the perceived destruction of the woodlands in resettlement. It uncovers multiple sources of strain on the social forest, including outsider use by neighbours in Communal Lands, lack of social cohesion in communities, complex cultural change, and institutional and tenure issues. These issues form the content of the remaining chapters.

CHAPTER THREE

Evaluating Privatization in the Social Forest
In Resettlement:
Tenure and Institutional Issues

Introduction.

The association of private property regimes or
individualized control with better land management made
several key appearances in colonial policy concerning arable
land in "African" areas of Southern/Rhodesia (Zimbabwe). In
the woodlands, however, communal use systems under ultimate
state control were the norm.[1] Communal use systems in the
woodlands have persisted in the post-Independent state, both
in the Communal Areas, and in the newly demarcated
Resettlement Areas. Recommendations by the recent Land Tenure
Commission (1994), however, are set to change tenure in the
woodlands in Resettlement Areas from communal use under state
property ownership, to private property, on the perception
that the current system fails to sustainably manage the
woodlands.

In this chapter, I probe what does indeed appear to be a

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[1]. I have chosen to use "communal use systems" to label
the type of tenure regime regulating the social forest in
precolonial reserves, and post colonial Communal Areas and
Resettlement Areas to avoid confusing the type of tenure
regime with an actual common property regime. Common property
implies a type of shared ownership and rule generation by the
users. In the contexts I discuss, users have neither ownership
nor the authority to make or police rules. All of these powers
reside in the state. The only "common" aspect in the tenure
regime is the use of the resources.

failure in communal use and management in the woodlands in the case study area of a Model A family farm resettlement scheme. The question of tenure insecurity as a possible problem in the management system is addressed. Next, I describe the types of controls operating in the woodlands, the institutions involved, and the central conflicts and tensions in the management system. I also discuss the currently popular notion of resource-sharing as a possible solution of the conflict. In the final analysis I address the question of whether private tenure is likely to solve the problems of woodland management in resettlement. To begin with, however, I provide a brief discussion of the historical links between land tenure, African agriculture and woodland management. The question of current agricultural practices and the social relations of farming are addressed in later chapters.

Linking tenure issues to historical constructions of African agriculture.

The division of land in Southern Rhodesia into African and European areas through the Land Apportionment Act of 1930, was defined by different tenure regimes as well as by racial categories. European land was designated as private property, with title deeds and appropriate inheritance laws in keeping with the Roman Dutch Law. African areas, the "Reserves" (later Tribal Trust Lands), were based on a colonial understanding or construction of a "traditional" African land holding system. Although there was evidence of buying and selling of land

among Africans in the region, the colonial government preferred to construct African land holding as "communal" (Cheater 1990; Shutt 1995: 16-9). With the 1930 Act, practices in the Reserves were formalized. The ideological model was that Africans were granted usufruct rights by their chief, who held the land in trust for the state, although in practice, the authority to allocate land seemed to fall primarily to the Native Commissioner, and the ultimate ownership of the land by the state meant that people could be relocated through the directive of the state (Moyana 1984: 13; Cheater 1990). Grazing and woodland areas were used as communal resources, while homesteads and fields tended to stay within a family. The Act outlawed the buying up of large tracts of land by "Reserve entrepreneurs", whose activities had worried colonial officials. Reserves had to be maintained as a "social security net" for all Africans (Shutt 1995).

In colonial ideology, communal land holding was also associated with subsistence agriculture, while private property was linked to commercial production.[2] In line with this thinking, the Native Purchase Areas created under

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[2]. Cheater (1990), questions this construction of African agriculture as "traditionally" about subsistence, pointing to evidence of extensive trade in grains and tobacco in pre-colonial times. In other words, "traditional" peasant agriculture in the area was neither "communal" nor essentially "subsistence", but in fact extensively individualized and frequently commercial.

provisions in the Land Apportionment Act of 1930,[3] operated with private property relations. Native Purchase Areas, generally adjacent to Reserves, provided commercially-minded black farmers with the opportunity to purchase farm land, but only in areas not needed by white farmers, and under racially segregated conditions (Moyana 1984: 57; Shutt 1995; Cheater 1984).

Meanwhile, in the Reserves, by the 1940s colonial concern over "Native" production and resource degradation intensified, and there was a general sense that the Reserves would be unable to serve the needs of the evergrowing African population. Solutions to this problem revolved around ideas of individualizing control of arable land, and "modernizing" African farming practices. The Native Land Husbandry Act (NLHA) (1951) was primarily based on a scheme of privatization of formerly "communally" held land in the Reserves. Intended to finish the job of "centralization" begun in the 1920s (see Chapter Two), the Act sought to give a limited number of Reserve farmers permanent individual tenure to specific pieces of arable land, as well as rights to communal grazing areas. In the process, a viable peasantry would be created, as well as a permanently landless class. This latter group would

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[3]. The Land Apportionment Act of 1930, formally divided land holding along racial lines. "Europeans" were allocated 51% of the country, about 22% was designated for "Native Reserves", about 8% for Native Purchase Areas, .6% as Forest Areas, and 18% was left unassigned (Moyana 1984: 68-77).

become employed in urban areas. Implementation of the Act was undertaken from the mid-1950s into the early 1960s. Peasant resistance eventually forced officials to halt the process (Moyana 1984; Ranger 1985).[4] Farmers resisted forced destocking, which impoverished their most important source of wealth. They also resisted the imposition of labour-intensive agricultural practices such as contour ridging. A great deal of resistance was also instigated by the newly landless created by the Act.

The point here is that colonial officials linked "improving" African agriculture to private tenure as well as modernizing African "practices". To clarify, in 1930, colonial policy reflected a desire to formally segregate land use along race lines, and to protect white commercial interests by limiting black agricultural competition (Moyana 1984). The Reserves were a place to "put" Africans as an increasing amount of land was alienated. Reserves were also a "labour reserve" system through which labour could be extracted, while the subsistence agricultural activities of families relieved white employers from the full cost of maintaining its workforce (see Chapter Five). However, this system only worked as long as the land in the Reserves could sustain the population (Munslow 1985). By the 1940s, the perceived crisis

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[4]. See for example, the 1961 Report of the Mangwende Reserve Commission of Inquiry, which examines the extensive resistance and disturbance in this Reserve over the implementation of the Native Land Husbandry Act.

in population pressure and land degradation increased colonial concern over land-use practices in the Reserves. While officials had earlier paid some attention to "modernizing" peasant practices, their increased concern in the 1940s over the sustainability of the Reserve system, spurred them to consider changing the form of tenure in the reserves from "communal" to a form of "individualized" or "privatized" tenure.

Tenure in the woodlands: common access under state control.

This linking of privatization to better management, was not generally a part of the colonial thinking on woodland management in the Reserves in the same period. Management ideas stayed consistently focused on controlling people's practices, with little concern for the nature of tenure regime of communal access under state control and ownership.

Management of woodlands and plantations in the Reserves was regulated by the Native Reserves Forest Product Act of 1929.[5] The Act gave Africans the basic right to use any resources in the woodlands in their Reserves, according to their need. Management of woodlands fell under the Forest Department, which appointed the first Forest Officer for the Reserves in 1933. This officer was to work under the Chief Native Commissioner, but be under the technical direction of

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[5]. It is interesting that it was another 20 years before the rest of the colony was regulated under the Forest Act 1949. See Report of the Secretary for Native Affairs and Chief Native Commissioner for the Year 1949.

the Forest Department. Later, African forest rangers were trained and employed in the Reserves, with uneven success. By the mid-1950s, forestry work in the Reserves was supervised mainly by the Land Development Officers, who were also tasked with agricultural business. Foresters were well aware that the management of the woodlands was intimately linked to farming activities, noting particularly the damage done to woodlands by grazing cattle.[6] However, foresters had trouble pursuing their mandate of managing the woodlands in the Reserves in the 1940s and 1950s, as the agriculturalists, who dominated the work in Reserves, were reluctant to include woodland management. The forest office for the Reserves was also chronically understaffed and underfunded.

The forest office noted that the Reserves were unevenly endowed with woodland resources. Some Reserves still had

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[6]. See the Forest Officer's submissions in the Report of the Secretary for Native Affairs and Chief Native Commissioner for the 1940s and 1950s. For example:

> The conservation of indigenous timber on Reserves received attention, but this problem is intimately linked with land use and the control of the use of land in the Reserves, and requires further attention...(Report for the Year 1943: 148);

> "wooded lands should not be grazed" (Report for the Year 1945: 236).

Concern over the effects of cattle grazing, especially soil erosion and suppression of natural regrowth are also voiced in the reports for the years 1948 and 1950. The point is also made that woodland areas do not promote the best grass growth, and hence are not good grazing areas. They recommended demarcating grazing areas separately from woodlands.

abundant resources, while others were either still adequately supplied or in serious trouble. However, in the 1951 report, the Forest Officer warned: "The indigenous timber supplies of all Reserves are diminishing at an alarming rate".[7] Hence, even though serious deforestation was not widespread, the process of exploitation in the Reserves was viewed as unsustainable. The forest office had two main strategies to manage the woodlands. The first was the establishment of exotic plantations, mainly eucalyptus. These were planted as "communal woodlots", and Africans were meant to have free access to these, particularly for use as poles. The second strategy was the process of "reserving" some indigenous woodlands in the Reserves. Particularly well-endowed woodlands, or woodlands with unique species were to be identified and put under special protection. This protection did not mean banning African use of the forest, but imposed controlled cutting and grazing practices meant to allow the forest to regenerate in a natural and sustainable fashion. Officials sometimes chose woodlands that they observed Africans to avoid cutting in anyway. One of the first of these was Wedza Mountain forest, in the Reserve to the south of the study site. Both the establishment of plantations and the reservations of forests moved very slowly due to lack of funds, transport and staff. By 1951, only .5% of the total

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[7]. Report of the Secretary for Native Affairs and Chief Native Commissioner for the Year 1951: 88.

area of Reserves was designated as forest reserves, and the Forest Officer urgently called for more.[8]

There was little interest in investigating African perceptions and resource management systems. For example, although officials took note that Africans did not cut in certain forests, there was little interest in investigating why:

> These two areas of indigenous forest are of interest in that for no definite reasons, felling in and the use of timber therefrom has been prohibited by the Natives themselves (Rambo Kutemwa <sic>) for a long time.[9]

In addition, it was not until 1950 that the office embarked on collecting African names for indigenous trees. Early initiative shown by some Africans in establishing plantations on a private basis near their kraals was frowned upon by forestry officials. The office wanted "communal" woodlots, where care and cutting practices could be more easily controlled.[10] The approach was decidedly top-down, and bureaucratically controlled, although by the late-1940s, the African enthusiasm for planting fruit and ornamental trees in private orchards around their kraals was noted with approval.[11] On the whole, however, African practices were perceived as unsustainable, and hence needing outside control. In the 1952

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[8]. Ibid: 88.

[9]. Report for the Year 1940: 41.

[10]. Ibid: 42; 50.

[11]. Report for the Year 1948 and 1949.

Report, for example, the Forest Officer estimated that some 30% of timber used in the Reserves was "lost through carelessness and primitive methods", and that on plantations, "Natives continue to exploit in a wasteful manner and petty thefts occur in most plantations".[12] Other long-standing concerns with African practices were in the use of "brush" fences, intentional bush fires, and improper coppicing.

This short history suggests that forest management in the Reserves in colonial times was characterized by an afforestation technique of communal plantations of eucalypts and indigenous woodland management focusing on control of African practices through the imposition of state defined rules. There was little attention to indigenous perceptions, knowledge or initiative, nor was there attention to the possibility that the tenure dynamic of communal use under ultimate state control could be a problem in itself. There was no attempt to change the regime as laid out in the 1929 Act, which outlined the woodlands as a communal resource, controlled through the rules of the state. As shall be seen below in discussion of the current context, this dynamic does not provide the users with the rights and institutions required to produce a workable common property regime. The program was also characterized by chronic lack of funding, staff and other resources, being a case where the state took "on far more resource management authority than <it> can be

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[12]. _Report for the Year 1952_: 71; 73.

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expected to carry out effectively" (Murphree 1991: 4).
Woodland management ran a poor second to agricultural
programs. This situation worsened from 1957 onward into the
early 1960s, when district offices were preoccupied with the
implementation of the Native Land Husbandry Act (NLHA).
Reports from the Forest Office for these years speak
consistently of failed targets in plantation establishment and
reservation of indigenous woodlands because of the resources
poured into the NLHA implementation. Also, in some Reserves
the demarcation process of the Act contributed to
deforestation of the indigenous woodlands as kraals were
settled in the woodland areas, and there was increased timber
use for the building of new homes for relocated families.
Finally, even when some Reserves had implemented the NLHA, and
hence were "in theory" ready for forestry extension, there was
still no clear forestry policy in the reserves.[13] In the 1960s
and 1970s, not only was the NLHA abandoned due to resistance
and the heating up of the bush war, but efforts to manage the
forests in the Reserves also largely dropped off.

Land tenure in post-Independence Zimbabwe.

In early post-Independence Zimbabwe, the issue of land
was dominated by questions of access, not tenure. It was not
until the 1990s that land tenure came to the fore. The recent
Report Land Tenure Commission (1994) is discussed below. At

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[13]. Report for the Year 1958: 78.

Independence, however, the new government had no particular commitment to private property ideology. The former Tribal Trust Lands became "Communal Lands", emphasizing the role of "home for all" initiated by the colonial government.[14] The Resettlement programme contained four main models, none of which included private property relations. Model A, Normal Intensive Resettlement, the most common, is similar in structure to communal lands: families are settled in nucleated villages and given permits to reside, cultivate and depasture stock. Grazing and bush areas are open to use by all who fall within village boundaries, but the rules of use are imposed by the state.[15] Model A resettlement gives a nod towards individualized property holdings in that a settler's arable land allocation is an indivisible package meant for the exclusive use of the permit holder. However, settlers have no permanent or negotiable entitlement to the land, including

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[14]. Cheater (1990) outlines the continuity of post-Independent policy in Communal Areas with colonial policy on Reserves. The Communal Land Act of 1982 gave authority of land allocation in CAs to the District Councils, hence continuing "the colonial process of subordinating custom to state control" (Cheater 1990: 201). Ideology about "customary" rights and practices of land use and allocation underpin the post-Independent discourse on CAs just as it did the colonial discourse on Reserves. However, policy ultimately increases state control through manipulation and transformation of what is "customary".

[15]. This model also later included the Accelerated Intensive Resettlement model, designed to deal with the problem of squatters on former commercial farms. The model followed model A structures, but included a minimum of infrastructure and service development as a means to quickly formalize squatters' land use.

their own homestead areas. Model B is a cooperative model wherein groups of between 50 and 200 members live and farm cooperatively. Model C settles farmers through a lease system on state owned estates, such as tobacco, coffee or dairy, and farmers benefit from state infrastructure such as processing or marketing facilities. Model D is a grazing scheme rather than a resettlement model. In drier regions, formerly commercial ranches are opened to neighbouring Communal farmers for controlled grazing activities. In all cases, ultimate land holding resides with the state. Of these models, Model A has dominated, and Model B has been declared a failure.[16] The scheme in this study is of the original Model A Normal Intensive type, and is one of the first to be established in 1981.

Issues on the Inside: Tenure, Settler Practices, Rules and Institutions

Land Tenure: Insecurity and common property issues

There is a large literature on the relative merits of land holding systems as related to productivity and sustainability (Berry 1989b; Barrows and Roth 1990; Bromley (ed) 1992; Feeny (et al) 1990; Fortmann and Bruce 1988; Hardin and Baden 1977; Herring 1990b; Okoth-Ogendo 1989; Richards 1983;). In neo-classical economic theory, it is often held that in common property tenure arrangements, people have

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[16]. "Big change for resettlement areas" The Herald August 7 1995: 7.

little incentive to work for long term productivity or environmental management gains. This position has been refined since the 1960s when Hardin (1968) asserted that common property regimes were incapable of caring for the environment because of people's tendency to take a "free ride" in such systems.[17] The only secure land management system, the argument went, was private ownership. Currently, the more usual question is "under what conditions, and in what forms" do common property regimes function (Fortmann and Bruce 1988: 1-3). Or, put another way, in what contexts does privatized tenure actually increase investment and security in land holding (Barrows and Roth 1990).

In some cases, it appears that the **security** and **clarity** of tenure rules appears to be more important than their form (ie common or private) in defining the sustainability of the system and users' willingness to invest in long term improvement (Fortmann and Bruce 1988: 3). In the case of resettlement, concern has been raised over tenure security. Is this linked to problems of management in the social forest? Also, much of the social forest lies in areas with communal access. Can the management system and property relations of these communally used areas be termed a "common property"

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[17]. Hardin's thesis was based more on a concept of "open access" property relations, rather than one of "common property". Common property regimes imply rules of use, access and resource group membership, while "open access" regimes are rule free.

regime, and is it in this tenure system that the management problem lies?

Looking at the problem from the point of view of the proven effects of privatization, Barrows and Roth (1990) found no empirical evidence in Africa that privatization leads to increased investment and improved tenure security. With evidence from Kenya, Uganda and Zimbabwe, the authors conclude that the effects of privatization are embedded within the effects of a wider context of multiple factors, and therefore difficult separate out. In the case of Zimbabwe, naming private tenure relations as the cause of better farming productivity in Native Purchase Areas (see above) compared to the Reserves is problematic. Private tenure in Purchase Areas can not be separated from other factors such as preferential access to credit, better agricultural extension and screening criteria which meant only better off and more "modern" Africans were allowed to purchase land in these areas (Cheater 1984; Barrows and Roth 1990). In terms of tenure security, the imposition of private property relations may actually decrease tenure security for some people, while increasing it for others (Barrows and Roth 1990). This is potentially the case for married women in resettlement in the case of granting title deeds. This issue is discussed in Chapters Five and Six. Alternatively, effects of privatization may be short-lived if customary practices, such those of inheritance, persist in spite of new legal aspects in property relations. This point

is part a wider one that recognizes that African property relations are often mediated in key ways through social relations. The Western ideology linking private tenure with maximizing productivity and investment frequently fails in the African context, because relations such as those of kinship are often implicated in land use practices. For example, extra labour is often accessed through the extended family, and land is often sub-divided into portions for family members. This can lead to "inefficient" uses of land, which may seem "irrational" to Western thinking. However, in African contexts, this represents the logic of the social system where kinship provides security and opportunity as well as obligation (Berry 1989b; Okoth-Ogendo 1989). The effects of these type of social relations on land use in the study site is discussed in Chapters Five and Six, where it is shown that imposing "individualized" control of arable land has not prevented the social relations of kinship from becoming implicated in land use. In the present chapter, I concentrate on an analysis of tenure security and the management systems of the social forest across different resource areas and products. I consider the nature of the rules and institutions in the social forest, and compare the management of resources under more individualized control, such as in homesteads and fields, with that in the communal use areas. Throughout the analysis I emphasize social relations in conjunction with the nature of tenure as key in disentangling the story of the

social forest in resettlement.

<u>Tenure Security</u>.

Resettlement Areas based on Model A (family farm) style, operate on a land tenure system which grants different forms of usufruct rights and management systems under ultimate state ownership. While settlers have no actual **property rights**, homesteads are **managed** as private property, fields as **semi-private**, while pastures and bush, where most of the indigenous woodland lies, are used **communally**, by each village. Each village has its own grazing and bush areas meant to be used only by that village. See Figure 3.1. for a pictoral representation of village geography by Village 4 (PRA data). I call the communally used areas "communal use areas", rather than "common property areas", as the system lacks key characteristics of a true common property regime. The characteristics of these "communal use areas" are discussed at length below. Farmers are given three permits: one to reside, one to plough, and one to depasture livestock. The permits, while having no expiry date, have tended to be renewed every five years, and in theory can be revoked if a settler is unproductive. On paper, this appears to be a situation of insecurity of tenure, and some studies have identified this (Cliffe 1986 noted in Fortmann and Bruce 1993). Other scholars have found that people are secure enough to build houses and plant fruit trees (Cusworth and Walker 1988 noted in Fortmann

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and Bruce 1993). In the study site, there is some indication that settlers at first felt insecurity because of the permit system, which is connected to reckless cutting of trees in the early years.[18] There was also extensive confusion in the beginning about the purpose of being moved into the Resettlement scheme, with many people reportedly not coming by choice, but being "chosen" by their headmen. Many people feared they were being sent to do forced labour on the farms, as when they were owned by white commercial farmers before Independence, people were often forced to work there if their cattle strayed onto the farms.[19] Despite this insecure beginning, settlers are currently treated as permanent residents, and permits are not generally revoked. According to the Resettlement Officer, it would be nearly impossible to evict an "unproductive" farmer, once they were established there.[20] According to the settlers, the place belongs to them, largely because they do not have any other homes: "we take this place as our own because there is nowhere for us to go" (1.35f). Also, they feel entitled because "we were given by

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[18]. Interview with former Village Chairman, Village 1, July 29 1995 (Field Book I, p. 6). This informant also mentions "we were war-minded", which he states led people to engage in unsustainable and destructive tree-cutting practices in the early years of Resettlement. My analysis of this statement is that people were disoriented by the war, and acted in ways that disregarded the future.

[19]. Interview with Secondary School Headmaster, April 11 1996 (Field Book II, p. 14-15).

[20]. Interview with Resettlement Officer, May 9 1996 (Field Book I, p. 23).

the government (2.9f)".It is common practice for people to bury their dead in the area, rather than returning them "kumusha" (original home in Communal Lands). Partly this is for practical reasons (it is very far in some cases). But the effect is to contribute to people's sense of ownership of the land: "yes <it changes how we feel about the land> because we can't leave our dead here, so we can't go anywhere" (2.2f).[21]

In spite of the apparent tenure insecurity as indicated by Resettlement policy, therefore, it appears that settlers do feel reasonably secure, or at the least, entitled to the land.[22] Tenure insecurity, therefore, does not appear to be a central problem, nor be strongly linked to problems in woodland management. Settlers would rather have greater security of tenure (Rukuni 1994),[23] but nevertheless, people feel do not feel under serious threat of eviction, and hence it would be wrong to read people's behaviours as related to some kind of tenure insecurity. Given people's relative sense of security, do people express this security through tree planting or other resource investment activities? Does the extent of private control affect investment and/or conservation activities?

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[21]. Responses to Household Schedule III. 9.

[22]. Grundy also found this (Grundy 1995: 121).

[23]. The difference in men's and women's perceptions on what would constitute increased security is discussed in Chapter Five.

Tree Planting.

In the household interviews (N=60), 56 respondents said their household had planted trees. Most of these were fruit trees planted in the homestead area. In fact, a full 76% of households had planted an average of 11 fruit trees. This finding is consistent with other studies in Communal Areas in Zimbabwe, which find fruit tree planting in the homestead area a common practice (Campbell and Musvoto 1995; Campbell, Vermeullen and Lynam 1991; Fortmann and Nabane 1992).[24] A large minority (42%) of the sample had planted eucalyptus, mainly in fields or homestead areas as private plantations, with a few people mentioning large plantations in grazing or village plantation areas. Only 3 households had planted shade trees, and 1 had planted a hardwood. The fact that few households are involved in planting trees outside the homestead area indicates a possible effect of property regimes on planting practices. People clearly feel less interested in initiating tree planting in areas outside their exclusive private control. While fields and their resources are largely viewed as private,[25] it is easier to steal from someone's field area than from their homestead. Farmers have made other efforts to improve their fields, such as digging contours

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[24]. Grundy also found this in her Resettlement study site (Grundy 1995: 121).

[25]. Tenure Interview Schedules.

(65%), applying manure (57%), and applying fertilizers (18%).[26] In communal management areas, the species planted (eucalyptus), were supplied by the Forestry Commission in cooperation with the Agritex worker, who promoted the planting of gum tree lots, and provided extension support for the effort.[27] In addition, as trees are still relatively abundant in the area, people may not yet be convinced of the importance of planting trees in field, grazing and bush areas. A further point is that while people may view reforestation of grazing and bush areas as important, drought, pests such as termites, and damage done by roaming goats and cattle all militate against successful tree growing in these areas. Finally, people's lack of control over the poaching of resources in communal use areas of the bush and grazing areas seriously undermines motivation to plant trees in these areas. People are also mostly inactive in other management practices in grazing areas: 47% of the sample said they do nothing to improve grazing areas, 25% said they practice rotational grazing, while 22% say they avoid veld fires or care for the

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[26]. According to the Agritex worker, people are so eager about digging contours, that they wake him up at four in the morning to get him to come and peg them. He cannot keep up with the demand, given shortage of workers to do the pegging, and his own mileage limitations. His view is that about 50% of fields in the RA have contour ridges (Interview with Agritex worker, August 25 1996, Schedule 2, qu. 4). More will be said later on contours in the historical context resistance during the war, when people refused to dig them as a form of protest against colonial officials.

[27]. Interview with Agritex worker, July 10 1996 (Schedule 1, qu. 2).

grass. However, they are active in preventing erosion along paths: only 3 respondents said they do nothing about erosion caused by paths. Others mention filling holes and gullies with rocks, branches, bricks, or soil (55%), avoid pulling sledges, ploughs or tree branches on the paths (20%), or leave grass, plant grass or plant rhizomes (5%). In answering these types of questions, people use a language full on conservationist concepts, indicating a high level of awareness of issues of erosion and deforestation.[28]

In general, management of woodland resources, as represented by tree planting is most developed in the more privately controlled areas of homesteads and fields. While some "community woodlots" exist, they are imposed by external bodies, Agritex and Forestry Commission, and not all people are involved. However, a broader look at the controls and practices in the social forest casts doubt on a simple equation between private control and better woodland and resource management.

Rules and Institutions in the Social Forest

The rules and institutions involved in managing the social forest may offer some clues about the apparent failure of the communal use system in the social forest. As already mentioned, the literature on common property regimes suggests that a user group must have an internal structure for rule making, and the authority over the management of the resource

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[28]. Household Schedule, qus. II: 4, 5, 6.

(Arnold 1993). Are these characteristic of institutions in woodland management in the Resettlement Area?

In the study area, as is found elsewhere in Zimbabwe (Bruce, Fortmann and Nhira 1993), the social forest is characterized by different resource areas. Although many of these areas fall loosely under a communal use regime, different areas are subject to different rule systems and fall under different sets of institutions. Rules, and the responsible institutions, can vary with the type of resource area, as well as with the type of product. Before looking in detail at rules and institutions, the types of resource areas and woodland products in the study site are discussed.

Products and Resource Areas.[29]

In PRA workshops, people were asked to list the tree and forest products collected or used in their environment. Although people were asked to concentrate on tree and woodland products, others were included if mentioned. A full list of products mentioned follows:

1. poles
2. thatching grass
3. firewood
4. wild fruits
5. bush vegetables
6. herbal medicines
7. fish
8. wild animals
9. rope (fibre)
10. grazing vegetation
11. garden vegetables
12. water

Similar geography and purposeful village demarcation by Resettlement authorities, mean that the villages have similar kinds of resource areas. All but one village (Village 3),

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[29]. Participatory Rural Appraisal data, September-October 1995.

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mentioned the same resource areas. The women in Village 3 did not mention wetlands (mapani) or veld. There is a wetland area in this village, but it is currently dried up, and gardens erected in the area have been abandoned. The following is a complete list of resource areas mentioned:

1. fields
2. dams
3. gum plantations
4. wetlands/veld
5. bush

6. rivers
7. kopjes (small hills)
8. grazing area
9. Wedza Mountain

In a PRA group exercise, a matrix was designed to determine the resource areas used for the different products. Villagers were given 20 stones, and asked to place them for each product according to the relative amount obtained from the different resource areas. Table 3.1 gives Village 4 as an example. See Apendix A for Data for the other villages.

Table 3.1. Product x Source Matrices for Village 4.
(Women's scores appear above the line in each cell, men's below the line).

Resource Areas

Product	K	F	R	G	D+	W	W.Mt	P	B*
Firewood	10 / 9	5 / 2	1 / 2	2 / 3				2	— / 4
Thatching Grass		13 / 9	2 / 3	2		3 / 8			
Poles	8 / 5	4 / 3		2 / 5				6 / 5	— / 2
Wild Fruits	5 / 5	1 / 3	1 / 3	4 / 1		3 / 1	6 / 3		— / 4
Fish+			8		12				
Herbs+	4	1	1	1	1	5	6	1	
Ropes+	12						8		
Total Resources	5 / 3	5 / 4	5 / 3	5 / 3	2	3 / 2	3 / 1	3 / 1	— / 3
Score	39 / 19	24 / 17	13 / 8	11 / 9	13	11 / 9	20 / 3	9 / 5	— / 10

*Mentioned only by men
+Mentioned only by women

Resource Area Key

K=Kopjes   F=Fields   R=Rivers
D=Dams   W=Wetlands/Veld   W.Mt=Wedza Mountain
P=Plantations (Gum) B=Bush   G=Grazing Areas

The bottom two rows of the table show the total number of resources or products obtained from each resource area, and the total score of the relative amounts of resources obtained in each area. These totals give a rough sense of the relative importance of each area in terms of number and proportion of resources obtained. When evaluating these scores it is important to remember that men were scoring fewer products (4)

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than women (7), and thus their scores will be lower. Again, women's scores appear above the line in each cell, and men's below.

This chart reveals several things. First of all, kopjes, fields, rivers and plantations emerge as the most important among the resource areas, as more kinds of products in relatively large quantities are being sourced in these areas. The importance of fields can be linked to tenure. Since fields fall under essentially private control, people do not need to seek permission to use these resources. Plantations, which are stands of gum trees, mostly planted by the former commercial farmers, are also sometimes located in people's field areas, where they are seen as belonging to the owner of the field. Plantations are taken as "village property" and subject to VIDCO control if they are located in communal use areas.

Kopjes and rivers are communal use areas. Their importance lies in their special resource characteristics. Kopjes are often better wooded than other areas (being unsuitable for arable land), while riverine areas are also resource rich, being near water. Another finding from the exercise is that people depend on a variety of areas for the same product. Table 3.2 shows the number of areas sourced by each village for the main five woodland products. This includes areas mentioned by either by men or women, or both.

Table 3.2. Number of Areas Sourced for Woodland Products.

	FIREWOOD	POLES	HERBS	FRUITS	THATCH
Village 1	4	4	7	7	4
Village 2	7	7	9	7	7
Village 3	6	5	6	9	6
Village 4	6	5	8	7	4

These findings indicate the interconnected nature of the resource areas in terms of supplying household needs. There could be seasonal reasons behind the use of different areas, but the issue of tenure is also important. The example of poles is particularly interesting. Although there are extensive gum plantations in the area, people do not rely exclusively, or even predominantly on village plantations for poles. People are still sourcing a lot of poles from fields and kopjes. This indicates both the availability of the poles in these areas, as well as some preference for sourcing poles there. As the Tenure Diagrams indicate (see below), this may be because special permission from the VIDCO is required to cut poles in the plantations. In fields, people have more control over which trees are cut.

Rules, Institutions and Compliance in Forest Resource Management.

Nhira and Fortmann (1993) classified local management systems in an attempt to capture the different types of controls operating in Communal Areas in Zimbabwe:

1. Sacred Controls. Community norms and controls based on traditional religious beliefs and enforced

by individual internationalization, community sanction, and the authority of religious and traditional leaders.

2. <u>Pragmatic Controls</u>. Forms of protection (old or new) designed to allow a secure flow of a resource (eg. ban on fruit tree cutting).

3. <u>Civil Contract</u>. The "norms of civility that govern daily conduct" (p. 140). That is, self-regulation of overly avaricious behaviour, for example, stealing fruit from trees in another's compound or taking a woodpile left for later collection. These may be reinforced by religion, but not usually thought of as religious.

4. <u>Initiation of new controlling institutions and rules</u>. New forms of management initiated by local institutions with or without outside instigation due to environmental crisis (eg in woodfuel, soil erosion, etc). These could be wildlife committees, natural resource committees, VIDCOs, etc.

The controls can be species specific, area specific, and land tenure specific. **Species specific** rules include bans on cutting certain types of trees because they have religious significance (sacred controls), or because they bear fruit people want to eat (pragmatic controls). **Area specific** rules include bans on cutting trees in <u>kopjes</u>, because these areas are thought to be resting places for spirits, or are sites for graves. Other area specific rules, which are also species specific, include leaving trees in fields, either for shade, soil fertility benefits, or fruit (pragmatic) (Wilson 1989). **Land tenure specific rules** include restrictions on users in land areas considered "private" such as the homestead area, and for some products, the fields. Areas considered "common property" or what I am calling "communal use areas" such as grazing or bush areas, have different rules, such as bans on

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cutting live trees of any type, and admonishments not to "cut recklessly". Communal use areas rely heavily on civil contract and pragmatic controls to prevent exhaustion of resources. Does this codification describe woodland tenure in the study site?

In the PRA workshops, a **Tenure Diagram** exercise was designed to collect data on the rules, responsible institutions, and degree of compliance and enforcement in natural resource use and management. In the exercise, the products and resource areas mentioned in earlier exercises were placed on a chart, spaced around a central rectangle, "Tenure". For each product or area villagers were asked to give the rules, which were jotted down close to that circle on the chart. They were then asked to name the institutions that set and/or enforce the rules. Finally, they were asked how the rules were enforced, and whether or not people followed the rules. For clarity, each product and resource area is taken separately, and the responses from each group is given. Here, I show the data for firewood, poles, wild fruits, fields, and kopjes as examples. Tables have also been compiled for thatching grass, herbs, grazing areas, river areas/dams and wetlands, and are included in the complete group of tenure charts in Appendix A.

Table 3.3. Tenure Data for Firewood by Village and Gender.

FIREWOOD	RULES	INSTITUTIONS	ENFORCEMENT/ COMPLIANCE
VILLAGE 1	**Women:** cut dry wood only; people are given permission to cut wet wood by VIDCO (thorn trees only)	VIDCO; ZRP	ZRP arrests and fines culprits; rules are followed
	Men: don't cut trees, dry wood only; don't sell firewood	VIDCO; NRB; village chairman; Chiefs	rules followed, but not strictly; people from CAs[30] come to collect firewood
VILLAGE 2	**Women:** no tree cutting	NRB; VIDCO patrol	culprits arrested and fined; people forced to follow
	Men: cut dry wood only; no selling	NRB; VIDCO; ZRP representatives; Village Chairman; Villagers	those caught are fined; some do and some don't follow; people from CAs steal firewood

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[30]. CAs = Communal Areas

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Table 3.3 Continued (Village 3).

FIREWOOD	RULES	INSTITUTIONS	ENFORCEMENT/ COMPLIANCE
VILLAGE 3	**Women:** need permit from VIDCO for number of trees (can't exceed); no selling	VIDCO; RO	fined for exceeding number of trees; culprits arrested; rules followed and enforced; thieves from Village 1 and CAs stealing firewood, poles and t. grass
	Men: need permission to cut; don't cut mobola-plumtree or bloodwood; cut in different places; don't sell to outsiders; don't ring barktrees; no outsiders allowed	NRB; VIDCO; Village Chairman; Ward Councillor; Village elders; spirit mediums	if outsiders caught, they are fined; rules some-times followed

Table 3.3 Continued (Village 4).

FIREWOOD	RULES	INSTITUTIONS	ENFORCEMENT/ COMPLIANCE
VILLAGE 4	**Women:** no cutting or burning live trees; don't use plantation trees for firewood	rules by government to the Chief; NRB in charge and councillors	pay fine to the chief; people sneak in from CAs at night and cut down trees
	Men: no cutting of live trees (except thorn trees) in kopjes, grazing areas, or other people's fields	VIDCO; NRB; Village Chairman	rules followed in kopjes but not well in grazing areas; those caught are fined

VIDCO= Village Development Committee
RO= Resettlement Officer   ZRP= Zimbabwe Republic Police
CA= Communal Area   NRB= Natural Resources Board
ICA= Intensive Conservation Authority (Cooperative group of white farmers)

Table 3.4. Tenure Data for Poles by Village and Gender

POLES/ PLANTATIONS	RULES	INSTITUTIONS	ENFORCEMENT/ COMPLIANCE
VILLAGE 1	**Women:** for <u>poles</u>, don't cut any poles without VIDCO permission; in <u>plantations</u>, don't chop down eucalyptus (seek permission from VIDCO); don't eat mushrooms from plantations (poisonous); don't burn grass or graze cattle	<u>Poles</u>: Neighbour-hood Watch; ZRP; <u>Plantations</u>: AGRITEX	<u>Poles</u>: rules enforced and followed; pay fine to ZRP; <u>Plantations</u>: AGRITEX enforces and people follow; no fine but imprisonment
	Men: in <u>plantations</u>, no stumping of gum trees; ie cut tree at about 60cm from the ground; need VIDCO permission to cut; don't burn grass; don't cut immature trees; no collecting honey from trees	<u>Plantations</u>: Villagers; Village Chairman; NRB	<u>Plantations</u>: rules not followed

Table 3.4 Continued (Village 2).

POLES/ PLANTATIONS	RULES	INSTITUTIONS	ENFORCEMENT/ COMPLIANCE
VILLAGE 2	**Women:** for poles, don't cut muhacha; don't clear cut; don't cut fruit trees for poles; need permit from Branch Chairman; for plantations, no selling of poles; should replant gums if cut; can cut gums, but just the top; don't collect mushrooms there (poisonous)	Poles: VIDCO; NRB Plantations: NRB patrol; AGRITEX gives rules and asks people to plant	Poles: arrested and pay $100 fine; rules followed
	Men: for poles, for domestic use only; should come from plantation; for plantations, no veld fires; no severe cutting of trees; cut tree about 30cm from ground; replace old trees; no cutting trees in plantations in other people's fields; if plantation is in your field, you can sell	Poles: VIDCO; ZRP; NRB; Village Chairman; AGRITEX Extension Officers Plantations: AGRITEX; VIDCO; ZRP; NRB; Village Chairman	N/A

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Table 3.4 Continued (Village 3).

POLES/ PLANTATIONS	RULES	INSTITUTIONS	ENFORCEMENT/ COMPLIANCE
VILLAGE 3	**Women**: _plantations_ and _poles_ taken together; don't cut without genuine reason; need permit from VIDCO and Chairman; only use scotchcarts (ie not dragging or sledges because causes erosion); no burning; cut tree at least 60cm from ground; don't eat mushrooms	VIDCO (permit); AGRITEX (rules)	culprits arrested; rules followed
	Men: for _poles_, cut from different places; don't take manure from places trees are growing; cut mature trees; for _plantations_, no veld fires; cut mature trees; allowed to sell locally but not to outsiders	_Poles_: NRB; VIDCO _Plantations_: VIDCO; NRB; Village Chairman; Village elders	_Poles_: not strictly followed _Plantations_: not strictly followed

Table 3.4 Continued (Village 4)

POLES/ PLANTATIONS	RULES	INSTITUTIONS	ENFORCEMENT/ COMPLIANCE
VILLAGE 4	**Women:** for poles, need permission from VIDCO to cut; don't use for firewood; for plantations, need permit to cut from VIDCO, Village Chairman, or Ward Councillor	Poles: VIDCO Plantations: NRB	Poles: pay fine to Chief; rules followed Plantations: rules enforced by NRB and are followed, but some people steal; $20 fine; people from CA steal
	Men: for poles, need permission letter from VIDCO; no cutting in grazing areas, or people's fields, have to cut from your own field; for plantations, don't cut trees; must replace if cut one	Poles and Plantations: VIDCO; NRB	Poles and Plantations: rules followed; fined if caught

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Table 3.5. Tenure Data for Wild Fruits by Village and Gender.

WILD FRUITS	RULES	INSTITUTIONS	ENFORCEMENT/ COMPLIANCE
VILLAGE 1	**Women:** don't cut fruit trees; don't harvest unripe fruit	NRB; neighbour-hood watch	rules enforced and followed; pay fine to ZRP
	Men: don't cut fruit tree; don't take unripe fruit; don't sell wild fruits;	VIDCO; Village Chairman; Chiefs; NRB	rules followed but not thoroughly
VILLAGE 2	**Women:** don't cut fruit tree; don't pick unripe fruit	Chief	fine to Chief; followed by most except young people
	Men: no cutting of fruit trees; no taking unripe fruit; mostly eaten by small boys and herdboys, but elders can eat them too; also eaten by wild animals	?	sometimes followed

Table 3.5 Continued (Villages 3 and 4)

WILD FRUITS	RULES	INSTITUTIONS	ENFORCEMENT/ COMPLIANCE
VILLAGE 3	**Women:** don't cut fruit trees	Chief	culprits pay fine to Chief
	Men: no cutting fruit trees; no throwing stones at trees; no scratching on trees (dries them out); no taking unripe fruit; don't eat fruit trees struck by lightening; don't say classified comments in places where you get fruits	spirit mediums	sometimes followed
VILLAGE 4	**Women:** no unsustainably harvesting of fruit (ie don't pick unripe, or more than you will eat)	rule by Chief; NRB in charge	fine to Chief; some follow, others don't
	Men: ?	NRB; ZRP; VIDCO Chairman; Villagers	no conflicts; rules followed

Table 3.6. Tenure Data for Fields by Village and Gender.

FIELDS	RULES	INSTITUTIONS	ENFORCEMENT/ COMPLIANCE
VILLAGE 1	**Women:** don't extends fields; use contour ridges	AGRITEX extension Officers; VIDCOs	rules enforced and followed; fine paid to ZRP
	Men: use contour ridges; don't cut grass or trees in other people's fields; don't cut trees recklessly; don't graze cattle in other's fields with germinated seedlings; don't extend fields into other's fields	field owner; AGRITEX; NRB; VIDCO; ZRP repre-sentatives	some people are removing pegs and overlapping into other's fields; AGRITEX should make the demarcation contours; some graze cattle on seedlings in other's fields
VILLAGE 2	**Women:** dig contours; don't enlarge; don't clear all trees; no burning; rotate crops; don't work Fridays (Chief)	AGRITEX; Chief	AGRITEX checks on fields; holds "Green Show" and "Field Day"; for Chief's rules, pay a goat if violate

Table 3.7. Tenure Data for Kopjes by Village and Gender.

KOPJES/ WEDZA MOUNTAIN[31]	RULES	INSTITUTIONS	ENFORCEMENT/ COMPLIANCE
VILLAGE 1	**Women:** don't chop down trees; don't throw stones; don't comment anything or you won't return; don't harvest unripe fruit	Chief (Svosve); ZRP	rules enforced and followed; people arrested; Chief charges a goat or something else
	Men: don't cut big trees[32]; don't burn grass; don't remove stones; don't kill snakes (pythons); don't destroy the ruins or those things built by long ago people	Village Chairman; Chiefs; spirit mediums	rules followed, but young boys don't follow
VILLAGE 2	**Women:** no tree cutting; no picking unripe fruit; no washing in wells (W. Mt); don't kill snakes; don't comment anything	Kopjes: NRB; VIDCO patrol; W.Mt: Chief (Svosve)	people forced to follow; arrested and pay fine ($100)
	Men: no cutting trees except dry wood; no grass burning; don't touch anything (eg. things found lying around, pots, etc.) you may go mad or have bad luck	Village elders; spirit mediums from village and elsewhere	rules followed thoroughly

[31]. In cases where Wedza Mountain was included, rules were said to be the same.

[32]. A walk in kopjes near this village revealed rampant tree cutting.

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Table 3.7 Continued (Villages 3 and 4).

KOPJES/ WEDZA MOUN-TAIN[33]	RULES	INSTITUTIONS	ENFORCEMENT/ COMPLIANCE
VILLAGE 3	**Women:** no tree cutting; don't remove stones; no Christian praying; don't comment anything	Chief (Mubaiwa)	pay goat to Chief
	Men: don't cut trees; don't burn grass; don't remove stones because leave soil unprotected (soil erosion); don't take skulls of dead as some are the spirits'; don't touch anything; no lovemaking	spirit mediums; elders	rules followed
VILLAGE 4	**Women:** no cutting live trees; no burning of grass or trees; no unsustainable harvesting of fruit; no hunting (W. Mt)	rules by government to the Chief; NRB in charge and Councillors	pay fine to Chief
	Men: no cutting live trees; no silly comments	VIDCO; NRB; Village Chairman	rules followed

The major findings from this exercise are as follows. Rules can be species specific, such as a ban on cutting certain types of trees (eg. mobola plum, Shona muhacha), or in using particularly species for firewood ("plantation" trees-eucalyptus). People are also directed to avoid cutting any live tree except thorn trees. There are also area and tenure

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[33]. In cases where Wedza Mountain was included, rules were said to be the same.

specific rules, such as special controls on cutting in _kopjes_ or grazing areas, or in **other** people's fields (cutting in one's own field being allowed). The legitimacy and viability of rules in a given tenure niche or area will determine the vulnerability of the resource to unsustainable use. The case of poles, raised above, is a good example. Since VIDCO permission is required to cut poles in eucalyptus woodlots, people also source poles in other areas, where controls are more favourable or weakly enforced, such as in one's own fields or kopje areas.

Institutions. There are complex rules involving a fair number of institutions in the management of firewood. VIDCOs, the Village Chairman, the Resettlement Officer, the Natural Resources Board and the ZRP are the state supported institutions involved. Spirit mediums, the Chief, and village elders are "traditional" institutions, which claim legitimacy through lineage, special connection to the ancestors, or special knowledge through experience. In the case of firewood, state institutions dominate, while there is only brief mention of spirit mediums and village elders in Village 3. This is in relation to the ban on cutting mobolo plumtree (Shona _muhacha_), which is considered sacred to the ancestors.[34] Traditional institutions have a larger role for some other

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[34]. _Muhacha_ is also used extensively by traditional healers, who use roots and bark for different remedies. Fruits are also eaten (Drummond and Coates Palgrave 1973: 17-19).

products and resource areas, particularly herbs, kopjies, and river areas, these being associated with traditional medicine, and sacred areas (see Appendix A). Kopjes, or hill areas, are used as burial sites, as well as being thought to be prefered places for ancestral spirits to reside. River areas, especially pools, are thought to be inhabited by spirits. Harvesting of wild fruits is also under traditional rules, which ban cutting, and harvesting of unripe fruit. Chiefs get mention in relation to fields, but only in terms of establishing the sacred chisi, that is, the day(s) off ploughing, an important part of traditional culture. In cases where traditional rules are violated, people are dealt with by the Chief, who may levy a fine, such as a goat.[35]

In most cases, however, the major institutions involved in the area are part of the state. The Natural Resources Board (NRB) is the main rule making body, working together with Forestry Commission to enforce government legislation.[36] VIDCOs and Village Chairmen (the official village level representatives to the state), Village Neighbourhood Watch (appointed by the NRB), the Agritex worker, and the Resettlement Office work together to monitor the situation for

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[35]. Traditional institutions and customs are discussed in detail in Chapter Four.

[36]. There are numerous relevant pieces of legislation, but the most important here are the Natural Resources Act (1941), the Forst Act (Amended 1981), the Parks and Wildlife Act (1975), the Water Act (1976), the Communal Forest Produce Act (1982), and the Communal Land Act (1982). See Nkala 1996.

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the NRB. The ZRP is called in for enforcement, and has the power to levy fines.[37]

People's views on the nature of the rules and the institutions involved are fairly consistent. However, there is a strong indication that many of the rules are not followed consistently, especially as reported by the men. Even more important than understanding the rules governing resources is understanding which types of rules are most likely to be violated and why.

Rule violation: institutions, type of controls, tenure?

The tenure data suggest (see Appendix A), that rules instituted by government bodies such as the NRB, Agritex, or Resettlement Office are not more likely to be broken than sacred controls imposed by traditional leaders like the Chief or spirit mediums. In river areas, for example, both government and sacred rules are extensively violated. Rules against cutting wild fruit trees and picking unripe fruit, which are attributed to both traditional and government institutions are reportedly followed well. What does seem clear is that where the nature or location of a given resource makes it easier to control, then rules are more likely to be kept. For example, rules in eucalyptus plantations are mostly followed, probably because a plantation is a discrete entity that can be patrolled. Meanwhile, rules in grazing areas,

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[37]. PRA data, plus Interview with Resettlement Officer, July 10 1996 (Schedule 2, qn. 1).

which are spread out and hence more difficult to monitor, are sometimes kept, and sometimes not, and extensive mention is made of resource poaching in this area by CA residents bringing their cattle. Tenure is also important. Rules in fields, where tenure is private-like, are well followed. Since a farmer has a right to resources in his or her fields, like poles, firewood and thatching grass, there is an incentive to enforce the rules protecting this right. Communal use areas such as grazing areas and rivers are less effectively protected by the rules.[38]

Whose Rules? Whose Institutions?

These findings indicate that the institutions as they stand are not fully effective in sustainably managing the resources. Particularly in communal use areas, it is reportedly difficult to control people's practices.[39] In this sense, pragmatic and civil controls, as per Nhira and Fortmann's discussion, are weakly formed, especially in communal use areas.[40]

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[38]. People report that rules in kopjes, another common property area, are mostly followed. However, physical evidence contradicts this. In some kopjes, so many trees have been cut that graves are becoming uncovered. It is unclear if this destruction is caused by CA residents or the settlers themselves.

[39]. Agritex worker, August 25 1996 (Schedule II, qn. I. 5).

[40]. A notable exception appears to be adherence to the ban on cutting fruit trees. When asked why people avoid cutting fruit trees, the overwhelming answer is: "because we want to eat the fruits" (Household Schedule, III. 14).

The problem may lie in the fact that the rules of resource management are not developed by or in consultation with RA residents, but imposed by state bodies. The main rule makers are the NRB and the Resettlement Office. Enforcement is in the form of the state police (ZRP). The VIDCOs, Village Chairmen, and Neighbourhood Watch are "watchdogs" for these rule-making bodies, not active participants in the formulation of the rules. Hence, while VIDCOs may appear as decentralized democratic institutions, giving local people a "voice" in government, their actual function maintains centralized control. In practice,

> Local authorities... were free to articulate 'felt needs', <but> were not in a position to redress them; ministries regarded local authorities primarily as policy implementing, not formulating agencies; planning remained the realm of 'experts' employed by the government (Alexander 1994: 330).[41]

As such, then, while the management practices in the RA involve "local institutions", they are not technically "communally-based resource management regimes" (Murphree 1991: 5). People interpret the rules as "imposed", and hence there is an oppositional dynamic in the management of resources. The NRB is often talked about in a way emphasizing conflict. The NRB is the "they" in the resource use game, who try to stop "us" from preferred resource practices. These findings suggest that Grundy 1995, and Murphree and Cumming 1993, are correct

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[41]. VIDCOs are discussed further in Chapter Four, where I consider them as part of the process of intense social-cultural change in resettlement.

in their view of institutional development in Resettlement. Resettlement is "still based on the colonial model of centralised bureaucratic control with assumptions about appropriate technology strategies for resource use", which marginalize rather than reinforce any collective control or "locally-evolved ecological knowledge" (Grundy 1995: 112). This inhibits "the institutional dynamics required for effective common property management regimes" (Grundy 1995: 112; see Murphree and Cumming 1993, to whom she refers).[42]

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[42]. There has been increasing interest in the role of local institutions in natural resource management in Zimbabwe (Murombedzi 1990; Murphree 1991; Nhira (ed) 1995). Particularly in relation to common property resources, local institutions have been seen as key to sustainable management practices. However, "local" institutions are not necessarily "indigenous", and are not always seen by local people to represent their interests or perspectives. Hill (1996), building on Murombedzi (1992), discusses how CAMPFIRE (Communal Areas Management Programme for Indigenous Resources) has in some cases provided an opportunity to extend centralized state control, rather than increase local control of resources. CAMPFIRE operates by using the District Council as the managing "local" institution, through which dividends from wildlife, such as hunting safari revenue, are distributed to the communities involved in protecting the wildlife. The District Council, however, also exacts a "tax" on CAMPFIRE revenue, which allows it to extend it's own power in the district. Since District Councils are part of the imposed machinery of the central state, CAMPFIRE actually works to increase and reinforce state control in remote regions, rather than increase "local" power vis-a-vis the state. A study of a proposed CAMPFIRE in Matabeleland North raises similar issues. A District Council facing revenue and legitimacy problems saw CAMPFIRE as a possible solution. However, lack of consultation with local people led to large-scale opposition to the proposal by locals, and the idea has stalled (Alexander and McGregor 1996). Both studies reveal how a concept of "local management" can be co-opted by state-controlled interests. They also reveal the importance of defining "local institution". Does the "local institution" in question represent the interests of the common person? How much power does the common person have in defining the rules of the

Hence, if the focus is cast on the practices and institutions of settlers themselves, when a radical change in the nature of local institutions is not on the horizon, then a change to private tenure as recommended by the Land Tenure Commission could make sense. However, the next stage of the discussion throws this into doubt.

Issues on the Outside: "Poachers" in the Woodlands.

The most talked about problem in the first round of village meetings was that of neighbours from Communal Areas (CAs) coming into the Resettlement and stealing resources such as firewood, poles, and thatching grass, and bringing herds of cattle to graze.[43] A fence erected to protect the area was stolen, and efforts to stop poachers through threats and violence only drove the thieves to steal under cover of darkness. The Resettlement is bordered on two sides by two different CAs, both of which are extensively deforested. Plate 3.1 shows an aerial photograph taken in 1986 of one section of the border area between Sengezi Resettlement and Wedza Communal Area. The CA lies to the right and is distinguished by lack of tree cover and many small arable fields. The RA by contrast, still shows forest areas, at the edges of fields and

institution?

[43]. This problem was also observed in the two Resettlement villages in Fortmann's Rapid Rural Appraisal sample (Fortmann and Nabane 1992), mentioned by Scoones and Matose 1993, and found by Grundy 1995.

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in wide bands along the rivers.

People in the CAs need the resources, but also feel entitled to the resources in Resettlement because of their role in helping the guerrillas during the war, who chased out the white farmers resident on the land.[44] In one of the study villages, settlers told of how some nearby CA residents had even started ploughing in area, before the settlers came.[45] In another village, which lies right on the border with a CA, extensive woodland resource pillaging was allegedly undertaken before the Resettlement village was even founded. This sense of entitlement felt by CA residents has reportedly increased since 1986 when changes in district boundaries meant that the Resettlement Area became part of the same district as the bordering Communal Lands. Before that, the RA had been part of the district shared by commercial farms, and police had been

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[44]. Village meetings, plus interview with Ward Councillor, September 13 1995 (Field Notes I, p. 10). Also found by Grundy 1995.

[45]. This unauthorized ploughing in unoccupied commercial land can be linked to the "freedom farming" promoted by the guerrillas in the 1960s and 1970s. As part of resistance against the Native Land Husbandry Act 1951, which imposed ploughing restrictions, guerillas encouraged peasants to plough wherever they were not supposed to. In the post-Independent era, people plough as a means to lay claim to land, (see the squatter issue discussed in Chapter Two), but also as a form of protest that they have not been given what was promised (Moyana 1984: 149-186). See also:
"30 defiant families plough grazing land" The Herald February 20 1997:8.
This article describes the illegal cultivation of grazing areas in a resettlement by neighbours in an adjacent Communal Area.

very active in arresting tree cutters.[46] Settlers also report "internal" common property problems. People from other villages in the Resettlement are said to infringe on other villages' areas. Furthermore, criminal elements who are often "youths", are said to engage in illegal practices such as the selling of firewood. This practice was rampant in the mid 1980s, when people were even engaged in filling lorries of firewood which were taken to Harare[47], but is currently only happening on a low level.[48] In fact, it is the Agritex worker's view that practices of settlers are not very destructive. They follow proper cutting methods, and basically follow the rules against reckless tree harvesting, although there is some rule breaking on cutting in communal use areas. He states that it is the CA "poachers" who are destroying the resources, especially along the boundaries, through random and careless cutting.[49]

Why are the Resettlement residents unable to stop their CA neighbours from using "their" resources? Part of the answer is clearly historical, lying in the sense of entitlement to

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[46]. Interview with former Ward Councillor, September 14 1995 (Field Notes I, p.11).

[47]. Research Assistant from Village 3. Also found by Grundy 1995, although apparently more rampant than in my study site.

[48]. Interview with Agritex worker, July 10 1996 (Schedule 1, qu. 2).

[49]. Ibid. Preliminary transect work by biologist Buck Sanford in the study site, support this point. Sanford found extensive cutting along the border areas.

the resources felt by the CA people. Are there other factors inhibiting the clear establishment of "insiders and outsiders", which is crucial to the success of common property management? The literature on common property regimes suggests that a user group must have an internal structure for rule making, and the authority over the management of the resource (Arnold 1993). As shown above, the "local institutions" involved, either traditional or government, do not give the actual legitimate users the authority to manage and monitor the resources in their own right. Users are cast as "rule followers" or "rule breakers" in this system, not "rule makers". Hence the criteria for the nature of local institutions in successful common property management are not met. Further, the institutions and rules appear to have no mechanism for dealing with "outsiders". The rules are designed for management practices of the RA residents, as if they lived in a sealed environment. There is no special body to deal with poaching problems. The issue has been raised with the District Administrator, but so far no action has been taken.[50] Besides

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[50]. Interview with former Ward Councillor, September 14 1995 (Field Notes I, p. 11). In an interview at the local branch of the Natural Resources Board, October 7 1996, officials said that they were well aware of the problem of poaching of resources by the Communal Area residents. However, given lack of resources themselves, they were powerless to put into effect the educational campaigns, monitoring and law enforcement practices that might help the situation (NRB Schedule, qu. 12). Similarly, the District Administrator for Hwedza said he his well aware of the poaching problem, but it is difficult to find a solution. They have been relying on persuasion, but he feels that stricter rules and enforcement are necessary (Interview, February 18 1997).

institutional weakness, are there other factors contributing to the inability of RA residents to prevent resource poaching?

Are the poachers relatives?

Elliott (1994) found that settlers had difficulty protecting the use of firewood and other resources from "outsiders" because many of them were relatives of the settlers.[51] Settlers perceived a trend of narrowing access only to relatives and friends of RA residents, where ten years previously, resources were treated more on an "open access" basis. Elliott's study also examined frequency and purpose of visits back and forth between relatives in the RA and their former homes in the CA to try and establish the extent to which people were still connected to their former homes, and the strength of the ties with relatives. In the final analysis, Elliott's study suggested that the RA residents still felt very connected to their former homes, often maintaining graves, homes and land there, and very involved with members of their extended family still in the CA.[52]

In my case study, a somewhat different picture emerged.

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[51]. Also in Grundy 1995.

[52]. The difficulty people feel in giving up rights in their former homes in Communal Lands was recognized by the Ministry of Lands, Agriculture and Rural Resettlement in 1986: to give up traditional rights in Communal Areas is an "alien if not impossible practice for many people for social and cultural reasons" (Ministry of Land, Agriculture and Rural Reseettlement 1986: 24). The issue was mentioned again in the 1992 Report.

Villagers agreed in general village meetings that some of the resource poachers from the CAs were their relatives and this made it more difficult to stop them. It is also the "official" view that the poaching problem is exacerbated by the fact that settlers facilitate the use of resettlement resources by their relatives in the CAs.[53] However, detailed questioning in household interviews made it clear that this was hardly the general case. Most respondents (49 out of 59) said their relatives do not collect resources from the RA, while only 10 said that they did. The reason for this lies less with respect for resource tenure than with the fact that most relatives live too far away to make resource collection in the RA an attractive option.[54] Taking the whole sample from the four study villages, the overall average distance to RA settlers' former homes is 57km, which could cost about $9-10 bus fare, and take about one to two hours by bus depending on routes and connections. Further, only 18% of the sample live within reasonable walking distance (that is < or = to 5km).[55]

RA residents on the whole have remained connected with their former homes through visiting, but visits are not frequent enough to involve extensive resource sharing. Only about one fifth of the sample have high contact with former

[53]. Both the NRB officials (Interview October 7 1996) and the District Administrator (Interview February 18 1997) hold this view.

[54]. Household Schedule, I. 7.

[55]. Household Schedule, I. 1; 2.

homes, visiting at least once a month, and sometimes several times a week. Nearly 40% have consistent contact at between two and six times a year. A fifth visit only once a year, and the remaining fifth only if there is a function such as a funeral, or almost never or never visit their former homes. The top three reasons for going home are to attend funerals, to participate in traditional ceremonies, and just to visit. Only 3% of the sample still own livestock or have a homestead in their former homes.[56]

From the relatives' side, 30% of the sample have relatives who visit at least once a month, 23% have relatives visiting between two and six times per year, 33% visit about once a year. The rest of the sample was unclear.[57] This pattern is similar to that for visits by RA residents, and when added together, the activity represents quite a lot of back and forth contact. Thus, while RA residents have maintained ties with their former homes and relatives, distance precludes these relatives from making extensive use of the natural resources in the RA. In general, it should not be assumed that resource pillagers coming into RAs from CAs are close relatives of RA settlers, and that this is the main reason for settlers' difficulty in preventing these "outsiders" from

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[56]. Household Schedule, qus. I. 3, 4, 5.

[57]. Household Schedule, I. 6.

using the resource.[58] This may or may not be the case.

Solutions: Resource Sharing?

Work on Zimbabwe's social forests commonly suggests forms
of resource sharing in cases of conflicts over access to
woodland and other natural resources.[59] Efforts to exclude
people who both need and feel entitled to resources are said
to be fruitless, and can often lead to further destruction of
the resources as people resort to covert and often spiteful
actions.[60] The logic of resource sharing is attractive,
especially when linked with other strategies designed to
decrease people's reliance on indigenous woodlands.[61] However,

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[58]. The poachers may be distant relatives, but people's
attitudes as expressed in the interviews suggest that in
general people do not feel duty-bound to "help" the poachers.

[59]. See Matose (1994) on conflicts with CA neighbours of
gazetted state forests, Grundy (1995) and Nhira and Fortmann
(1993) on conflicts with CA neighbours to Resettlement.

[60]. Matose documents the retaliation of "poachers" in a
state forest in Zimbabwe, reacting to Forestry Commission's
coercive efforts to end neighbours' use of the woodland
products. People cut more and bigger poles than they actually
needed, unnecessarily cut trees when gathering caterpillars
and felled trees to collect honey, all in order to spite the
Forestry Commission (Matose 1994: 81-5). There is some
evidence from the study site that poachers' practices of CA
neighbours have increased in destructiveness as RA residents
step up efforts to stop them.

[61]. See Grundy 1995. Grundy suggests interventions to
encourage planting of multipurpose trees in private areas like
households, gardens, and fields, and some community woodlots,
plus strategies to improve the longevity of poles such as
creosote or diesel treatments, use of alternative fuel sources
such as dung and agricultural residues, and use of improved
brick kilns or unburnt types of bricks to reduce use of
fuelwood (pp. 129; 140-4).

it is very difficult to imagine a form that resource sharing could successfully take in this context. Unlike in Grundy's site, settlers in Sengezi feel very strongly that the CA residents are not entitled to the resources, and that they should be excluded. They would like nothing more than a huge fence, which they say they would patrol.[62] This feeling of the settlers is matched by the equally ferocious view of the Communal Land neighbours. Informal interviews revealed outrage that settlers tried to exclude them from the resources, arguing that they fought for the land during the war just like the settlers. They admitted to purposefully destructive and "uncivil" behaviour such as telling their herdboys to let cattle graze in settlers fields during the growing season.[63] Furthermore, considering that the current institutions are not succeeding in managing the communal use resources even among the settlers, it is unlikely they would serve successfully with an expanded user group originating from different tenure systems. Grundy acknowledges this by recognizing the need for "devolvement" of management to the village level so that people have the power to manage the resource (Grundy 1995: 140). There is also the social problem of lack of social cohesion in Resettlement villages caused by people being settled from different original villages, the presence of

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[62]. This in spite of admitting that a fence erected earlier had been removed.

[63]. Field Assistants' Diaries. Notes for September 1996.

different religions, tensions caused by wealth differentiation, and gender differences in resource use and perception (see later chapters). Would this mean that each RA village would work out a sharing agreement with a discrete set of CA residents? How would these be defined? Whose rules would be used? Clearly, a resource sharing program would take a great deal of study, institutional change, and careful negotiations. For resettlement, however, this will never happen, as government has recently announced planned changes in the tenure system in resettlement that eliminate communal use areas completely.

Privatization in Resettlement: Possible Effects?

> Due to the colonial history of this country and the communal land tenure system which is a result of this history, the use of these communal lands has been a free-for-all affair with nobody feeling responsible for the proper or sustainable use of this land, since the user has user-rights only and no responsibility for future generations.[64]

The discourse of rural development in post-Independence Zimbabwe has been dominated by questions of land distribution, productivity and "efficiency". However, the issue of land tenure has increasingly become a dominant thread. In 1993, President Mugabe appointed a Commission of Inquiry, headed by Professor Mandivamba Rukuni, to investigate the appropriateness of each land tenure system in the rural areas, including Communal Lands, Resettlement and commercial areas

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[64]. Josiah Hungwe, Governor of Masvingo, quoted in The Herald. "Land-use seminar opens", September 28 1995.

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(small- and large- scale lease and free-hold lands). These were to be considered "in relation to sustainable resource management, farm productivity and investment".[65] In its analysis of resettlement, the Commission states that the weakness of local institutions has meant that common property resources have been poorly managed. It therefore recommends that all current resettlement villages of both Model A family farms[66] and Model B cooperatives be redemarcated into private holdings which would include homestead, fields and grazing areas. All new resettlement schemes should follow this pattern. The permit system should be abandoned, and settlers be given 99 year leases with options to purchase after an initial ten year "trial" period in which settlers demonstrate serious farming intentions and good practices.

Government accepted many of the Land Tenure Commission's recommendations, including those on resettlement.[67] In the study site, the Resettlement Officer began talks with villagers about redemarcation of villages in mid-1996.[68]

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[65]. Rukuni, M. 1994. Report of the Commission of Inquiry into Appropriate Agricultural Land Tenure Systems. Executive Summary for His Excellency the President of the Republic of Zimbabwe. October 1994. Harare: iii.

[66]. Subject to settler agreement.

[67]. "Big change for resettlement areas" The Herald August 7 1995: 7.
"Major changes in land tenure" The Herald August 16 1996: 1.

[68]. The redemarcation of old resettlement villages according to the new scheme will likely prove a daunting task. A recent article in The Sunday Mail describes village level

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However, it is not government's intention to impose redemarcation on established resettlement villages against people's will. In the study site, it is unlikely that redemarcation will occur, as consensus on the issue is unlikely to be reached.[69] Meanwhile, new villages in the scheme are following the private holdings pattern, with each family being allotted 30 hectares of self-contained land. Local

conflicts over redemarcation in Soti Source Resettlement in Gutu. The article states that two years ago, when farmers were consulted by the Land Tenure Commission, 95% of farmers agreed to a change to private small scale farms. Now, when consulted on the best means to implement redemarcation, only 55% of farmers agree to it, while the rest oppose. Opposers resist on the grounds of losing the investments they have made in their homesteads, including large houses and orchards, and that many farmers were too old to start afresh with new houses to build. Some farmers suggested that they be given title deeds collectively as a village ("Farmers in bitter debate over land move" The Sunday Mail October 26 1996: 1). In one of my own study villages, a similar conflict is unfolding. People responded to the issue of redemarcation in three main ways. Some strongly support, others as strongly reject, and a third group does not know what to think. There are some clear divisions along gender, wealth and age lines. Women tend not to want to leave the village, mourning the loss of social contact with friends. They also complain loudly about all the hard work it will be, making bricks and clearing land. Although some men are reluctant, men are more likely to support redemarcation than women, speaking of the need for bigger pastures and arable lands. In terms of wealth status, the better off farmers, especially "Master Farmers" tend to be keen on redemarcation, talking about the benefits of having larger fields and pastures to grow new crops like tobacco and other cash crops. Those who are worse off see no point in having more fields when they are not even fully utilizing those that they have. Older people also tend to oppose the move, saying they lack the energy to start afresh. However there are some elders who welcome it, thinking of getting more land to pass on to their inheritors (Research Assistant Field Diary, Village 3, Book I).

[69]. District Administrator of Hwedza (Interview, February 18 1997); Resettlement Officer, Sengezi (Interview, February 19 1997).

officials, including the Resettlement Officer[70], the Agritex worker[71], the Natural Resources Board at the Rural District Council[72], and the District Administrator, [73] echoed the thinking of the Land Tenure Commission in predicting that resource management in the formerly common property areas of grazing and bush areas in resettlement would improve through privatization. The Resettlement Officer felt that this move would end poaching of resources by Communal Area neighbours because whereas now people think of the woodlands and grazing areas as communal resources, no one would dare to poach from someone's private property. The District Administrator pointed out that with private property, poaching becomes a private legal issue, wherein the owner can take the poachers to court.[74] Settler views mirror this thinking.[75] A former Village Chairman said that privatization would clarify the ownership of trees, and hence reduce deforestation. As it is now, he

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[70]. Informal Interview, July 10, 1996. Field Book II, p. 24.

[71]. Interview July 10 1996, Schedule 1; August 25 1996, Schedule 2.

[72]. Interview October 7 1996. NRB schedule.

[73]. Interview February 18 1997.

[74]. Interview February 18 1997.

[75]. Raising this issue in early village meetings in September 1995, before the Resettlement Officer had been directed to discuss it with villagers, caused much confusion and suspicion. I therefore did not include the question in household interviews carried out from February to July of 1996, and chose an informal route of key informant interviews to explore this question.

said, people just say the trees are there from God, so everyone can use them.[76] After the Resettlement Officer had discussed the issue in village meetings, another informant, a local ZanuPF committee chairman and prominent farmer, said that people had felt the move would be good for looking after resources.[77]

It is important to point out that the Land Tenure Commission and local people, both officials and settlers, have slightly different perceptions of the problem of resource depletion. The Commission discovered the problem of conflict between Communal Land neighbours and settlers over common property resources in Resettlement Areas. It notes that the Communal Land neighbours often feel they have a greater right to the resources than the settlers, who often come from more distant villages.[78] The Commission also locates this problem within the wider issue of the development of Resettlement Areas without thorough consideration of the conditions in neighbouring Communal Areas:

> Most of the land identified for resettlement is
> close to the Communal Areas but the planning of the
> programme has been carried out independently of the
> situation prevailing in the Communal Areas (Rukuni
> 1994, Vol. 1: 123).

However, in the final analysis, the Commission emphasizes

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[76]. Interview July 29 1995. Field Book I, p. 6.

[77]. Interview October 7 1996, Field Book II, p. 31.

[78]. Rukuni, M. 1994. Report of the Commission of Inquiry into Appropriate Agricultural Land Tenure Systems. Volume 1, Main Report: 63.

weakly developed local institutions in Resettlement as the problem in common property management areas:

> lack of a clear management authority is responsible for the deterioration of the environment. The tenure system does not encourage proper utilisation of resources and does not define those accountable (Rukuni 1994, Vol. 1: 69).

Since Resettlement lacks the traditional institutional structures found in the Communal Areas, the Commission recommends a change to private tenure rather than a programme of strengthening local institutions. In the technical reports the Commission adds the more conventional view that links private ownership to incentive for investment. Good conservation is linked to freehold tenure and land having a market value:

> In the absence of these two conditions, as is the case in communal and resettlement areas, farmers have no incentive to invest for the future (Rukuni 1994, Vol. 2: 83).

Hence, while Resettlement officials in the study site and many settlers agree with the Commission in favouring privatization as a means to improve resource management, their analysis of the main problem differs. The Commission emphasizes poorly developed institutions and lack of incentive for investment, while settlers and local officials emphasize the determination and often the spitefulness of the Communal Area neighbours.

It is unclear if privatization will really solve the problem of poaching by communal area neighbours. Firstly, successful exclusion relies not only on clear rights, but on a physical input, fencing, and the labour issue involved in

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patrolling ones own resource area. In the new settlements, demarcated in the new way, the Resettlement Officer mentioned that fencing had not been provided, and it was unclear if it would be. Hence it could be left up to settlers themselves, who are unlikely to have the resources to fence 30 hectares. Secondly, the belief that private tenure keeps outsiders away from resources directly contradicts some settlers' own practices. Many settlers admit to illegally entering the commercial farms that share borders with some of the resettlement villages to collect firewood and other woodland products. Finally, the approach does not directly deal with the main source of the problem: the real need of communal area farmers for the resources since their areas have been depleted, plus their profound sense of entitlement to those resources. While the Land Tenure Commission is thoroughly researched and astute, in the final analysis it fails on this particular issue to rise above a central problem it identifies itself: the past failure to plan resettlement hand in hand with conditions prevailing in neighbouring Communal Areas.[79]

It is true that the Land Tenure Commission appropriately focuses most attention on the Communal Areas, which harbour the majority of Zimbabwe's population and suffer the greatest

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[79]. This conceptual problem stands in other literature on resource depletion in Resettlement. Nkala (1996), for example, writing with the benefit of the Land Tenure Commission's findings, still attributes resource degradation in Resettlement to a combination of tenure insecurity, poor land quality and overall poverty. Poaching by neighbours in Communal Lands is not even mentioned.

environmental and development problems. The report recommends maintaining communal tenure but strengthening tenure security and clarifying inheritance. The Commission recommends returning to traditional village level leadership structures, recognizing the kraalhead as the lowest level of official authority, and disbanding the VIDCO structure. Local institutions should be given real authority over the management of common property areas such as grazing and woodland. It also recognizes that the areas are under profound population and resource depletion pressure, and hence highlights the

> need to intensify the resettlement programme to satisfy urgent land demands for people in the communal sector. Land remains the most important political and economic issue facing the country up to this day.[80]

Part of a means to do this, is to do away with the view that "large scale farmers are... more efficient" and accept the experience in Zimbabwe, and elsewhere such as Kenya, that small producers can be counted on to be productive. The Commission therefore recommends the implementation of ceilings on land holdings, and changes to laws that make sub-division of large commercial farms difficult.

Through its promotion of resettlement and breaking up more commercial land into small scale farms, the Land Tenure Commission seems less inclined to sidestep the question of

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[80] Rukuni, Mandivamba 1994. Report of the Commission of Inquiry into Appropriate Agricultural Land Tenure Systems "Executive Summary": 1.

land distribution than its predecessor, the Chavunduka Report
(1982): "land distribution is highly skewed in Zimbabwe. The
status quo is not politically, socially or economically
sustainable".[81] Nevertheless, the focus on land tenure,
reorganization of communal lands, and the treating of each
sector of the rural land groups in isolation, still makes room
for strategies that can avoid the question of large-scale land
redistribution. Further, unlike the Chavunduka Report, the
Rukuni Report recommends that all Zimbabweans, including those
in resettlement, should be allowed to maintain rights in
Communal Lands, although land allocation should be made by the
chief and kraalheads according to need and serious farming
intentions. The focus on tenure, although important, can act
like the focus on peasant practices to sidestep the basic
problem of land access. It remains to be seen if the
government's seriousness in pursuing tenure reforms will serve
to deflect any real efforts towards increasing land access for
Zimbabwe's rural majority.

This chapter has raised four main points concerning using
privatization to solve communal use failure in woodland
management in resettlement. First, private tenure does appear
to improve woodland management, as evidenced by tree planting
in homestead areas, and better compliance with rules in
fields. However, the complexity of people's relationship to
the woodlands, in that they use multiple sources for various

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[81]. Ibid. p.3.

products, suggests that privatization may reduce some people's access to certain products. The second point is, therefore, that if maintaining equitable use of the forest in resettlement is a goal, then privatization may jeopardize this. Third, "local" institutions are not "indigenous", and rules are in general imposed by state bodies. This explains some internal reasons for failures in rule compliance in communal use regimes by the settlers themselves. It also explains part of the problem of exclusion of outsiders in these areas in the resettlement. However a greater problem appears to be the outsiders' sense of entitlement to the resources in the resettlement, coupled with their own profound need. This is the fourth point. Settlers' lack of care in communal property areas in the resettlement may indeed be less linked to the institutional problems than to despair that outsiders are destroying the resources. Privatization is unlikely to solve this problem.

In the next chapters, other social dynamics involved in the natural resource use and management systems and local institutional formation are considered. These include the dynamics of cultural, social and economic change brought through the process of resettlement, ideologies of modernization and development, and the important dynamic of gender relations.

Figure 3.1. Village 4 "Resource Map". Men's Group.

Key
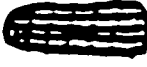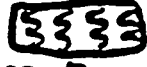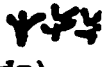
Houses

Fields

Boreholes

Water Tanks (not working)

Cattle pens

Plantation (Eucalyptus)

Cemetary

Bridges

Bush

Diptanks

Kopjes

Gardens

Grazing Area

Veld (Wetlands)

Dams

Irrigation Scheme

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Plate 3.1. Aerial Photograph. A section of the border between
Sengezi Resettlement and Wedza Communal Area, 1986.

1089
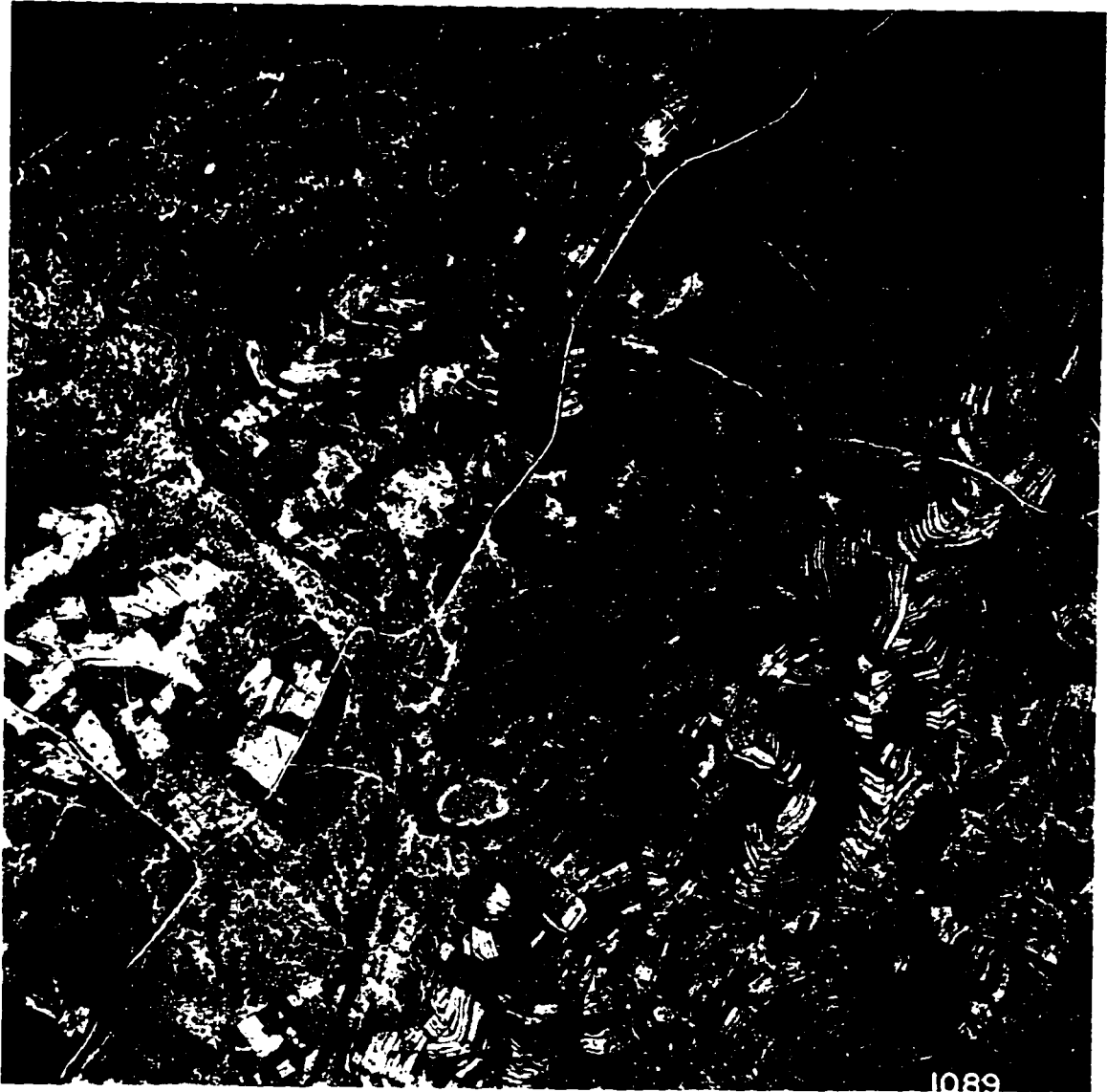
CHAPTER FOUR

Pervasive Ideologies[1]: Defining "Tradition" at the Interface of Christianity and Modernity

"I think people are not appeasing their ancestral spirits" (1.10f)

"People are no longer doing the rain ceremonies because most of them are Christians" (1.35f)

"People are now wicked, they are now too religious being Christians and abandoning their tradition" (3.5f)

"People are now wicked; they do abortion and have dangerous medicine to become rich. God is now angry" (1.8f).[2]

Shona Traditions in Resource Use

A central plank of the Shona traditional belief system is the power of ancestors to bring or withhold rain. Ancestors must therefore be appeased and special rainmaking and other supplication ceremonies performed, or drought may ensue.[3] The link between ancestors and rain is part of a larger social

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[1]. I use "ideology" in the loose sense of constituting "any set of beliefs, covering everything from scientific knowledge, to religion, to everyday beliefs about proper conduct, irrespective of whether it is true or false" (Abercrombie, Hill and Turner 1988: 118). I take ideologies to be socially determined, but not necessarily only determined by one set of forces, like the economy for example. This departs from a classical Marxist definition that sees ideology as somehow distorted or false, a mystification of the "truth", and closer to a Foucauldian notion of "regimes of truth" (see Sylvester 1995). As such, practices are as important as beliefs or ideas in my definition of "ideologies".

[2]. A selection of responses to the question: "What do you think are the main causes of drought?" Household Schedule, III, 4.

[3]. For ethnography of Shona culture see Bourdillon 1987.

system that includes other aspects of ecological management through religion. Known as territorial cults, these systems, common to central Africa, link climatic and ecological processes to social cohesion and morality: "serious abuses in a community lead to ecological disaster which in turn threatens the life of the community" (Schoffeleers 1979: 5). Traditional belief systems emphasize interconnectedness and respect for nature:

> The Europeans think the human mission is to conquer nature. The African mission was the opposite. We did conquer nature, but in a small way which didn't injure it as we are doing now...Most of our proverbs have to do with animals, with birds, and trees. After all, what do we talk about. We talk about our environment, and what experience have we got without environment, without natural resources.[4]

> Clearing the land for cultivation did not mean destroying forests. Huge trees had to be left alone. Herbs, shade, place of rest when a traveller is tired, all is provided by our vegetation. Every tree has a part to play in the life of human beings.[5]

Besides the important link between human behaviour, ancestors and drought, Shona tradition holds other beliefs and practices relating to "natural resource management". Wild fruit trees are not supposed to be cut, nor the fruit sold, and certain fruit trees may require special practices in order to be used:

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[4]. Mike Matsosha Hove, quoted in Hove and Trojanow 1996. In this work, Guardians of the Soil, the authors interview 11 elders from across Zimbabwe on the soil, history and problems of the present day leadership.

[5]. Sub-Chief Kadere, quoted in Hove and Trojanow 1996: 102.

> There are wild fruits which must not be eaten by
> children without the elders having touched them and
> told the ancestors that the fruit is ripe...Our
> ancestors gave us these wild fruits. There is no
> human labour in the growing of these trees. Such
> fruits must not be sold. We now sell what was never
> sold in the olden days.[6]

Sacred shrines, mountains, groves, wetlands and pools all figure in Shona tradition, as places that must be approached in certain ways, being homes or resting places for ancestors. Tree cutting is often banned along with disrespectful behaviour in such places, linking ecological management with religious observance (Nhira and Fortmann 1993).

In the 19th and 20th centuries, Christian missionaries contributed to the erosion of these belief systems. In Rhodesia, however, the missionary approach favoured coexistence with rather than eradication of traditional beliefs. Prayers for rain entered churches, and people were not prevented from flocking to traditional shrines in times of trouble (Schoffeleers 1979: 37-9). Colonial states were even less oppositional to territorial cults, and except for specific cases such as ritual murder, tended to leave them alone. Far more important to the weakening of the traditional systems were the alienation of land, the bureaucratization of the chiefs, and

> the application of a rationalist interpretation of
> ecology in the form of modern forms of land
> conservation and animal husbandry, which affected
> the moral and communal basis of the cults

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[6]. Chief Chitanga Chitanga, quoted in Hove and Trojanow 1996: 114-6.

(Schoffeleers 1979: 36).

These pressures, particularly as embodied by the Native Land Husbandry Act (1951) and the policies and practices of the Forest Office in colonial times were discussed in detail in Chapter Two.

In spite of these pressures, many traditional practices in woodland and other natural resource management persist in present day Zimbabwe. Some scholars have concentrated on drawing these out as part of the pursuit of indigenous knowledge in social forestry.[7] These practices form an important part of what has been ignored or suppressed over the decades of colonial imposition, and the intervention of foreign expertise. However, in the excited rush to give voice to the silenced peasant, it is important to place traditional practices in their historical context, and in the context of local power relations. While some traditional practices may have beneficial ecological consequences, it would be dangerous to essentialize indigenous knowledge and traditional practices as some timeless environmental wisdom.[8] Practices have been

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[7]. See Campbell, Grundy and Matose 1993, Matose 1994, Nhira and Fortmann 1993 and Wilson 1989.

[8]. Some scholars interested in Indigenous Knowledge (IK) have noted how IK becomes mediated through powerful institutions and ideologies in a development process that is meant to empower local people (see for example, O'Brien and Flora 1992). However, the same scholars seem to treat IK as if it is somehow pure, ahistorical, and not consider how it is already profoundly mediated through historical processes of social-cultural change. For others, considering diversity in IK, is really about finding evidence for multiple systems of Western oppression, such as race, class and patriarchy (see

and are contested and embedded in struggles with colonial impositions and local politics. Historically, communities have often used claim to "sacred" sites as part of a strategy to hold onto land encroached upon by whites. People in Reserves next to white commercial land would often inform the owner of certain sacred trees, groves or burial sites that they must maintain access to. The same is true in current struggles over entitlement to resources in Resettlement Areas. In my study site, settlers described how when they arrived, people from a neighbouring Communal Area village had already begun ploughing and protecting some trees "that belonged to them" in the Resettlement, including a special tree for their rainmaking ceremonies.[9] Traditional or sacred rules can also lend legitimacy to the control of scarce resources by traditional leaders, hence reflecting power relations and hierarchies within communities (Mukamuri 1995; Nhira and Fortmann 1993).

In investigating traditional practices, therefore, it is important to contextualize these in changing historical contexts, contested belief systems, and local power dynamics. Indigenous knowledge or traditional practices should not be constructed as part of a dichotomy, with modern ideas as the other half. It is more useful to seek

> to understand the way in which Western scientific
> and indigenous systems of knowledge have interacted

Sachs 1992).

[9]. Village meeting, Village 1, September 21 1995. Field Book VI, p. 4.

to shape patterns of agricultural production and change (Berry 1989a: 3-4).

In addition to Western scientific knowledge, Christianity forms a key influence on people's changing behaviours and beliefs. Indigenous practices in Zimbabwe have been transformed under these pressures for over a century, with some aspects being resisted and others accepted.[10] There is, hence, very little called indigenous that does not have something Western or modern implicated in it. As such, rather than trying to locate the truly indigenous or really traditional practices and beliefs in the study site, I have instead used people's own categorization to define what is considered linked to tradition, and how they see this tradition as being under stress by Christianity, modern ways, and more generally, the social-cultural change brought by the resettlement process itself.

To date, investigations of traditional practices in natural resource management have only been carried out in Communal Areas. No study of these in a Resettlement context

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[10]. There is a tendency in some of the literature on indigenous knowledge to imply that people always "resist" the imposition of modern practices, and that this resistance is inherently to be championed and honoured. But all modern ideas are not innately bad, just as traditional practices are not necessarily imbued with timeless environmental wisdom. Contexts change; no one would argue, for example, that the traditional agricultural method of shifting slash and burn is sustainable in the current Zimbabwean context, of much increased population and land use changes. I am less interested in placing comparative values on something called modern versus something called indigenous, than in investigating the threads that make up the weave of how people relate to the social forest.

has been done.

Elements of Cultural Hetereogeneity

The intensive guerrilla war period of the 1970s fostered intense cultural and religious negotiation and change. Historiography of this period of the war gives different views on the roles of spirit mediums and other traditional leaders, and Christian churches in relation to the guerrilla fighters and the conception of the struggle. Some scholars argue that the customary authority of traditional leaders was tarnished during the war period, as these leaders were entrusted by the colonial regime with the role of enforcing rigorous and unpopular conservation rules and practices, especially those associated with the Native Land Husbandry Act of 1951 and the Land Husbandry Act of 1970 (Nkala 1996). In the post-Independence period, therefore, the new government stripped traditional leaders of their role as guardians of natural resources, handing this role over to the new VIDCO structure (Ibid). Other scholars argue that in many cases spirit mediums were able to revive traditionalism, and play key roles as advisers to political leaders in the war. In the missions, many of the white leaders left, leaving a vacuum that facilitated the Africanisation of church leadership in many cases (Bhebe and Ranger 1995; McLaughlin 1995). While it is difficult to assess the overall impact of the war period on traditionalism and rural Christianity, there does emerge a clear sense that the pre-Independence period was a time of

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extensive dynamism in traditional and Christian churches.

Post-Independence Zimbabwe continues as a place of fast moving cultural change. Revolutionary ideology, anti-colonialism, urbanization, continued spread of Christianity, especially new churches such as Seventh Day Adventist, and Apostolic Faith, and nostalgia for tradition form a complex stew of cultural beliefs and behaviours (Bourdillon 1993). Communal Areas are not traditional in any pure sense, many of its inhabitants being Christians, migrant or retired urban workers, or school leavers. The modern, foreign, Christian, socialist and traditional coexist, negotiate with, and transform each other. In Resettlement Areas, the climate for cultural change is even more intense. People are settled according to different tenure rules (Chapter Three), live under different institutions and leadership structures, are settled in villages with people from different lineages, and turn to make their living according to different "relations of production".[11]

This chapter discusses the effects of this context on traditional practices in natural resource management in a Resettlement. First, the general context of cultural interpretations of drought, as an important environmental focal point of traditional religion, is discussed. Second, I look at traditional leadership, and the effects of modern

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[11]. I am referring here to the rules against male head migrant labour, and hence the complete reliance on agricultural production (see Chapter One).

local institutions and the effect of state imposed modern practices and rules. Third, I look at important practices associated with tradition. Finally, people's perception of resident spirits and sacred places is explored.

Cultural understandings of drought: traditionalist and Christian views.

People in the study site overwhelmingly feel that although 1995/6 was a good rainy season, overall the occurrence of drought is becoming more frequent.[12] Leading the reasons for this, and for the causes of drought more generally, is the failure of the people to perform the appropriate traditional ceremonies.[13] Nevertheless, all but seven people in the household sample of sixty people said they were Christians. At this level, it is difficult to understand why there is so much conflict about tradition if most people are Christian. Clearly, analysis requires more than a simple dichotomy of Christianity versus traditionalism. The type of Christianity has an effect on people's attitude to traditional religion. About 38% of the total sample belonged to the older churches as Methodists, Anglicans or Roman Catholics, while close to half the sample belonged to one of the new churches, branches of Apostolic Faith, Pentacostals, Seventh Day Adventists, and others. Altogether nine different new churches were named. While the older religions have historically

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[12]. Household Schedule, III. 1.

[13]. Household Schedule, III. 1, 4.

tolerated and even encouraged aspects of traditional belief, many of the new churches distinguish themselves by banning ancestral appeasement and other ceremonies. In the sample, about half said they believed only in Jesus and not ancestral spirits, while the other half said they believed in both or only in the ancestors.[14] To make the situation even more complex, the people who say categorically that they believe only in Jesus and not in the ancestors may respond to other questions in the interview as if they do believe in the ancestors. For example, when asked about the causes for drought, these people may say it is because people have abandoned their tradition, and are not performing rain ceremonies or appeasing the spirits of the dead. These overlapping contradictory positions indicate that cultural life in the Resettlement is highly complex. While many people say they are committed Christians, and the resettlement villages have not consistently practiced traditional ceremonies such as rainmaking, they have not abandoned traditional analysis of drought. Further, in many cases, the analysis of the new churches are transformations of traditional belief.[15] As outlined above, traditional Shona culture links social and moral behaviour to climatic

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[14]. Household Schedule, IV.

[15]. The study of religion is of course a rich field in itself, which this thesis does not pretend to engage. The discussion of religion in this chapter must therefore be taken as prelimnary, and the conclusions as tentative. Much more indepth research is needed on religion in resettlement.

conditions. In the study sample, while nearly half the sample said the main cause of drought was not practicing traditional rules, many people mentioned social crimes such as abortion, incest, murder, baby dumping or witchcraft, or the more general observation that "God knows" (2.35m; 3.19m; 4.8m; 4.11m) or "God is angry" (1.8f).[16] The consistency is the linking of people's behaviours to the larger climatic forces that bring about drought.

As shall be shown below, the failure of the resettlement villages to create consistent traditional practice has other causes besides the prevalence of Christianity. But here it can be said that the alternative cosmology offered particularly by the "new" Christian churches contributes to the erosion of traditional practices. When asked if they thought that people follow tradition less than people in the Communal Areas, more than half of the sample said yes, while about a third said the situation was about the same in both places. For those who said tradition was followed less in resettlement, the second most important reason stated was because people in the resettlement are more Christian.[17]

Traditional Institutions: Lineage and Leadership

In Communal Areas, people settle in villages according to their lineages, and traditional ceremonies are conducted

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[16]. Household Schedule, III. 4.

[17]. Household Schedule, III. 5.

according to lineage membership. At the village level, a headman or kraalhead is named, who has some blood connection to the overall leadership of the area, the Chief. Spirit mediums, who are people who can be possessed by ancestral spirits, and often have knowledge of herbal remedies also figure importantly in traditional custom. Mediums may or may not be members of the chiefly lineage of the area.[18] The headman and the Chief are responsible for traditional ceremonies as well as land allocation. Spirit mediums are often the ones to voice traditional rules about resource use and management, and proper behaviour in sacred places.

In resettlement, people are not settled according to lineage, but come from many different villages and lineage groups. In the study site, while most people come from the general area, there is great diversity in their original home villages. In each of the four study villages, an average of 73% of the sample for the household interviews came from villages not mentioned by other respondents.[19] This fact of people coming from many different villages is the main reason given for the view that people in the resettlement follow tradition less than in the Communal Areas.[20]

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[18]. See Bourdillon 1987 for a detailed discussion of spirit mediums in various Shona groups.

[19]. Household Schedule, I. 1.

[20]. Household Schedule, III. 5. Of the 53% of the sample who said people follow tradition less, 34% said it was because they did not live according to lineage like in Communal Areas.

As discussed in Chapter Three, state institutions do not compete with pre-existent traditional institutions in resettlement as has happened in Communal Areas, but stand as the only local institutions. A Resettlement Officer (RO) is the ultimate local authority over all the villages in the scheme. In Communal Areas, also, the Independent government at first envisioned replacing traditional authority with more modern and democratic structures. The 1982 Communal Act withdrew the role of chiefs in land allocation, investing it in the District Council, and ultimately the Head of State (Cheater 1990: 201). In 1984, VIDCOs and WADCOs were formed as elected bodies meant to provide more democratic and modern local institutions through which rural development and administration could be carried out (see below). In a somewhat contradictory move, however, Chiefs were maintained as "ex-officio" members of the new councils, still received their salaries, and over the Independence period have had their powers gradually expanded (Alexander 1994: 328).[21] Over the years since Independence, chiefly authority has re-emerged as important in Communal Areas.

In resettlement, while people mention the Chief as the authority in certain traditional rules (see Table 4.1), the

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[21]. Alexander (1994), attributes this expansion in the authority of chiefs as government's move to thwart any opposition to the government that may come from the chiefs, and recognition that through coopting the chiefs, government could gain more effective control and implementation of policy in rural areas than through the imposition of the new structures of VIDCOs and WADCOs.

Chief has no official role.[22] At the village level, a Village Chairman is elected by democratic vote, and can be deposed if his performance in unsatisfactory. The job of the Chairman is to channel grievances or issues from the settlers to the Resettlement Officer, and to take information back to the settlers from the RO. The Chairman is also responsible for overseeing the practices of settlers, including resource use and management, ensuring the rules of the state are followed. In addition to this structure, is the VIDCO structure (Village Development Committees). Based on socialist ideology of the early post-Independence government, VIDCOs were meant to stimulate grassroots self-help development in the rural areas by developing local level ruling party presence and machinery.[23] A VIDCO is formed by a committee of six members, one of whom is the VIDCO Chairman, with two members from each of three villages. Six VIDCOs make up a Ward, and a WADCO is made up of a Ward Chairman, or "Councillor", plus VIDCO Chairmen from the six VIDCOs. Hence a WADCO represents eighteen villages. Above the WADCO is the District Chairman,

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[22]. "The Chief has no role in the Resettlement Area. I've never seen him here." Interview with the Resettlement Officer, July 10, 1996. Schedule 2, qn. 1.

[23]. See Higgins and Mazula (1993) for a general discussion of the ideology, purpose and structure of the VIDCO system. These authors outline an attractive portrait of the VIDCO system as a means to decentralized the political structure and promote equity, empowerment and economic development. My own work suggests that a critical perspective is important in examining how this structure acts as a means to ensure centralized party control rather than to decentralized political power. See also Alexander 1994.

and above him, the provincial and then national political bodies. VIDCOs are essentially ZanuPF bodies, and while there is no official rule that says a person must be a party member in order to be on a VIDCO, in practice there are no members who are not party members. On the whole, in fact, there is little separation between "development" and "the party" at the local level in the study site. In order to receive the benefits of development, such as a grain loan scheme, settlers must show a party membership card.[24] Besides keeping the party image bright, VIDCOs are also meant to assist the Village Chairman (who is not also a VIDCO member) in administrating the villages according to resettlement rules. This includes monitoring resource use and management.

In Communal Areas, the imposition of VIDCOs was a source of conflict with traditional leaders. Leaders felt their powers infringed upon. One of the key recommendations of the Land Tenure Commission of 1994 was the dissolution of VIDCOs on the grounds that they impeded traditional leadership structures in Communal Areas (see Chapter Three). In Resettlement, the dynamic is different. When asked about their traditional leader, settlers name the leader from their original village, and mention that they have failed to name a village headman in the resettlement village.[25] Most of their

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[24]. Key Informant Interview, local secondary school headmaster, August 28 1996, Field Notes II: 28.

[25]. Household Schedule, III. 6.

original leaders stayed behind in the Communal Areas. Hence, on the ground at the village level, there are no pre-existent traditional leadership structures with which VIDCOs can conflict.

In terms of resource management, traditional leaders appear to be virtually powerless in the resettlement, although many people feel they should be involved; only about 12% of the household sample said traditional leaders should not or do not interfere in matters of resource management in the resettlement. Table 4.1 below puts together all the traditional rules mentioned in the tenure diagram exercise of the PRA, discussed in Chapter Three. People freely list many traditional rules in resource use, but the rules are widely broken.[26] About 17% of the household schedule sample felt that there was nothing preventing the traditional leaders from being involved in resource management in resettlement. The dominant view, however, is that traditional leaders are not effective in creating traditional rule adherence in the resettlement. People mention a variety of reasons for this. The most common reason given is that "people are stubborn", that is, they refuse because they do not feel like complying. Other reasons mentioned are that people are Christians, or that people are modern, taking tradition to be old fashioned, that the traditional leaders are lazy and never visit the

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[26]. This was not so much admitted in the PRA exercise, as later in the Household schedules. It is also clear from observation.

resettlement, and that the VIDCOs have replaced their function.[27] Hence in the resettlement context, there is a space left by traditional leadership into which the VIDCO and the Village Chairman step. However, these bodies operate with legitimacy deriving from a different source from traditional leadership, and they do not necessarily uphold traditional rules in resource management. Rather, their mandate is the enforce the state rules of the Natural Resources Board (see Chapter Three).

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[27]. Household Schedule, III. 7.

**Table 4.1. Traditional Rules in Resource Use
and Management in Resettlement**

RESOURCE OR AREA	RULES	INSTITUTIONS	ENFORCE-MENT/ COMPLIANCE
FIREWOOD	-don't cut mobola plum tree (Shona muhacha)	-spirit mediums	-sometimes followed
HERBS	-first give praise to your ancestral spirits before you take the medicine -fill in holes you dig -don't cut tree, just use roots -test medicine before you give it	-spirit mediums	-praise to ancestors strictly followed -other rules not strictly followed
WILD FRUITS	-don't cut fruit trees -don't take unripe fruit -don't sell wild fruits -don't throw stones at trees -don't scratch on trees (dries them out) -don't eat fruit from trees struck by lightening -don't say silly comments in places where you get fruits	-Chief -spirit mediums (supported by NRB, VIDCO, Village Chairman)	-sometimes followed -pay fine to the Chief

Table 4.1 Continued (Fields).

RESOURCE OR AREA	RULES	INSTITUTIONS	ENFORCE-MENT/ COMPLIANCE
FIELDS	chisi[28]: -don't work on Fridays -don't work on Tuesdays and Fridays	-Chief	-rules mostly followed -pay a goat to the Chief for violation

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[28]. This practice is discussed below in the section on traditional practices.

Table 4.1 Continued (Kopjes).

RESOURCE OR AREA	RULES	INSTITUTIONS	ENFORCE-MENT/ COMPLIANCE
KOPJES/ WEDZA MOUNTAIN	-don't chop down trees -don't throw stones -don't comment anything or you won't return -don't burn grass -don't remove stones -don't kill snakes (pythons) -don't destroy the ruins or those things built by long ago people -no washing in wells (mountain) -don't touch anything (eg. things found lying around, pots, etc.) as you may go mad or have bad luck -no Christian praying -no lovemaking -don't remove skulls of dead as some are the spirits'	-Chief -spirit mediums -elders	-rules followed -pay goat to the Chief for violation

Table 4.1 Continued (Rivers).

RESOURCE OR AREA	RULES	INSTITUTIONS	ENFORCE-MENT/ COMPLIANCE
RIVERS/ DAMS	-when a person is taken by a mermaid you should not cry because he will be killed -don't use toilet soap (perfumed soap) or black tins, or you may disappear -in some pools no bathing or swimming as there are mermaids -don't say silly comments	-Chief -spirit mediums	-rules not thoroughly followed -pay livestock or money to the Chief

Hence, along with the spread of the new Christian churches in resettlement, the disruption of traditional leadership through breaking up lineages in settlement patterns, and the imposition of new institutions linked to the state rather than traditional leadership structures, has eroded and transformed the tradition in resettlement. This includes the erosion of compliance in traditional rules in natural resource use and management.

Important practices associated with tradition

1. Chisi, kupira, mukwerera and rukoto.

When discussing the occurrence of drought, and traditional custom generally, certain key practices are mentioned. Chisi is the practice of not working in the fields

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on a certain day or days, as proclaimed by the chief. This is a major aspect of respecting the spirit owners or guardians of the land. While some Christians openly ignore this practice in some areas of Zimbabwe, it remains a widespread observance in most of Shona country (Bourdillon 1987: 70). In the study site, everyone in the household interview sample agreed that _chisi_ is practiced in their village. However, 32% of the sample said that not everyone agrees about it, particularly certain types of Christians, like Seventh Day Adventists.[29] Other Christians often practice _chisi_ as well as take Sunday as a day of rest and church going.

Different types of supplication ceremonies (_kupira_), wherein traditional beer is brewed for ancestors, are also central to traditional practice. The vast majority (90%) of the household sample say that some form of supplication is practised in the resettlement. Half of the people mention rainmaking (_mukwerera_), which is a communal village practice. About a third mention individual family supplication, wherein a family's own ancestors are appeased because of some trouble in the family, like illness, quarrelling, or bad luck. Only 13% mention _rukoto_, a ceremony of thanksgiving for the harvest. Interestingly, only two people mention church as a reason not to practice these ceremonies, suggesting that while many people may belong to churches that officially ban involvement in ancestor appeasement, this does not completely

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[29]. Household Schedule, III. 8.

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deter church members from joining these ceremonies.[30]

The practising of supplication ceremonies appears to be less contested than chisi, probably because the ceremonies happen infrequently, while respecting chisi is a weekly event directly affecting people's livelihood in the fields. However it is important to recall the sentiments people hold about the occurrence of drought, mentioned above. Although here it appears that traditional practice is being upheld through supplication ceremonies, on the question of drought people complain that these ceremonies, particularly rainmaking, are not being properly performed. It appears that while the ceremonies do occur, they occur haphazardly: "people are no longer doing the rain ceremonies because most of them are now Christians" (1.35f).[31] When they are done, they may be done in improper ways: "people are no longer following traditional ways; the beer is not allowed to be brewed by young women who still have their husbands, but elder women" (1.1m).[32]

2. Ban on Cutting Fruit Trees

In rural Zimbabwe, a ban on cutting wild fruit trees is fairly widespread. Cutting fruit trees is often said to be a traditional religious offence (Nhira and Fortmann 1993: 144;

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[30]. Household Schedule, III. 12.

[31]. Household Schedule, V1, 35f, III. 4.

[32]. Household Schedule, V1, 1m, III. 4.

Campbell, Grundy and Matose 1993: 35).[33] In communal areas, there is also widespread avoidance or violation of these and other traditional rules, partly because of the influence of Christianity, but also because of other factors of social change and community disintegration. Immigrants may not know or care about rules. People also violate rules out of necessity, there being no alternative resources at hand (Nhira and Fortmann 1993: 145).

In the resettlement study site, the ban on cutting fruit trees is mentioned as a traditional rule (see Table 4.1). However, when questioned about the reasons for not cutting fruit trees, only a few people say it is because traditional leaders forbid it. Over 90% of the people say it is because they eat the fruits. Less than a third say that the trees are protected by or belong to ancestors, and a handful mention that a few species are sacred,[34] but not fruit trees in general. More than half say that no, the trees are not connected to any spirits, they are just there.[35] The dominant sense is that it is not traditional controls but pragmatic concerns that encourage people to follow the rule against fruit tree cutting.

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[33]. In some places fruit trees are thought to belong to the high god Mwari, who provides them and protects them (Bourdillon 1987: 69).

[34]. These include muhacha (mobola plum), muzhanje (wild loquat tree) and muonde/mukuyu (cape fig).

[35]. Household Schedule, III. 14.

Resident Spirits and Sacred Places

Central to Shona culture is the concept of spirit guardianship of the land. There can be different sets of ancestral spirits thought important. There may be original (autochothonous) spirits that belong to the earliest dynasty known to inhabit the area. Even when the descendants of this dynasty have been overcome by a new dynasty, their ancestral spirits may still be honoured. There are also the ancestral spirits of the currently ruling chiefly dynasty. These spirits are thought to own the land, and to control rain soil fertility (Bourdillon 1987; Schoffeleers 1978).[36] They take up residence in certain places in the area, often hills, mountains or woodlands. These places become shrines or sacred places (discussed further below).

In the Communal Area next the the resettlement study area, the original, autochothonous spirits are of the Rozvi, a ruling dynasty from the late seventeenth century up to 1840, when it was defeated by the Ndebele (See Beach 1980; Bourdillon 1987: "Historical Introduction"). Although there are still members of the Rozvi totem in the area, they are no longer ruling. Local history states that the Rozvi gave the leadership to the Jena clan, because the Jena were good fighters and would look after the area. The Jena got their

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[36]. Shona cosmology also includes a "high" god, Mwari, whose oracle is in the Matobo Hills near Bulawayo. Mwari may be approached in cases of widespread drought. However, for most Shona, Mwari is too remote to be approached concerning local problems (Bourdillon 1987: 70).

name from the fact that one of them married an old white haired woman of the Rozvi clan --Jena--which means white. The Rozvi were so grateful that they bestowed leadership of Wedza area on this new dynasty. The current chief is of the Jena totem. The Jena have established many sacred areas for their ancestral spirits, such as in Wedza Mountain.[37]

In the resettlement area, although families are in frequent touch with their own family ancestors, there is little awareness of the autochothonous spirit guardians. When asked about what happened to the original spirits, almost half (42%) say they do not know. About a third of the people say that these spirits left, having been chased away by the occupation of the land by whites. A smaller number of people say that the spirits left because the settlers are not appeasing them. About 12% of the sample say that the original spirits are indeed there. The dominant feeling is that these spirits are unhappy, some adding that this is clear because of the frequent droughts.[38]

Regarding other ancestral spirits for the area (that is of the ruling lineage), the society is split almost down the middle. Over half of the people say either that there are no ancestral spirits, or that they do not know. The remainder say that the spirits are there, and name branches of the ruling

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[37]. Interview with the Headmaster of the secondary school, August 28 1996. This informant is of the ruling Jena totem.

[38]. Household Schedule, III. 11.

Jena totem in identifying them.[39]

The same types of responses are given when people are asked about sacred places and shrines. About 60% of the people said that their were shrines in the area, but about half of these do not know which spirits are resident there. The other half mention mostly Jena as the spirits. About a third of the people say that there are no shrines, and the remainder say they do not know.[40]

Fewer people, (about 36%), say that sacred woodlands (Shona rambotemwa) have been established in the area, but there is little consistency in what people say about who named the areas. Some say the elders, others the ancestors, others the Jena, and still others state that they do not know who appointed them. If people named the spirits, they mostly named Jena ancestral spirits. The majority (56%), say that no sacred woodlands have been named.[41] Sacred pools and wetlands are more commonly recognized. About 56% say they exist. The spirits that reside there are not ancestral spirits (see Table 4.1 above), but mermaids (Shona nzuzu). Some people say that they found these places being sacred when they came: people just see that this is a sacred pool by miracles which occur there.[42] Others say that they were named by long ago people, by their

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[39]. Household Schedule, III. 10.

[40]. Household Schedule, III. 13.

[41]. Household Schedule, III. 15.

[42]. Household Schedule, V1, 23f, III. 16.

spirit mediums, by the Jena, or by the villagers themselves. It is difficult to ascertain the nature of these "mermaids", other than that they are not ancestral spirits, and they are generally malevolent, and greatly feared. People believe that you can be "taken" by a mermaid, and if the family does not cry about the lost loved one, he or she will return as a witch doctor.[43] There is a stronger sense that people believe in and respect pools with mermaids than they do sacred woodlands or shrines, perhaps because nzuzu are not connected with ancestors and historical connection to the land like other sacred places.

This uncertainty about spirit guardians and sacred places connected with ancestors serves as another weak link in the chain of traditional custom generally, and traditional rules in resource use and management in particular. From this discussion it is clear that many of the important pillars of traditional religion in relation to natural resource management are absent or weakly formed in this resettlement context. The prevalence of Christianity, particularly the "new" African churches, the settling of people in mixed lineage villages, the absence of a headman and traditional leaders in resettlement and the lack of an official role for the chief, combine to produce weak adherence to traditional

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[43]. This is a story commonly told, which came up in the PRA meetings, casual conversations, and key informant interviews (for example, the secondary school Headmaster, August 28 1996. Field Book 11: 29.) It is also common in other Shona areas in Zimbabwe.

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rules and practices. This situation is also probably true in many Communal Areas, but the context in resettlement exaggerates the effects of the broader social and cultural change occurring all over the country.

Another aspect to this erosion of traditional beliefs and practices, is the especially pervasive presence of modern ideas of farming and conservation.

Modern Ideologies and Practices: The embodiment of state power

In Chapter Three many "modern" rules and practices in resettlement were discussed, and note was made in Chapter Two of the continuities in contemporary state policy with colonial policy in African areas. The importance of peasant resistance to the imposition of "modern" farming and conservation practices through the Native Land Husbandry Act (1951) as central to peasant support for the guerrilla war was also mentioned. In this chapter, I turn to an examination of settler acceptance and absorption of the ideologies and practices of modern farming and conservation in resettlement. The degree to which settlers appear to accept these aspects of "modernity" suggests that historical resistance had more to do with a political position than with an ideological conviction that the practices were wrong-headed, or that they deeply contradicted some "indigenous" ideology. Nevertheless, I argue that the adoption of modern ideas and practices contributes to the erosion of what is defined as "traditional" in natural

resource regimes.

There are two aspects to my evidence that people's acceptance of modern ideas and practices is extensive. The first is the view of the state officials, particularly Agritex, that implement the modern-based policies. The second is the testimony of the settlers themselves.

Views on river siltation

In a fascinating piece of local history, Wilson (1995) documents some profound gaps between elder local people's analyses of the causes of aspects of environmental degradation and the "modern/Western" analysis, in a semi-arid location in southern Zimbabwe. On the siltation of rivers, for example, local elders insist that it is not streambank cultivation that is the culprit as NRB and Agritex assert, but the effects of centralization, dating back to the 1920s, which reorganized land use in African areas. Centralization demarcated arable lands on high areas, hence denuding them of vegetation, and soil was able to slip down to the rivers. Originally, people had farmed in the low areas by rivers, and maintained vegetation in the high areas, effectively protected the soils from erosion.

In my resettlement study site, there is no such profound gap on this, or other "conservation" issues. Not surprisingly, the Agritex worker disagrees with the analysis made by the local people in Wilson's research, saying that it was not the changing of farming to high ground that caused river siltation

historically, but the population increase which forced people into unsustainable practices such as overgrazing and tree-cutting. Other specific causes of siltation, in his view, are the use of sledges, lack of contour ridging in fields and streambank cultivation.[44]

The views of the local people interviewed on this topic (N= 20 men), are nearly identical to those of the Agritex worker. When asked what they think causes river siltation, the most frequently mentioned cause is streambank cultivation, followed by deforestation from tree-cutting, use of sledges or pulling of logs, the movement of livestock and the lack of or poorly built contour ridges. When asked directly whether they thought streambank cultivation caused river siltation, all but one person answered a straight "yes", pointing out that the soil would be loose and vegetation cleared, and hence the soil washes right into the river when it rains or floods. Only one person held a dissenting view on this topic. He said that it was in fact the contour ridges themselves that caused river siltation, as the water that runs off from contours is full of soil. Also, on the question of streambank cultivation, he said: "Yes, <streambank cultivation causes river siltation>, because people are no longer following their traditional ways of farming; the contour ridges cause the rivers to silt" (2.44m). The implication here being that it is modern farming

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[44]. Agritex worker, Schedule 2, August 25 1996.

methods that are behind the siltation, not the remedy for it.[45]
The overwhelming sense, however, is of penetration and
acceptance of the modern analysis of river siltation, with
only a slight indication of an independent indigenous view of
the problem.

Views on contour ridging

This is true also of settler views on contour ridging.
The Agritex worker's view is that contour ridging in fields is
very effective as a means of safely draining excess water from
the fields into the waterways. They can be hazardous if not
properly designed, and very labour intensive. However, if
built properly, ridges can last for several years, and fodder
can be planted on the contours to make them stronger.[46]
Settlers asked about contours (N= 20 men) said virtually the
same things. Everyone said that the purpose of contours was to
control the flow of water out of the fields hence prevent soil
erosion. Some mentioned that the ridges had to be properly
constructed, indicating appreciation of the technical
difficulties raised by the Agritex worker. Only two of the
twenty said that contour ridging was not very effective, one
saying that water flowing out of ridged fields carries a lot
of soil with it (1.34m), and the other saying that contours
were effective only on sloping land, but not on level land

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[45]. Responses to Men's Schedule, I. 1, 2 and 3.

[46]. Agritex worker, Schedule 2, August 25 1996.

(2.44m).[47] The Agritex worker explained that during the colonial days, contour ridging was imposed without proper explanation and hence people resisted (Moyana 1984; Ranger 1985).[48] After Independence Agritex took time to teach people about the purpose of contours, and the people gradually accepted. Now there is total acceptance, with people even waking him up early in the morning to come and peg their fields. In this aspect, he said, Agritex is actually letting the farmers down because they can not meet the demand due to labour and transport constraints.[49] The Resettlement Officer estimates that about half the settlers in the area have built contour ridges in their fields,[50] while about two thirds of my household sample claim to have dug contours.[51]

In the interviews with the Household Schedule (N= 60 men and women), there is further evidence that settlers value and accept the advice and perspectives of Agritex on modern methods of farming and conservation. When asked what were the main activities of Agritex in their area, most people

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[47]. Men's Schedule, I.

[48]. See also Irene Staunton (ed) 1990. Mothers of the Revolution, compiled of the stories of thirty women talking about the war years. The imposition of and resistance to the digging of contour ridging forms a recurrent theme in the women's stories (examples are found on pages 106, 117, and 125).

[49]. Agritex worker, Schedule 2, August 25 1996.

[50]. Resettlement Officer, Schedule 2.

[51]. Household Schedule, II. 5.

mentioned that he taught them "good" or "modern" farming methods like contours, storm drains, fertilizing, advice on when and what to plant. When asked whether or not they found Agritex helpful, everyone said the advice was mostly helpful, with only a few people complaining that they did not see him often enough.[52] Further, when asked what role they think Agritex **should** play in protecting natural resources, people overwhelmingly supported the current role of modern farming extension advice and advice on special income generating projects like cattle fattening and poultry raising.[53]

Views on the role of trees

Recalling the tenure data in Chapter Three, state defined rules dominate people's description of the rules of woodland use. Here, I am looking more at people's ideas of the value of trees and their conservation. When asked what is the best way to halt deforestation the Agritex worker first mentioned planting trees to replace those cut.[54] He says trees figure largely in Agritex's overall extension approach. Agritex provides education on the importance of trees, such as in preventing soil erosion and that deforestation can lead to decreased rainfall in an area. They advise on proper cutting methods, and advise people to only cut dry or dead indigenous

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[52]. Household Schedule, II. 2.

[53]. Household Schedule, II. 1.

[54]. Agritex worker, Schedule 2, August 25 1996.

trees. The planting and use of gum trees for poles and firewood is encouraged, and Agritex provides demonstrations on sewing and transplanting of gum trees, which can be obtained from the Forestry Commission.[55] This aspect of the Agritex package appears to have had less success than those directly related to farming output. Only a handful of people thought to mention that Agritex should be involved in advising people to plant trees,[56] and even fewer included tree-related activities as part of what Agritex actually does in the area.[57] However, when asked directly about how trees as a resource can best be conserved, most people asked (N=20 men) mentioned controls on cutting and reafforestation.[58] Further, a third of people asked (N=60), associate drought with deforestation.[59] It appears that settlers share the analysis of Agritex on the value of trees, but actual practices of conservation of trees are less widespread than the practices directly related to farming. This may be because Agritex itself puts less effort towards trees than other issues, and because other bodies such as Forestry Commission are seen as more responsible for forestry extension. There is no resident Forestry Commission representative, and hence active extension in this area is far

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[55]. Agritex Worker, Schedule 1. 2.

[56]. Household Schedule, II. 1.

[57]. Household Schedule, II. 2.

[58]. Men's Schedule. I. 4.

[59]. Household Schedule, III. 4.

less intense than the main concerns of Agritex. Furthermore, the problems of poaching in the woodlands in resettlement by Communal Area neighbours (see Chapter Three), depresses people's enthusiasm for afforestation and conservation of trees.

On the whole, however, it seems clear that "modern" thinking and practices on farming and conservation are pervasive in the study site. Resettlement is nothing if not a modern development project of the state, designed in part to redress past land injustice, but also to promote successful modern small scale farming among the African peasantry. Within this victory for modernity can be read the success of state power to "discipline" the bodies and minds of settlers.[60] As such, settler compliance becomes an aspect of state power, rather than merely its effect. Settlers are not only "oppressed" by the state imposed rules and practices of modern farming in conservation, but they have internalized the values, and become a part of the power/knowledge nexus of modern developmentalism. Individuals have become "criss-crossed by power relations and governed by self-monitoring technology" (Dubois 1991: 21).[61] People have accepted the experts, here particularly in the form of Agritex, as part of

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[60]. See Foucault (1979). Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison.

[61]. I am indebted to Dubois' (1991) application of Foucault's concept of power to developmentalism in my analysis here.

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the natural order of things, and their analysis of things is virtually uncontested. In this context, traditional or indigenous forms of knowledge hold decreasing currency, and make decreasing sense. This is not to say that all state rules and all aspects of modern thinking are whole-heartedly accepted.[62] However, the particular context of resettlement, wherein so many aspects of people's cultural life have been disrupted and the presence of the state and modern rules and values is so strong, is a context conducive to widespread absorption of modern, expert-driven ideas of development, farming practices and conservation. To make this point in a general way, Figure 4.1 shows the meanings people in Village 3 attach to the concept development (Shona kubudirira). There is little departure from dominant ideas of progress.

This chapter has placed an analysis of traditional or indigenous beliefs and practices in woodland management at the interface of the competing ideologies of Christianity and modern ideas, and factors of social-cultural change brought through the resettlement process. The prevalence of Christianity, especially the newer independent African churches, is seen to erode people's traditional beliefs and practices and the community cohesion upon which much of these depend. Further, many of the key elements supporting traditional beliefs and practices, such as living according to

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[62]. The case of persistent sub-division of land in resettlement, despite state rules is a case in point.

lineages, a local Headman, the naming of sacred sites and resident spirits, are absent or poorly formed in resettlement. Finally, the strong presence of the state through resident experts, especially in the bodies of the Agritex worker and the Resettlement Officer, ensure high exposure and absorption of modern notions of farming and conservation. It is important to remember that lack of compliance with modern farming methods can lead the eviction of settlers.

A recently announced change in resettlement policy may have significant effects on these conditions in future schemes. Government's new approach will be to resettle whole villages from particularly congested Communal Areas, in an attempt to maintain more of the cultural fabric of the new communities. In the new villages, Headmen will be named, who will be under the authority of a Chief in a neighbouring Communal Area.[63] There is also a plan in very early stages of development, to extend the authority of Chiefs into existing resettlement schemes.[64] These moves may indeed be more conducive to cultural and social harmony than the original resettlement method of taking individual families from different villages. However, the new method may be found to

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[63]. "State announces new resettlement programme" The Herald February 20 1997: 1.
     "ZFU hails new resettlement policy" The Herald February 21
1997: 6.

[64]. District Administrator (Hwedza), February 18 1997.

contradict the other goal of modernizing land tenure through privatization (see Chapter Three). Even in the case of original resettlement patterns, my data shows that family based social relations of land use remain resilient in resettlement, leading to subdivision in spite of rules against it (see Chapter Six). Surely the new pattern will only intensify the context for these social relations to persist. In terms of traditional forms of resource management, however, the new system may provide more robust foundations for their effective operation. Nevertheless, the traditional shall still have to contend with the dominant tendency in resettlement to modernize farming and conservation practices.

Figure 4.1. Definitions of "Development" in Village 3, PRA Data

OUTCOMES

better houses
easy communication
equal rights of the races
capital
better health
sell and buy products nearby
knowledge
employment
work becomes easier
education
high agricultural yield
introduction of more problems
work takes less time
cheap prices
formation irrigation science

DEVELOPMENT

INPUTS/CAUSES

stores, grinding mills
livestock
roads
marketing facilities
paddocking
technology
transport
income generating projects
land
electricity
schools, clinics, hospitals
banks
savings clubs
community centre
cooperation
shallow wells
better housing

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CHAPTER FIVE[1]

Locating Women's Power in a Resettlement Context
PART ONE: Permits, Marital Status and Access to Land

Introduction

The social system of natural resource use in resettlement is strongly marked by gender relations. Gendered divisions of labour and power dynamics are key to understanding people's use and management of the social forest. However, in order to understand these dynamics, the overall context of gender relations in resettlement must be considered. In this chapter, gender in the formation of resettlement policy and how this affects women's access to land is examined. I contextualize this discussion in the history of the creation of gendered space in colonial Zimbabwe's African areas, and the effects of this for the formation of gendered household dynamics. In the following chapter (Chapter Six), I discuss gender relations in agricultural production in resettlement. Key to this discussion is the locating of gendered spheres of power both within and without the household. Also important are the effects of state attitudes about women farmers, and the forms and dynamics of households in resettlement. In Chapter Seven, gender relations specifically in natural resources are examined.

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[1]. A version of sections of Chapters Five and Six, entitled "'Here it is our land, the two of us': Men, Women and Land in a Zimbabwean Resettlement Area", has been submitted to The Journal of Contemporary African Studies for consideration for publication.

Gender in Land Reform

Women's perspectives and needs are marginalized in the discourse shaping land reform in Zimbabwe's resettlement program. The Land Tenure Commission consulted women and reported on their perspectives in its report (Rukuni 1994). Local feminist activists also undertook their own extensive study on women's perspectives on land reform and submitted it to the Commission (ZWRCN 1994). Nevertheless, in its final recommendations, the Commission has apparently ignored women's views. Its recommendations of privatization and the granting of title deeds do nothing to offset married and widowed women's insecurity in their entitlement to resettlement land, and may actually deepen this insecurity.

The Land Tenure Commissions recommendations are informed in part by the paradigm of "sustainable development", which privileges ecological sustainability while maintaining high productivity in land use. Questions about gender justice in access and control to resources, inequality in the intra-household distribution of the benefits of resource use, and even gendered divisions of labour are beyond the interest of this discourse.[2] As shall be seen from the evidence in this and the following two chapters, ignoring gender issues is a

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[2]. See Nkala 1996. In this lengthy discussion of recommended ways forward for sustainable development of agriculture in rural Zimbabwe, the author focuses on tenure insecurity in resettlement and strengthening of local institutions. Nowhere in the article are women's interests, or gender relations of agriculture or resource use mentioned.

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serious omission if the aim is to understand the dynamics of agricultural production and the social system of natural resource use in resettlement.

Feminist analyses of resettlement and land reform, on the other hand, use a predominantly structuralist and materialist analysis that emphasizes women's disadvantaged position as a result of gender-blind, or gender-biased government policy, and insistent social and cultural norms that leave women in subordinate positions as regards to access and control of the main economic resource of land. Feminist analyses also rely heavily on a logical argument concerning agricultural productivity, pointing out that since women are the main farmers, it is counter productive and inefficient to deny them full access to and control of land (see ZWRCN 1994; Pankhurst and Jacobs 1988).[3] With a few exceptions, these perspectives do not consider natural resources other than land. Land is the major productive resource, but other resources form essential aspects of rural livelihood systems (see Chapter One). The use and management of these resources are as profoundly gendered as is the social system of land use. Hence feminist perspectives in this area can be enhanced by broadening the

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[3]. This perspective, of course, has a long history going back to Esther Boserup's influential analysis of women and agriculture in Africa (1970 Women's Role in Economic Development). In the current times of Structural Adjustment, gender and development perspectives increasingly emphasize issues of efficiency and productivity rather than gender justice in a hopes to win audience for their analyses (see Moser 1993).

focus to include more than arable land.

Feminist analysis of women and the land can be critiqued using the insights of postmodern feminist scholarship of developmentalist discourse.[4] By emphasizing structural conditions beyond women's control in defining their "position", the subjects of the analysis appear as helpless victims of various layers and systems of oppression: the international political economy, the state, the culture, the family. Poor rural women become a faceless category, without agency, strategies, or spheres of power. Some scholars have sought to avoid this by placing emphasis on women's agency, and on how gender relations shape agricultural systems, rather than only how these systems oppress women. The stories of individual women are told in an attempt to bring out women's ingenuity and strength, and to draw attention to the particularities of experience (Pankhurst and Jacobs 1988). However, the result is still overwhelmingly a tale of women's structural oppression, which leads to the proposing of solutions that focus predominantly on the need to change the structural conditions, such as state policy and laws.

These structural conditions are undoubtedly central in understanding the opportunities and constraints that women face in resettlement. My own data support a materialist perspective that emphasizes access and control to economic

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[4]. See Braidotti et al 1994, Parpart 1993, Parpart and Marchand (ed) 1995, Mohanty 1991, Kinnaird and Momsen 1993, Spivak 1988, Ong 1987 and Moghadam 1994.

resources as the key factor in understanding women's situations and the need to focus on how political, economic and cultural conditions limit women's room to better their lives. I thus deal with these structural conditions at length. However, I have also found important spheres of power for women in the prevailing gender relations. These include gendered control over certain crops, women's control of market gardens, certain types of property and income that belong to women, changing gender ideologies as a direct result of enlightened state policy, and changes in household decision making processes. In order to counteract the tendency to focus on structural oppression, therefore, I have chosen to highlight these spheres of power and negotiation as possible sights for strategies for positive change.

In this chapter, I first consider the history of women and the land in Zimbabwe in order to locate the general economic and social situation of women and resettlement. The major concern is with women's access and control of the major economic resource, land. This access and control is seen as embedded and shaped by the cultural and historical context, and the impositions of the state in the form of resettlement policy and practice. Common to both "tradition" and state policy is the determination of women's access to land through their marital status. Widows, divorcees and married women have differing relationships to arable land. In this chapter I deal with how the permit system in resettlement has opened up some

new opportunities for unmarried women to access land, while entrenching the "traditional" practice of granting only mediated rights to married women. In the next chapter, I focus specifically on how married women's relationship to land is shaped by the nature of marriage and the household, its form and functions, the divisions of labour within it, and gendered power and control over resources, income and decision making.

Historical Background: Constructing gendered space in the African Reserves

A great deal has been written about the gendered patterns of African peasant farming in the region.[5] It has become a truism to state that women are the main farmers, but that their subordinate cultural and social position often curtails their abilities to farm as productively as possible. Subsistence farming in the region is characteristically insupportable without remittances from husbands working in waged work, hence farming wives remain dependent on husbands' contributions. These contributions may or may not be forthcoming, as husbands frequently become involved in expensive extramarital affairs, drinking and other town entertainment. African peasant women farmers, therefore, are often pictured in the contradictory position of autonomy by

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[5]. See Murray 1981 and 1987, Gordon 1981, Gay 1980 and Malahleha 1985 on the extreme case of male migration in Lesotho; Berheide and Segal 1994 on Malawi; Moore and Vaughan 1994 on Zambia; Pankhurst and Jacobs 1988, Jacobs and Howard 1987, Schmidt 1992, Gaidzanwa 1995 and Chimedza 1988 on Zimbabwe; Jiggins 1989, Brydon and Chant 1989, Hansen 1992 and Meena 1992 for general discussions of the issues in Africa.

way of _de facto_ female headship in the household, and dependency and vulnerability in regards to male earnings and a prevailing gender ideology that condones the supremacy of male authority even in male absence. Hence there are many stories of women being unable to take key decisions about farming without a husband's authorization and financial support, and wife battery when the husband returns to find that his wife has taken decisions without his permission, or because he feels insecure about his role in the family through his unfamiliarity with the rural homestead.

Schmidt (1992a) documents the gendered struggles over production in the African Reserves in colonial history in Rhodesia. The viability of agricultural production in the Reserves was squeezed through various measures such as differential pricing and imposition of various taxes to force male labour migration to serve the needs of European owned mines and farms. Shona peasant resistance to these measures was strong, but eventually, European interests were served, and the Reserves were increasingly characterized by _de facto_ female headed households. Although women had been the backbone of peasant agricultural production before colonial interference, male absence left women with an increasingly high farm burden, but not necessarily decision making authority over farm production. Family dynamics and gender relations changed. High rates of male migration led to increasing rates of adultery among both husbands and wives,

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and prostitution. Male desire to maintain control of their women in the Reserves coincided with a colonial interest in keeping women in the Reserves to create a "safety net" for retired or redundant workers. Increasingly harsh patriarchal ideology among African men, therefore, came together with colonial measures such as the introduction of passes for women in the 1920s in an attempt to control their movements and keep them in the Reserves. Waves of "runaway" women flocking to the cities were routinely rounded up and beaten, then returned to their rural homes. Another supporting colonial practice was, hiring men as domestic workers, subverting the "natural" association of women with domestic work, in order to serve the cause of creating a specifically male waged worked force (Schmidt 1992a and 1992b; Hansen 1992).

In the 1930s, men were increasingly encouraged to bring their wives to live with them on commercial farms in order to "stabilize" the workforce (Amanor-Wilks 1996). Further, the use of female labour increased on commercial farms as a preference for seasonal or casual labour increased over a stable, permanent labour force. In practice, however, African men were reluctant to relinguish the security of a homestead on a Reserve, and men's unions with women on commercial farms were often casual, or "additional" marriages (Ibid).[6] In

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[6]. Such marriages were often called mapoto, literally meaning a marriage with pots. The implication is that the union was informal, about living together in a home, a woman doing the domestic work for the man, without all the conventional trappings, such as payment of lobola or pride

addition, the reluctance of Shona men to work on commercial farms meant that 60% of all farm labour was foreign, mostly Zambian or Malawian up until 1960 (Weinrich 1979: 18). This fell to 32% by 1975, as whites found that foreigners were more "politicized" than local Africans (Ibid).

The situation in towns was similar. Rural to urban migration historically has been, and continues to be, male dominated (Mandishona 1996). Women have always been among the migrants to town, attempting to flee poverty or patriarchal control in the Reserves (see Schmidt 1992a; Barnes and Win 1992; Horn 1994). However, the dominant pattern has remained one of mobile men, who maintain a "real" home in a Reserve, now Communal Area, presided over by a wife or wives. Currently, it is estimated that about 70% of rural households in Zimbabwe are de facto female headed (Mandishona 1996). In this context, women play the role of primary farm worker and household manager, with the husband (ideally) providing inputs through earnings from wage work. A woman's entitlement to the land and home in a Communal Land comes only through her marriage to a man with rights to a plot in that particular area. Hence, while rural women's lives have been distinctly tied (one might say "chained") to the land, their relationship

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price, of a proper marriage. Also, a large proportion of farm workers were foreign men, as wages and working conditions were too poor to attract enough local Africans. This reduces the effect of conditions of farmworkers on African farming areas, as foreigners would have no rights to land in Rhodesia (Amanor-Wilks 1996).

to the land has historically been mediated through male entitlement and control through the institution of marriage. Women's lack of formal land rights was historically underpinned by the definition of their legal status as minors, and the dual legal system that placed most African women under the dictates of Customary law in the colonial period.[7] Although women now enjoy majority status at 18 years through the provisions of the Legal Age of Majority Act (1982), customary law still dominates legal practice in Communal Areas (Maboreke 1991; Stewart 1992). Women are not customarily allocated land in their own right. Further, upon the death of a husband, a widow does not inherit entitlement to the land in customary law, but only keeps it in trust for the male heir, usually the eldest son. She may even be chased away by the relatives of the deceased.[8] In the contemporary context, one of the central calls of the national feminist movement is the formal entitlement of women to land.[9]

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[7]. See Stewart, Ncube, Maboreke and Armstrong 1990; Maboreke 1991.

[8]. See "Never to own the land they till" (ZWRCN 1996 WomanPlus 1(1):6-8); Moyo 1995; Stewart 1992.

[9]. See for example, Woman Plus 1(1), January-April 1996, Special Edition on Women and Land (Zimbabwe Women's Resource Centre and Network (ZWRCN) News Bulletin); Speak Out/Tauria/Khulumani Issue No. 33 1995; ZWRCN January 1994, "The Gender Dimension of Access and Land Use Rights in Zimbabwe. Evidence to the Land Commission". Some female politicians are also vocal about this issue. See for example, comments of the Minister of National Affairs, Employment Creation and Co-operatives, Thenjiwe Lesabe in "Laws needed to give women access to land" The Herald May 16 1996.

Women and the Land in Resettlement

The situation of women in Model A resettlement holds both continuities and departures from the situation in Communal Areas. The resettlement context is influenced by two main sets of factors. In the first set are the effects of state policy and practices. Of these, the permit system in resettlement is central. It is found that while state policy supports unmarried women's access to primary land rights, the overwhelming majority of women in resettlement are married and have no primary rights to land. Married women's rights to land are thus mediated through the gender relations of marriage. Also important are officially sanctioned (but not necessarily written) policies and practices of the state that go against the cultural norms of gender ideology in support of improving women's situation. These include support for widows to succeed to the permits of their deceased husbands, the surveillance of male behaviour by local officials militating against extreme male neglect of the family, and appreciation of women as serious farmers in their own right. The second set of factors centre on gender relations within households in resettlement. These are shaped by the form and functions of households, intra-household allocation and control of key resources and income, gendered household responsibilities, divisions of labour, and gendered patterns of decision making. The first set of factors forms the basis for the rest of this chapter, while the sector set is addressed in Chapter Six.

Women and State Policies and Practices in Resettlement

Unmarried women achieve primary rights to land.

In the early years of resettlement, government was committed to a policy of allowing unmarried (that is, widowed or divorced) women with dependents to obtain permits for resettlement in their own right. This was based on government recognition that this group of households often suffers the greatest hardship, and often has no rights to land through customary practice in communal areas, which allocates land only to men. This policy and practice is seen as a major advance for women, as it represents the first case of women having primary rights to agricultural land. However, over the years only a small proportion of permits have been issued to women in this category. Chenaux-Repond found that 11.6% of permit holders in her study of three schemes were widowed or divorced women, although a proportion of these became widowed after resettlement (1993). In my own study site, only two women stand holders are divorcees. The remaining women permit holders are widows, about a third of whom joined the scheme as widows, while the rest became widowed after joining the scheme as married women.[10] As discretion is given to the District Council and the Resettlement Office in the screening process, the proportion of single women to be granted permits depends in a large part on the inclinations of these bodies. Country-

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[10]. Resettlement Officer, February 19 1997.

wide, by 1988 only 7% of permits were allocated to unmarried women (Fortmann and Bruce 1993). Further, policy changes regarding the criteria for resettlement selection implemented in 1992 may further marginalize this group, as a large number of points are awarded for a spouse of the permit applicant (Chenaux-Repond 1993).[11]

Widows and the permit system.

Resettlement land belongs to the state and settlers are granted only usufruct rights through the permit system. As such, stands are not inheritable. However, the resettlement authority has formulated policy on the succession to permits upon the death of the permit holder. Unwritten government policy has been that widows in resettlement be allowed to stay on the plot if the husband dies, and the permits and registration book be changed to bear her name (Chenaux-Repond 1993). In practice, this is often what transpires, including in my own study site. Given the aging of the first generation of settlers, and the fact that husbands tend to die before their wives, the incidence of widowhood on resettlement is becoming quite high. In the four villages in my study for example, widows head households in the following proportions:

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[11]. This point requires further research over the next few years, as both the Resettlement Officer (February 19 1997), and the District Administrator (February 18 1997) claim that the new selection criteria actually makes it easier for single women with dependents to be granted land. This is because it is now easier for women to get Master Farmer certificates, an important element of the criteria, and allowances are made for the absence of a spouse.

9.8%, 22.5%, 11.1, and 33.3%, an overall average of over 19%. In one village, widows head a third of all households, and hence represent a significant social group. In cases where a widow does succeed to the permits, this represents a marked improvement in her status as compared to the usual practice in communal areas. Customary practice in Shona society, is that a brother or other male relative of the deceased husband should take over the care and management of the estate of the deceased. Frequently, the widow is expected to marry a brother of the deceased, especially if she is still of childbearing age. If a male heir is old enough to manage the estate, then it shall be passed to him. In theory, whether the estate is passed to a brother or other male relative, or to the male heir, the estate is supposed to be used for the benefit of the widow(s) and the dependents of the deceased. In practice, however, there has been an increasing tendency for the relatives of the deceased husband to plunder the estate of the deceased and evict the widow(s), often leaving her or them destitute (Stewart 1992; Moyo 1995).

The practice of resettlement stands being given to widows of deceased permit holders is well-known in the study site. Both men and women are aware of it, and expect it to be the practice in their own households.[12] On the issue of rights to the fields, all female respondents said that a widow will have the right to plough in the fields: "she will do what she wants

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[12]. Women and Men's Schedules, II. 7.

on the use of fields because they will now be hers" (1.18f);
"it will belong to her and change the name from his to
hers"(3.31f). The responses of males are mostly basically the
same, reflecting the widow's control of the land. For example:

"she will have control over the land" (3.21m)

"she takes on from where the husband has left in
looking after the children; she would be the one
responsible for the ploughing of the fields" (3.7m)

"she will have the power to rule the stand" (4.2m).

However, some men retain more of the flavour of traditional

practice in their answers:

"the widow looks after the children, that is if no
one has inherited her; some who might be young go
back to their parents; widows control everything
with the help of the eldest son" (1.34m)

"she stays there; she acts as the husband has been
and she can be helped by the eldest son" (2.44m)

"she stays behind looking after the children; if
she is young she can go to her parents place if she
does not want to be inherited; if she is old then
she stays behind controlling the ploughing of the
fields" (2.35m)

"if she has got three or more children then she
stays with the children while if she has got only
one child she can go if she wants; she takes on the
services of her husband until the eldest son is
mature enough to look after the family" (3.47m)

"when the husband dies the eldest son looks after
the family with the help of the mother; she can
share the fields with her sons or tell which crops
to plough" (4.4m).

The gender difference in perspective seems to suggest
that men are more attached to the traditional practices that
see a widow's rights as mediated through the eldest son or a
brother of the deceased, than are women. The same difference,

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although less strongly stated, appears in the responses regarding the widow's right to stay at the homestead. All of the women said that the widow has the right to remain, making statements like the following:

> "she will be acting as a father so that some people cannot see the difference because she is the one left at home" (1.33f)

> "the home will be hers because she has the control over everything" (1.18f)

> "she will live with the children; if the brother of the deceased comes talking nonsense she will talk to the Resettlement Officer" (2.15f).

The dominant theme in men's responses is the same:

> "she will be the leader of the family" (1.24m)

> "she would stay at her home freely managing the family" (4.2m)

> "she deserves the right to rule the family and decide how to run it" (3.38m).

But some men's responses show their view that the eldest son, or one of their brothers will have a say:

> "she will be the head of the family; she will at times be helped by her elder son to run the family" (2.25m)

> "the eldest son looks after the family" (2.44m)

> "she is helped by the elder brother of the deceased or the younger brother" (2.35m).

A similar gender gap in perception was found in responses to a similar question on the Household Schedule (N=57).[13] Seventy-

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[13]. Household Schedule, II. 7. Two responses are excluded here: one male response as it was given by a group of sons rather than the household head (widow), and one female response as it was given by the grandmother rather than the settler generation.

one per cent of women said land would be "inherited" by the widow, while only 54% of men said this would happen. Only two female respondents said that the widow and the son would take over together, and two said that only the son would take over. By contrast, three men said that the widow and son would "inherit", and eight said only the son would take over. These responses indicate that while the government policy of allowing widows to remain on the stands is widely practiced and accepted in the study site, the issue appears to be somewhat conflictual. Given the differential power of men in the family and the culture, it is unlikely that customary practice could be changed without the intervention of the state. It also appears that the granting of widows succession rights in resettlement influences inheritance practices regarding moveable property, such as furniture, and decreases the pressure for widows to marry a brother of the deceased. All twenty women interviewed with the Women's Schedule said that the widow has the right to all furniture and dishes in the homestead, except for the dead husband's clothes which should be shared among his relatives.[14] Most men interviewed said basically the same thing, although they place more emphasis on the use of household contents for the benefit of family rather than the widow per se.[15] When asked whether any of these practices differed from their former homes, most men

[14]. Women's Schedule, II. 7 (e).

[15]. Men's Schedule, II. 7 (e).

and women said the practices were basically the same. However a significant number (30% of the women and 25% of the men) said the practices were different. They referred mainly to the practice of widow inheritance, but also to a practice of the property being shared out among the husband's relatives. For example:

Some women's voices:

"It is different because in the Communal Areas they share the property among the husband's relatives; if the wife refused to marry inlaws they just leave her because it depends on the age" (2.23f)

"It is different because at our Communal Areas you are forced to be remarried; they will be jealous if you take another husband who is not the brother of the deceased; here it is our land, the two of us, so I remain here; no one will come and give me rules" (2.15f)

"There is a difference because in the Communal Areas if the husband is gone the relatives of the man then send back the woman to her parents and they take over the place and property" (2.19f)

"It is different because here you cannot be chased away but to our previous homes you will be chased away if you refuse to be remarried by the other brother; they say here is perfect because the Resettlement Officer will be on their (widows') side" (3.31f).

Some men's voices:

"It is different because in Communal Areas you are forced to be remarried to the brother of the deceased because you will be in their homestead, but here in the resettlement, it's our land as two of us, no brother, no sister, so we do what we want" (2.12m)

"It is not the same because here our land is controlled by the government so we use rules that are imposed by them whereas in Communal Areas they use rules that were made by the forefathers"

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(4.3m).

While the dominant pattern in resettlement appears to be to allow widows to remain, in some cases, an individual Resettlement Officer may disagree with this practice, or allow himself to be persuaded by relatives to allow a more "traditional" course of action, such as the plot going to a male relative of the deceased (such as a brother), or directly to the male heir (usually a son of the deceased) (Rukuni 1994; Chenaux-Repond 1993). In my own study, the Resettlement Officer stated that disputes over succession to the resettlement plot were among the major conflicts he had to deal with.[16] He said that relatives of the deceased often want to base succession on customary law of inheritance and have a brother of the deceased take over. But according to the Resettlement Officer, this is not appropriate anymore, and they always refuse and award the plot to the spouse. Sometimes, however, the Resettlement Office fails in enforcing this policy. In one of the villages on the scheme, a male relative of a deceased permit holder came as a "caretaker" to the stand of the widow while she was still in mourning. The relative then refused to leave, even when the matter was reported to the Resettlement Office and the District Administrator's office. The current Resettlement Officer, who came in 1994, inherited the problem. He has written a letter

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[16]. Interview with Resettlement Officer, July 17 1996: Schedule 1. 4.

of support for the widow, and the matter has been reported to the police. Meanwhile the widow is homeless, unable to return to the stand as a son of the "caretaker" has threatened her with an ax. The "caretaker" has even claimed free fertilizer designated to the widow.[17]

Hence, while widows have tended to be allowed to succeed to the permits, they have no official written right to do this. They are vulnerable to the decision of the Resettlement Officer, who may find in favour of the deceased's relatives. It may also occur that while a widow succeeds to the permit, property such as cattle, agricultural implements and bank accounts are taken by her husband's relatives. Hence, while she may retain access to land and a homestead, she may lose the means with which to farm productively (Chenaux-Repond (ed) 1996: 14). Furthermore, the adoption of the Land Tenure Commissions (1994) recommendations for a change to long term leases with option to purchase after ten years, is set to seriously undermine this advantage, however insecure, that widows have had in resettlement. With a shift to title deeds, the Commission recommends the application of Common Law of inheritance. While Common Law strengthens the rights of the surviving spouse and children vis-a-vis the husband's relatives (Stewart 1992), women in resettlement do not see

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[17]. Informal talk with Resettlement Officer, October 12 1995. Field Notes II, p. 3.

this as providing enough security in inheritance rights.[18] In
their view, the deed, permit or lease should **automatically** go
to the surviving spouse without contestation. This would be
facilitated by the issuing of joint permits, leases or title
deeds (Chenaux-Repond (ed) 1996).

Married Women and the Permit System: Loss of access to the economic resource of land?

Allocating permits to unmarried women in their own right
is undoubtedly an advance for women in terms of gaining land
rights. The prevailing situation for women who become widows
on resettlement is also clearly an improvement for women.
However, the vast majority of women in resettlement are
married. In this case, the norm has been to issue the
resettlement permits in the name of the husband only. There
are three basic reasons behind this policy: government views
the husband as the head of the household, the man as the
breadwinner in the family, and that traditionally, only men
have been given primary land-use rights (Chenaux-Repond
1993).[19] Interestingly, while both men and women in Chenaux-
Repond's study agree with the first and last statements, both
men and women tend to acknowledge women's equal role in the

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[18]. "Apply common law on inheritance to minimize
conflicts" The Herald August 14, 1995: 7.

"Inheritance issue not clear for women farmers" The
Herald December 1, 1995.

[19]. As the District Administrator puts it: "Ministers do
not want to change culture" (February 18 1997).

production of income in the household, and hence the idea of the "male breadwinner" is misplaced. Allocating permits only in the husband's name means that only the husband has official primary land-use rights. Married women's access to land is thus mediated through the institution of marriage. The nature of this mediation is discussed in detail in the next chapter. But first I consider how the permit system means that women who are divorced by their husbands in resettlement are particularly vulnerable to losing their rights to land.

Divorced women and the permit system: no rights.

All studies have found that a woman who is divorced by a male permit holder must leave the resettlement scheme. Since a wife's name does not appear on the permit, she has no official claim to the plot, and usually has no choice but to return to her natal home. This was also found in my study site.[20] With two exceptions, all respondents, male and female, said a divorced woman must leave the scheme and return to her home. This also means leaving her children, who in Shona custom are constructed as belonging to the husband. Of the two exceptions, one woman said that the woman would stay on the scheme with the children, while the husband would go back to his home. The other woman said that her first choice would be that her husband would build her another hut, as she would not want to leave her children. If he would not do this, however, she would have no choice but to leave.

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[20]. Women and Men's Schedules, II. 6. (N=40)

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In marriage, Shona culture contains a clearly gendered construction of property ownership. Much of the most valuable household property, such as agricultural implements, furniture, cattle and the buildings on the homestead are constructed as belonging to the husband. The wife is said to own the kitchen utensils, property she has worked for over and above her duties to her husband's land and domestic work,[21] and any property given to her as result of her status as a mother. This latter, known as _umai_ property, is property a woman has obtained through a marriage or pregnancy of a daughter. For example, it is customary in some places for mothers to receive a suit of clothes from a new son-in-law, a head of cattle (_mombe youmai_), and possibly payments in cash, although these latter would always be very small compared to the cash paid as _lobola_ (bride price, or marriage consideration), paid to the father of the bride. Upon divorce, a wife is entitled to take all such property with her. This includes any "women's crops".[22] In my case study, this pattern dominates:

> "the woman takes the groundnuts with her because they belong to her" (2.35m)

> "the woman takes all her things, even the grains, leaving the man with his share on the place"

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[21]. This is known as _maoko_ property, literally "property of the hands" (Chenaux-Repond 1993). This explains the popularity among Shona women of handicraft production such as crochet work, basket making or pot making, as they are entitled to exclusive control of income from these ventures. Of course, some husbands may bully wives out of such income.

[22]. "Women's crops" and other female-controlled property and resources are discussed in more detail in Chapter Six.

(3.47m)

> "the woman moves out and takes all her belongings including the crops (harvest); the man stays behind" (4.3m)

> "the household utensils belong to the mother, the cattle and children belong to the father; father stays and mother goes to her original home" (4.3f).[23]

From discussions with the women's groups in the PRA exercises, fairly high rates of divorce prevail in the study site, serial monogamy apparently being preferred by men over polygyny. This reveals the precariousness of women's relationship to land in resettlement, as well as their lack of rights in regards to many household assets that their labour has contributed to obtaining. With no automatic access to a resettlement stand of her own, the divorced wife holds the most disadvantaged position in the permit system.[24]

In order to discuss the relationship of married women to land in resettlement, it is important to examine more broadly the nature of marriage and the household. As this is such a large topic, I begin a new chapter.

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[23]. Selected sample of responses to Women and Men's Schedule, II. 6.

[24]. A married woman has similar vulnerability in the case of eviction. A permit holder may be evicted for failure to comply to resettlement rules, or unacceptable social behaviour. Since wives have resettlement rights only through their husbands, she is forced to leave the scheme if her husband is evicted, even if she has no part in the cause for eviction (Chimedza 1988).

CHAPTER SIX

Locating Women's Power in a Resettlement Context
PART TWO: Marriage, Crops and Money

Turning now to the situation of married women in resettlement, it is important to look at gender dynamics in married households in order to understand women's relationship to land.

Marriage, households and gender dynamics.

Theories of the Household: Opening up the "Black Box"

Feminist theorists have built a concept of the household that rejects the mainstream liberal, neo-classical or "New Home Economics" view of the household as a "utility maximizing unit motivated by stable, uniform preferences but constrained by pooled economic resources" (Fapohunda 1988: 143). The New Home Economics view understands the sexual division of labour in the family as "efficient", with women having a "natural" advantage in child rearing and domestic work (Stichter 1990: 30-31). Income is understood as "pooled" and shared fairly among all family members. The household is an altruistic unit, with shared aspirations and goals among its members (Guyer 1988; Folbre 1988).

In refutation of this construction of the household, feminists have cited cross-cultural evidence that suggests that households tend to be non-pooling and gender-specific expenditure is widespread. Women and men often hide their income and spend it on different things (Fapohunda 1988: 147-

150). Furthermore, rather than a harmonious unit of shared interests, the household is better understood as a site of struggle and competing interests, where individuals have different degrees of power determined by sex, age, and economic resources (Stichter 1990). Also important is the power attained through **perceived** interests and contributions (Katz 1991; Sen 1990). Socially sanctioned "entitlements" to resource shares also play a role in household allocations. As an integral part of childhood socialization, entitlement systems are powerful ideological forces that can justify extreme inequality of resource allocation such as in under feeding, poor education and negligent health care of women and girls (Papanek 1990).

These insights are not adequately dealt with by bargaining models that seek to revise New Household Economics by including a model of inter-household conflict.[1] Bargaining models fail to capture the importance of ideology in sanctioning the differential valuing of household members' contributions in ways that usually give men and elders greater power in the household regardless of the actual material inputs such as income, other economic resources or labour (Katz 1991; Sen 1990).

In addition, the implicit assumption that the household is a unit of reproduction and consumption as opposed to

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[1]. Bargaining models are discussed in Katz 1991, pages 40-42.

production has been problematized. In most third world contexts, households are involved in some degree of production of goods and services, whether it be agricultural or commodity production (Brydon and Chant 1989: 12; Chow and Berheide 1994: 16-17). The degree of household involvement and the division of labour in that production will affect the participation of family members, including children, in income generating activities, and the use and control of any income available to the household. For example, in Sub-Saharan Africa, women's high degree of responsibility for subsistence farming and food provision for children limits their involvement in income generating activities, and reduces the likelihood of male income benefiting the family as a whole.[2]

Finally, the notion of the household as a unit must be expanded from the nuclear family to include a broader network of kin and community relationships that may contribute to the livelihood of the actual residents of a given physical space. Family forms such as female-headed and polygamous households, also vary widely from the implicit Western nuclear family model, as do seasonal fluctuations in household composition

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[2]. That is, gender-specific responsibilities where women are primarily responsible for the basic needs of the family provide a social context in which men feel justified in spending a great deal of their income on themselves (see for example Murray 1981 on Lesotho and Pankhurst and Jacobs 1988 on Zimbabwe).

and economic strategies.[3]

It has already been mentioned that in the Zimbabwean context, the nature of peasant households has been profoundly shaped by the history of male migrancy and female subsistence farming. At a more micro level, rural households are characterized by gendered control of economic assets, including income, as well as gendered economic responsibilities. One of the harshest aspects of this dynamic for women, is that they often have economic responsibilities, such as to feed their children, but are denied access to the means to achieve this by their husbands. Men control most income, whether it be their own wages, or the money made through their wives' agricultural labour. The story of a rash of suicides by women farmers following a bumper harvest in 1996 makes this point. On receipt of a large lump sum of money from the sale of grain, many husbands reportedly disappear for several weeks of debauchery, returning home penniless. I quote at length from the local press on the story:

> Statistics from Karoi Police and hospitals in the district indicate that the joy of bumper harvest is frequently marred by suicides. Many husbands fall to the temptations of having a nice time on money earned from crops sales. The situation is sometimes so bad that some husbands squander thousands of dollars at growth points and rural service centres and return home with nothing to show for the family's toil.
> The result... was that scores of frustrated wives committed suicide. In some cases the husbands themselves also committed suicide after realising

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[3]. Eloise Murray, University of Alberta, editorial comment.

their folly...

>...a woman farmer from Magunje said the behaviour of many husbands after harvest was frustrating. She cited a case where a certain farmer earned about $8000. He went to cash his cheque in Karoi but did not come back home for the next five weeks.
>
>The wife was worried and made a lot of effort to find her husband but without success. She was later told that her husband was staying with a certain woman in Karoi. She located the woman but the husband beat up his wife and told her to go back home and wait for him.
>
>The woman went back home without a cent and when the husband eventually came, he had squandered all the money. The family had no money for children's clothes and there was no capital to buy inputs for the next rainy season. The wife was so frustrated that she hanged herself and such cases are very common in this district.[4]

In a response to this story, government issued a statement through the Minister of National Affairs, Employment Creation and Co-operatives,[5] Tenjiwe Lesabe, expressing dismay that women are sidelined in household decisions, particularly in the case of income earned through their own labour:

>We must not tolerate these shameful acts of squandering the family's income. Harvest proceeds must be used within the family to buy food and other necessities. It must not be left up to wives/mothers only to think about family needs; it is indeed impossible for them to do so after fathers squander family resources...
>...Because women are the major contributors to agricultural production... it only stands to reason that they should participate as such in agricultural decision-making.[6]

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[4]. "Bumper harvest triggers fear of suicides" The Sunday Mail June 2 1996: 1.

[5]. The ministry charged with the task of advancing the position of women.

[6]. "Spate of women suicides over harvests worry State" The Sunday Mail June 16 1996.

The Minister encouraged women farmers to register their own marketing cards, so cheques would come in their names, and to open their own bank accounts. She also supported the need for women to have primary access to land, and for changes in inheritance laws to improve women's position.

The prevailing dynamic in rural areas them, is of male control of most income, including income derived from the agricultural efforts of his wife. Gender ideology grants male entitlement, above and beyond male contribution. Women, on the other hand, are cast as responsible for the providing basic necessities for the family, especially food,but are often denied access to the means with which to do this. See Figure 6.1, a pictorial representation of this dynamic in the local press. Although this depiction is of an urban household, it shows the same dynamic. The woman asks her employed husband for money to buy the basic foodstuff, mealie meal. He responds that she is lazy and should do some income generation like other women. Meanwhile he sits at ease beside his stereo, drinking his eleventh beer. The cost of eleven beers is equivalent to about twenty kilograms of mealie meal, about enough for a family of four for a month.

Some scholars have found that women in Communal Areas often devise secretive means to remove labour and resources from the realm of the household and patriarchal control, "in order to meet their needs and those of their children for cash income" (Pankhurst and Jacobs 1988: 212). The household, in

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this context, is clearly not a "utility maximizes unit", wherein resources are pooled and shared equally. Rather, the household is a productive location for men to extract and control resources and income. The productive activity required to sustain the wife and children often goes on **outside** the household. Hence, even the concept of the household as an **economic** unit needs to be questioned in this context. While some men may use income and resources for the benefit of their families, it appears that it is more often the case that men use their power to the detriment of their wives and children, who survive in spite of their membership in a household, not because of it.

These gender dynamics of households are underpinned by patri-local customs and marriage practices. In Shona marriage, a man gains rights to a woman's reproductive and productive labour through the payment of <u>lobola</u> or marriage consideration to the woman's patriarchal kin. Traditionally, this payment conferred status on the wife among her own kin, and indicates the husband's family's gratitude and respect for the new wife (Bourdillon 1987; Weinrich 1979). Traditionally, a Shona marriage was a relationship between two family groups, more than between two individuals. As such, the marriage consideration, customarily made up of cattle, was drawn from the groom's father's herd, and given to the bride's father. In turn, these cattle would often be used for the marriages of the bride's brothers, giving her status among her own kin. In

her married home, a bride has low status, being expected to do unpopular work for her mother-in-law and sisters-in-law. However, as she bears children she gains status and has rights to fair treatment and the option to return to her natal home if mistreated or sexually unsatisfied (Bourdillon 1987).

In modern times, the payment of lobola is predominantly a cash payment, and grooms are expected to earn the amount themselves through wage employment. The payment is made to the bride's father, who increasingly views it as personal income, rather than a fund to aid his own sons' marriages. Hence, marriage has become less a contract between two families, and more about transferring male control of women from the father to the husband. As such, lobola confers less status on the bride. In fact, it is increasingly seen as deepening female dependency on a husband's goodwill, justifying a husband's unquestionable authority in the family in terms of decision making, control of resources, and right to use violence to discipline wives and children (Weinrich 1979).

Women's spheres of control of resources and property.

Within this context of the supremacy of the husband, however, there are spheres of female autonomy and access and control of important resources. These include the traditional practice of husbands allocating his wife or wives a field of their own from his own larger allocation, certain property that is said to belong to the wife, including some cattle, and income that a wife makes through her own industry over and

above the work she does for her husband in his fields.

The wife's field, known as _tseu_, is customarily controlled by the wife. She normally grows important supplementary foods such as peanuts, beans or sweet potatoes, both for home consumption, and in the case of surplus, for sale in this field. Women have customarily also cultivated gardens in riverine and wetland areas, which are normally under their exclusive control. In a context where the bulk of household resources and income are under exclusive male control, while women are often responsible for supplying key family needs, women's access and control to resources and income respected as belonging to them is crucial. Historically, the practices of allocating _tseu_, and garden cultivation have been eroded by of increased land pressure in African areas, and the land use controls implemented as result of the Native Land Husbandry Act (NLHA) of 1951. The Act banned cultivation in areas where women often had their gardens, such as streambanks and wetlands, and formalized individual rights to arable land in the name of male household heads (Bourdillon 1987; Moyo 1995). Currently, in Communal Lands at least one researcher has found that not all women have access to the traditional _tseu_ (Chimedza 1988). This is related to lack of enough land, as well as a household preference to devote all available land to lucrative cash crops which fall under male control.

Granting wives fields in resettlement.

In resettlement, it is left to the discretion of the husband whether or not he allocates portions to his wife or wives. Chenaux-Repond found that most men and women in her study agree that giving wives fields is traditional. Of the sample, 95% of the married women said that having their own field is very important, particularly because it would provide them with income that they would control with which to buy things such as groceries, kitchen utensils, clothes and furniture. However, only 60% of monogamously and 67% of polygynously married women had been granted a field by their husbands.[7] Of those who had not, some had asked and been refused, while others had not bothered, a few because they intercropped their own crops in the husband's fields, but mostly because they knew they would be refused. The husband was intent on utilizing all fields to maximum cash cropping capacity (Chenaux-Repond 1993). In this case, the new situation of relative land wealth in resettlement has not guaranteed women's access to the traditional tseu. Chenaux-Repond makes the point that the permit system, which tends to give formal primary land use rights to married men, and no formal rights to their wives, supports the desire of a large proportion of men to sidestep the custom of allocating fields

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[7]. In the case of polygynously married wives, the granting of a field is not necessarily an advantage, as in some cases the husband excused himself from any additional contribution to her or her children, in spite of her labour on his own fields (Chenaux-Repond 1993).

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to wives. Section 5 of the permit to cultivate stipulates:

> The holding shall be used solely for agricultural
> purposes, for the holder's exclusive benefit, and
> shall not be subdivided.

In her sample, men who did not allocate fields to wives made mention of the rule against subdivision, and that the fields were meant for their use only. While the wording of the permit was never intended to prevent men from allocating their wives fields, it is clear that it has provided justification for some men inclined to deny this to their wives.

Another study of a small sample of wives in resettlement found that most wives were allocated fields by their husbands (Chimedza 1988). Chimedza also points out that age is an important factor in the allocation of tseu, with older wives being more likely to have a field, along with greater decision making power in the family. Chimedza also found that not all women in her sample of Communal Area wives, were allotted special fields for their own crops. This was attributable to land shortage in this context, but also perhaps to the preference to grow more lucrative cash crops (Chimedza 1988). In Jacob's study, she concluded that resettlement wives were not less, and perhaps a bit more likely to be allocated a field (Jacobs 1991). However, her figure of 37% of married women being allocated fields is very low compared to other findings.

Although the question of whether or not a wife is allocated a field is important in ascertaining her economic

status, ending the enquiry at this point may miss some aspects

of women's access to agricultural produce. In my own study, in

a selective sample of twenty women and twenty men (all

representing different households), about 65% said that wives

were allocated a field or fields by their husbands.[8] This

figure is very close to the 60% found by Chenaux-Repond's

sample. There is also some indication that some husbands have

demoted their wives from the position of principle farmer, to

the status of labourer. As one woman says:

> Wives are treated differently because some women
> they are not given the land or field to do whatever
> she wants; and the husband is the boss every time
> he shouts to the wife to wake up early to go to the
> field; after hard work the woman will come and work
> again at home; at Communal Areas the fields are
> smaller and the work is easier no matter the man is
> strict; here in resettlement we have more quarrels
> because we stay together, rather than in Communal
> Areas they have more love when the husband comes
> home from work <ie from town> because he just
> supervises and the woman is in charge.[9]

Hence I agree with Chenaux-Repond that the formal allocation

of primary land rights to married men through the permit

system can interfere with women's customary secondary rights

to arable land, whether or not these rights are also being

eroded by the economic incentive to grow more cash crops. The

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[8]. Women's and Men's Schedules, II. 1. However, the
Agritex worker holds the view that most men in the area
allocate one or two acres to their wives, although a few farm
the whole twelve acres together with their wives (Interviews
with Agritex worker, July 10 1996 and August 25 1996. Schedule
1. 7, and Schedule II, 2).

[9]. Woman from Village 2 (2.15). Answer to Women's
Schedule, III. 2.

permit system also buttresses patriarchal control in the family by investing the husband with the only formal rights to land. However, I do not agree that the permit system necessarily decreases women's access to subsistence foods and income through crop production. I suggest that it is important to dig deeper into the gender relations of crop production to ascertain whether or not this is true. Power and control not only reside in who has the stated right to a piece of land, but also who is said to control particular crops.

Gender relations of crop production: Men's Crops/Women's Crops [10]

Of the same sample of 40 households, all households said they grew maize and groundnuts (peanuts). Most grew rapoko (35 households), roundnuts (33 households), sunflower (29 households), and beans (28 households). Other crops mentioned, but grown by fewer than ten households in the sample, were sorghum, cow peas, rice, and sweet potatoes. Of these major crops, some are thought to be "men's crops" and some "women's crops". This designation may or may not correspond with decisions made about the planting of the crop. Different crops have different use and cash values in the household. Maize is the major crop, providing the staple food and the biggest income. Groundnuts, roundnuts, rapoko and beans are important household consumption foods, but surpluses are often sold. Table 6.1 shows data on gender relations in the six major

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[10]. Women's and Men's Schedules, II. 2-4.

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crops. Women and men's views are disaggregated, revealing important gender splits in perceptions.

Table 6.1. Gender Relations in Major Cropping Practices

CROP	Who decides what, where and when to plant?	Men's Crop	Women's Crop	Both	Family
MAIZE	Women say (n=20): men (70%); joint (25%); widow (5%)	90%	Widow (5%)	5%	
	Men say (n=20): men (70%); joint (25%); we both decide on our own crops (5%)[11]	55%		25%	20%
GROUNDNUTS	Women say (n=20): men (55%); joint (25%); woman (15%); widow (5%)		95%	5%	
	Men say (n=20): men (10%); women (55%); joint (30%); 5%+		95%	5%	
RAPOKO	Women say (n=18): men (61%); joint (28%); women (11%)	67%	11%[12]	22%	
	Men say (n=17): men (65%); joint (35%)	59%	5.5%	11.5%	24%

[11]. This 5% relates to one male respondent who followed an unusual practice in field allocation and cropping. He allotted his wife one quarter of the total 5 hectares, keeping the rest for himself. On their respective portions, they both farm a large variety of crops, each making their own decisions about them, and controlling the income therefrom.

[12]. Includes the widow and one other woman.

Table 6.1 Continued.

CROP	Who decides what, where and when to plant?	Men's Crop	Women's Crop	Both	Family
ROUNDNUTS	Women say (n=20): men (50%); joint (20%); women (30%)	10%	80% widow (5%)	5%	
	Men say (n=14): men (14%); joint (14%); women (64%); 8%+		93%	7%	
SUNFLOWER	Women say (n=14): men (79%); joint (14%); widow (7%)	71%	7% widow (7%)	14%*	
	Men say (n=16): men (63%); joint (31%); 6%+	69%		13%	18%
BEANS	Women say (n=17): men (53%); joint (23.5%); women (23.5%)	41%	35% widow (6%)	18%	
	Men say (n=12): men (33%); joint (50%); women (8%); 8%+	25%	8%	33%	33%*

+See note #11.
*These lines add up to 99%, due to rounding.

The data in Table 6.1 can be further contextualized by adding information from the group interviews which examined gendered power and control.[13] In these interviews, it emerged that the dominant practice in the area is for women to control

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[13]. Gender Schedule. This schedule was used to interview nine gender segregated groups, five men's and four women's groups, with a total of approximately 70 participants.

income from what are called "women's crops", while in the case of "men's crops", decisions about income are either taken by the man, or as a process of discussion with his wife, where the man has the final say but the wife must be given a voice. From this, then, it ca be argued that a woman's lack of designated field or fields of her own does not necessarily mean lack of access to agricultural income from women's crops. Only 65% of the sample (including both women and men) said that wives were allocated fields, while 100% say they grow groundnuts, which are in 95% of the cases said to be the `woman's crop'. Roundnuts are also grown by most households in the sample, and again are designated mostly as a `woman's crop'. These findings support Chimedza's view that formal access to land is less crucial to women than the control over the produce of the land (Chimedza 1988). In her study, she found that many `women's crops' were intercropped with maize, so that where maize is the dominant crop, male control of fields many not hinder women's access to "women's crops" (Ibid).

In my case study then, the permit system in resettlement which gives married men exclusive primary rights to all arable land has not necessarily decreased married women's access and control to produce from the land. Rather, the large increase of the size of arable land available to the household has led to an improvement in married women's opportunities to earn and control their own income, in spite of the fact that a large

minority of women do not seem to be allocated the traditional women's fields (tseu). Most men and women in the sample of forty households said that the gendered cropping practices they currently use are the same that they practiced in their former homes in the Reserves.[14] However the comments of a number of respondents indicate that the increased size of the fields in resettlement has meant that they are now able to grow a greater number of crops, with distinct advantages for women, as many of these are "women's crops":

> "it differs because in Communal Areas the land was small compared to resettlement that is why we have more crops" (2.12m)

> "yes, it's different because we now all want to plant different types of crops so we share the fields so that the two of us have enough land to plough what we want differently" (3.47m)

> "yes, it's different, because here we have got enough land to grow our crops, crops for mother and father" (4.2m)

> "it is different because now we have more land; long back we didn't have enough land to plant all the crops" (2.15f).

Further, when asked whether their situation as a woman has improved in any way since coming to resettlement, the majority of respondents mention having access to more income from more crops as a reason that their lives are better.[15] Hence, while women are still confined to an inferior position in regards to access to the main productive resource of arable land, they

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[14]. Men's and Women's Schedules, II. 5.

[15]. Women's Schedule, III. 1.

are better able to meet their goals of providing nutritious foods for their families, plus produce a surplus for sale which avails them of cash that they generally exclusively control.

These findings suggest that while the overall structural conditions created by the permit system in resettlement are important in determining women's situation vis-a-vis the land, it can not be assumed that lack of formal rights to land means that women do not control any part of the produce of their agricultural labour. The important factor of what produce from the land women actually control can only be determined by looking in more detail at the gendered power involved in crop production. Finding ways to enhance women's production of "women's crops" may be as important as establishing formal primary rights to land for women. Nevertheless, it remains clear that giving formal land-use rights only to the man in a married household, increases a wife's vulnerability to losing control over produce from the land. Wives are dependent on a husband's goodwill and prevailing cultural norms in the area. They have no guaranteed rights to land. At a recent conference,[16] women farmers expressed concern that the Land Tenure Commission's recommendations to change from permit system to long term leases, do nothing to change this insecurity. If the husband's name stands alone on the lease or

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[16]. Organized by Chenaux-Repond, and supported by all of Zimbabwe's major women's organizations and some human rights organizations.

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title deed, nothing changes for the wife. Only jointly issued permits, leases, or title deeds will increase women's land security in resettlement areas (Chenaux-Repond (ed) 1996: 24).

Women's cattle.

The permit system has been found to jeopardize women's traditional right to keep cattle.[17] Like the permit to cultivate, the permit to despasture stock normally bears the name of the husband in the case of married permit holders. Any stock that women have, therefore, must be incorporated into the total allowed to the permit holder. Chenaux-Repond found that only 20% of wives in her study owned cattle, and 27% owned goats. Men permit holders said that they intended to ask wives to send stock to their parents in the Communal Areas if their own stock reached the permit limit (Chenaux-Repond 1993). In my own site, this is also the likely pattern.[18]

In my own study, I did not gather information on women's ownership of cattle. Men dominate in the buying and selling of cattle,[19] but women are entering commercial cattle raising in their own right in the area. Cattle rearing is not only a means of wealth accumulation in the area, but also a deliberate income generating activity. Private buyers and the

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[17]. While most cattle are owned by men, women traditionally receive a cow on the marriage of a daughter. Women may also inherit cattle from their own mother or other female relatives. These cattle may be increased through breeding.

[18]. Resettlement Officer, February 19 1997.

[19]. Gender Division of Labour Schedule.

Cold Storage Commission[20] carry out local auctions where farmers can sell beasts on the spot for cash. A large beast can fetch as much as $3000, or the equivalent of five or more months pay at a low skilled job in town. The Agritex worker offers technical information on feed, dosing and preferred breeds for fattening. A donor agency, Christian Care, has initiated some group cattle feeding projects. One of these groups is made up of fifteen women, who have sold about fifteen beasts as of mid-1996. Men tend to feed individually, while there are few women doing this.[21] Although women have customarily kept a small number of cattle, their involvement in cattle rearing as an income-generating activity marks a change in their conventional sources of income. This change has been encouraged by outside interventions of a donor, as well as by a state representative, the Agritex worker. As in the case of the succession to stands by widows, and other issues to be mentioned below, the role of the state is key in promoting changes to local practices that benefit women.

Other projects undertaken by women

Many women in the area have **gardens**, usually located in wetlands, river banks, or in one village because of piped water, at the homestead. While some of these produce only for domestic use, many gardens produce a surplus which is sold to

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[20]. The central meat board of the country.

[21]. Interview with Agritex worker, July 10 1996, Schedule I. 8.

other villagers, to teachers, to people in neighbouring Communal Areas, or at markets in the nearby town centres of Wedza or Marondera.[22] Men as well and women and children are involved in the building of gardens. Further, men may help in the care of gardens, such as in watering, spraying chemicals and digging beds, although women and children are primarily responsible for the upkeep.[23] Despite this male labour, the income from selling garden produce is strictly defined as belonging to women.[24] Although the income is small compared to that available to men through cattle and crop sales, it is important to note the strength of the respect, from both men's and women's perspectives, that is accorded to women's right to this income.[25]

A majority of the women interviewed with the Household Schedule operate **income generating projects** of some kind. This

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[22]. Participatory Rural Appraisal data: Commercialization of Natural Resources; Tenure Schedule.

[23]. Gender Division of Labour Schedule.

[24]. Moore (1993: 395) also found this to be the case with women's cultivation of tsenza (an edible tuber) in Kaerezi Resettlement Area in Nyanga District. While men may help with ploughing the area for this crop, this in no way diminishes women's exclusive claim to the crop.

[25]. Gender Division of Labour Schedule; Tenure Schedule. Of the 40 households interviewed with the Tenure Schedule, 32 had market gardens operated by women. Of these, 25 respondents said the income from the garden was completely controlled by the woman, while 5 said there was joint control, and 2 said the man controls the income. Mostly it is the woman who does the selling
as well, although in one case where the man does the actual selling, the woman's control of the income persists.

includes gardens, but women also mentioned poultry feeding, sewing and pottery making.[26] As _maoko_ property, the proceeds belong to the woman.

Women's Groups

Women are often involved in income generation or savings activities as a **group**. Of the twenty women asked the question, only two did not belong to a women's group, and this only because they had not been there long enough.[27]

Women working in groups to generate income were also popular in colonial times. The Federation of African Women's Clubs, begun in the 1940s by European wives to spread domestic skills such as sewing, proper hygiene and "wifely propriety" among African wives in rural areas, the clubs spread rapidly in the 1960s and 1970s when the Rhodesian government turned to a "community development" strategy in the African Reserves, after the failure of the Native Land Husbandry Act (1951) to improve peasant agriculture. With the spread of the clubs, their nature changed as women rapidly turned the "domestic" skills to income generation, and also pushed to change the clubs to focus on adult education, literacy and leadership skills (Ranchod-Nilsson 1992).

Many women are involved in **savings clubs**, wherein each member contributes a set amount per week or per month and the

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[26]. Household Schedule, IV. C.6.

[27]. Women's Schedule, I. 1-6.

members take turns having the pot of money. Some of these clubs are national in membership, such as the "Self Help Development Group" started by the new wife of the President, Grace Mugabe. A joining fee goes to a provincial leader who then operates a rotating savings scheme. Women also mention cattle fattening as a group activity, poultry and pig fattening, sewing and cooperative gardening.[28] Women have also formed their own farming cooperatives, wherein they pool money in order to buy inputs in bulk and/or to "help each other with farming" in other ways. In one village, a woman explained how a group of women had formed a farming cooperative recently, "when they split from the men's farming union". With twelve members, the women "get money from selling their crops and bank some of the money" (4.4f).[29] Clearly, women find working as a group beneficial to their interests, the fruits of which carry the protection of being maoko property, and the added protection of being carried out outside the confines of the household.

Jacobs also found women's clubs to be important in her study of women in resettlement (Jacobs 1991). Nearly all villages in her study had established women's clubs. The predominant function of these clubs was to foster women's income generating projects, although in many cases, the clubs also served as a forum for women to discuss personal problems,

[28]. Includes responses to Household Schedule, III. 22.

[29]. Women's Schedule, I. 1-6.

such as relations with their husbands. In my study, this aspect of clubs was not explored, although it was discovered that in mid 1996, women in the area were beginning to join a chapter of the Women's Action Group (WAG). WAG was formed in the early 1980s as a feminist activist group committed to legal change, women's land rights, and fighting violence against women. While their head office is in Harare where they have a resource centre and publish a bi-monthly magazine,[30] their membership is predominantly rural. Members receive the magazine, plus other written information concerning women's health, women's legal status and rights, violence against women and children, and ways to resist "traditional" practices seen as oppressive to women such as wife inheritance. In the study site, leaders of the local WAG group said that WAG was "spreading like wildfire". They displayed their literature and explained how they held discussion groups on topics such as inheritance, the importance of having a registered marriage to protect a woman when widowed or divorced, non-sexist child rearing practices such as teaching both girls and boys domestic chores and granting daughters equal opportunities in education, and the importance of generating one's own income to be independent of one's husband and hence promote harmony in the household. They also discuss the need to change marriage traditions, such as abolishing lobola, and the need to form "Men's Action Groups" to raise awareness in men of the

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[30]. Speak Out/Taurai/Khulumani.

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need for these changes. Leaders of local chapters are invited to large workshops such as one held in 1996 at the University of Zimbabwe, to meet with leaders of other chapters, and with the leadership of WAG who have access to up to date information concerning legal and other policy changes such as land reform.[31] Women's groups could become a radical social force for change in gender relations, particularly if "consciousness" is accompanied by economic advancement and structural changes in the law and custom.

Women as Farmers

As mentioned above, women have formed their own farming cooperatives. They are also involved in some activities usually associated with men such as cattle fattening. Women are also involved in their own right in one of the major money making ventures in the resettlement, **irrigation.** There are two irrigation schemes, one funded by the Dutch government and located in one of the study villages, and the other a government project and located in a village not in the study. Both schemes fall under the supervision of the Agritex worker, who allocates the plots and provides advice on crop selection and farming practice. On the schemes, cash crops such as green maize, leafy vegetables, onions, tomatoes, potatoes and beans

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[31]. Interview with local WAG chapter leader. August 24 1996. Field Notes IV, pp.9-15.

are grown.[32] The produce is marketed in the nearest town centres, although transportation is a problem. Some of the plots are allocated to the "family", but some are taken by women in their own right, even some married women. In one family, a husband, wife and son can all have their own plots, although this leads to shortages of inputs.[33] The Agritex worker, as a gate keeper to one of the main income generating opportunities in the resettlement, has clearly accepted women as farmers in their own right, entitled to partake in a major project as individuals.

In general, it is the Agritex worker's view that women are the main farmers in the area. They outnumber men at his extension meetings and form three quarters of members in his Master Farmer classes. While men are around, they "lag behind", he says. Some men do piece work in neighbouring commercial farms, leaving women to do the main farming on resettlement.

The gaining of Master Farmer's certificates by women has profound implications for control of major income in the household. As a Master Farmer, a woman's name can appear on the cheque from the Grain Marketing Board (GMB), where the major cash crops, such as maize, are sold. A key informant in

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[32]. The Agritex worker is trying to introduce wheat, which although difficult to grow, would earn higher returns (Interview, July 10 1996, Schedule I. 6).

[33]. Ibid.

the area[34] explained that because of outstanding debts, many men were finding large chunks automatically deducted from their GMB cheques. So around 1993, they came up with the idea of having their wives registered as the Master Farmer so that the cheque would come in her name. Since the wives have no registered debts, nothing would be deducted. The men then come with their wives to the school post office to collect the cheques: "But don't think", said one of the men, "that this is not my money. It is still mine although it's got my wife's name on it!" However, it is true that this system prevents the practices of some men in Communal Areas as mentioned above, who waste the entire cheque on long binges:

> Having the cheques in the woman's name helps this because they have to go together to cash the cheque. The woman can have more say. We don't have such men here. They give most of the money to the wife who gives them maybe $20 to get drunk then he comes back sober next morning. Men don't disappear for five or six days around here.[35]

What emerges is a sense that women have considerable power as farmers in their own right in the area, both as a result of the enlightened attitude of state officials such as the Agritex worker, and in the way major income from agriculture is controlled in the household. This is reflected in the profile of household decision making and spending practices.

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[34]. Local headmaster of the secondary school. Interview July 10 1996.

[35]. Ibid.

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Decision making and gendered expenditure in households.

Income marked as "women's income" is predominantly viewed as immune to claims or negotiations with other household members. This is not the case for income marked as "men's income".[36] A wife should be consulted in decisions about men's income such as that from maize and cattle sales, either as an equal partner, or one deserving a voice.

Further, there is a strong tendency for men to be named as responsible for earning the money for major household expenditures. School fees are said to be only or mostly men's responsibility, although working children and wives can "help". Even stronger is the sense that men are responsible for earning money for farming implements with all groups saying this is for men only. Less strong but still predominant is men's responsibility for household needs like soap and cooking oil, with four groups saying that women were mostly or only responsible. Earning money for furnishings such as beds, lounge suites, tables, benches, etc was more strongly gendered. Seven groups said this was mostly or only men's role, while four groups said women sometimes contributed or that both men and women were responsible for these expenditures.

It appears that the ideology surrounding gendered responsibility in the household roughly matches the unequal

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[36]. Gender Division of Labour Schedules.

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control of income sources. This is unlike the situation of women farmers married to migrant men described above, where men control the majority of the income while women shoulder the majority of responsibility for the family needs. While income earning opportunities and decision making are still gendered in a way that affords women less power than men, the prevailing moral code is that men should use this greater power for betterment of the family.

Further research would have to be done to establish if this ideology reflects the actual expenditure and decision making patterns operational in this context. It may be that the ideology masks quite a different reality. However, from the data here it appears that men generally take on major responsibilities in the maintenance of the household. This supports Jacob's finding that women say that husbands and wives work together as a "unit" in resettlement, and that wives share in major decision making processes. Their influence appears to have increased, although there is still marked power inequality (Jacobs 1991).[37]

One reason for this apparent change in gender relations could be related to changes in the structure of households in resettlement.

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[37]. This may be in part a result of the surveillance of local officials, namely the Resettlement Officer, who keeps watch over men to ensure that they do not neglect their families, and reinvest money into farming (Jacobs 1991).

Changing Household Forms in Resettlement

One of the rules governing settlers in Model A schemes is that the permit holder must reside on the stand, and engage in full time farming. The purpose of this rule is to ensure that permit holders utilize the land to the fullest possible extent. The resettlement program is meant to boost the contribution of the small scale farming sector to the national agricultural yield as well as work towards greater land equity in racial terms. The rule is meant to prevent the development in resettlement of the normal pattern in Communal Areas of male household heads migrating to towns to work, while women stay behind as the principle farmers.

As such, the case of Model A resettlement provides starkly different family and gender dynamics for rural peasant farmers in Zimbabwe. Resettlement could be seen not only as a project for land redistribution and increased productivity, but also a social project designed to provide a context for cohabitation of spouses and a change in the gender relations of farming. As one scholar puts it, the project may be a way of "defeminizing subsistence agriculture and of restoring it to its 'rightful' owners" (Jacobs 1984: 48).

In this section I consider changes in family forms, divisions of labour in farming, and changes in gender relations in the household in resettlement.

Increases in Polygyny?

Some scholars have argued that the overall trend in

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resettlement has been for men to treat wives as labour in the household production unit, where the man is the sole holder of land-use rights, and the sole benefactor from the sale of crops. This has led, it is argued, to increases in rates of polygyny in resettlement, where ethnic groups favour this practice (Chenuax-Repond 1993; Jacobs 1991). Rates are not as high as in Purchase Areas, but higher than in Communal Lands (Jacobs 1991). Jacobs found a rate of 27% in her sample from several schemes, while Chenaux-Repond found that overall 17.3% of all married men were in polygynous unions, although in one scheme the rate was 35.3% of all marriages. The average rates for Shona society are difficult to determine. One estimate is about 10% of marriages in rural Shona society (Jacobs 1991). Meanwhile the 1982 census estimated that the rate could be as high as 17.8% of all marriages (Chenaux-Repond 1993). In Chenaux-Repond's study, at the very least it is clear that many men who were polygynous when they settled subsequently married more wives, often stating clearly that this was for the purpose of gaining more labour. Meanwhile many men who were monogamous when settling, subsequently became polygynous (Chenaux-Repond 1993).

These trends, however, are not necessarily found everywhere. In my own study site, for example, the incidence of polygyny is almost non-existent. Out of a total of 181 households in the sample frame of four villages, only five husbands had two wives (2.8%), and one (0.6%) had four. In

village discussion groups it was stated that these low rates were not due to men being culturally adverse to the practice, but due to lack of funds with which to marry another wife. Village women, however, like women all over Zimbabwe, abhor the practice.[38] The low rates of polygyny may have other sources than lack of funds. The scheme studied is relatively successful, and hence relative poverty can not be the reason that the rates are so much lower than in the schemes studied by Jacobs and Chenaux-Repond. It may be that the main cash crop is maize in the study site, which is much less labour intensive than the cotton and tobacco grown in Chenaux-Repond's study sites.[39] In effect, most household in the study site are monogamous, with a male head.

Changes towards a nuclear family?

Jacobs found that the meaning of "family" in her study of resettlement was the nuclear core (Jacobs 1991). This represents a change from the situation in Communal Areas, where people settle according to lineage and actively participate in a wider extended family network. In Jacobs' study, both men and women expressed satisfaction with the changed situation, seeing the extended family as oppressive and interfering. This shift is also linked to an increased

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[38]. See Zimbabwe Women's Voices, a compilation of women's views on a variety of topics (ZWRCN 1995). 95% of the women interviewed disapproved of polygyny.

[39]. Chenaux-Repond also makes this connection between rates and polygyny and type of crops grown (1993).

sense of individualism. This finding challenges a tendency in feminist theory to see the nuclear family as oppressive to women. The nuclear family historically has been seen to intensify the privatization of the domestic sphere, making women's domestic and productive work invisible and undervalued, and providing a more conducive place for domestic violence as it is cut off from public and extended family censure. The nuclear family also is seen to cut women off from the support of the extended family such as with child care. Chimedza's view of the nuclearization of the family in resettlement makes this latter point (Chimedza 1988). Are families and households predominantly nuclear in resettlement?

The effect of the policy of allowing widows to remain on the stand in resettlement clearly acts as a blow to the power of the extended family. By preventing the take-over of a brother of the deceased, the policy enhances the role of the nuclear core of the family to control the assets. Are there other indications towards the nuclearization of the household?

Families were likely predominantly nuclear when they first arrived in resettlement. However, as the life cycle has progressed among settlers, the pattern has tended towards the building of extended families with the original settlers as the heads. In my sample of 57 different households, only 46% were composed of a husband, wife and their unmarried children or unmarried children of relatives, such as nephews or nieces. In about a fifth of the sample, mothers and fathers were

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living with their grown married children and their grandchildren. A slightly smaller proportion also included adult relatives, such as a mother or sibling of the husband or wife, plus possibly their children in addition to settler couple's own children. Out of the seven widows in the sample, only one lived alone with her unmarried children, while the other widows had a least one married daughter and a son in law, plus their children. There was one widower in the sample, who lived with his unmarried children, plus two polygynous households, composed of three generations (wives, married children and their children). Average household size is 8.7 members, with a range from 4 to 19. These characteristics of households are very similar to those found by Chenaux-Repond (1993). Also as in her study I found a strong tendency, contrary to custom, for married daughters as well as sons to stay on the stand. This is probably due to the availability of enough land to feed a large family, and lack of employment or alternative farming opportunities for grown children. In this sense, there could be a tendency in resettlement away from small-scale commercial farming and towards subsistence, as plots get sub-divided to accommodate married children. Indeed, the Resettlement Officer stated that while sub-division of plots is technically not allowed, in practice he does not interfere, leaving it as a "domestic issue".[40] This sub-

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[40]. The Agritex worker agrees. He says informal sub-division to give fields to a grown son is common, and you can see the separate cribs of maize in the homesteads showing the

division may actually increase productivity, but decreases the amount of income for each nuclear family. As sons have to go through the regular channels in applying for a plot of their own, their is a strong tendency to sub-divide.[41] Thus, as the life cycle of settlers progresses, family structure expands from the nuclear core, creating new loci for extended family formulation.

Extended family relationships

In my study site, there is a discernible tendency to focus most resources on the nuclear family of the settler couple, but the extended family structure is still very strong. As mentioned in Chapter Three, back and forth visiting between relatives has remained quite frequent, in spite of significant distances between the resettlement and people's original homes.[42] The top reasons for visits are for funerals, for traditional ceremonies, and just for visiting. A few people mention that they visit their relatives in Communal Areas in order to help them, either with labour, clothes or food. However the third most popular reason given for relatives' visits to the settlers in resettlement is in order to be helped, especially with food:

"They do visit us if they need something" (1.44f)

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harvest of the different farmers in the family (Interview July 10 1996, Schedule I .7).

[41]. Interview with Resettlement Officer, July 17 1996, Schedule 1, qn. 5.

[42]. Household Schedule, I. 2, 3 and 4.

> "they usually come in summer season because they
> want to eat some crops such as maize" (3.12f)

> "they come in winter when they will be short of
> mealie-meal" (3.19m).[43]

When asked if their responsibilities to their extended family
would increase if they increased their own income through
farming, of the sample of sixty respondents, only eight said
they would not increase their help to relatives:

> "We do not give it to our relatives, but we look
> after our family with the money" (1.20f)

> "No, because they have their own things; I will
> bank the money" (1.13m)

> "I would help them a little but use the money
> mostly to develop my family" (1.27m).[44]

In addition, almost half of the households say they
support someone not living in the household. Besides children
either at school, or grown up and living in town, these people
include parents, brothers, sisters and even uncles of the
resettlement couple.[45] Also, nearly half of the households
receive contributions from a member of their family who is in
waged work. Most of these helpers contribute at least once a
month, and some more often, with money, groceries, clothes and
school fees.[46] The overall sense is that the ties and
reciprocal obligations to extended family are still very

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[43]. Selected responses in Household Schedule, I. 6.

[44]. Household Schedule, III. 21.

[45]. Household Schedule, IV. B.2.

[46]. Household Schedule, IV. B.3.

strong.

Further, although settlers have come from a large variety of original homes, many of them have relatives living in the resettlement area, if not necessarily in the same village. Of these, the majority of people say that mutual aid with extended family in the resettlement is of better quality than that among extended family in the Communal Areas.[47]

This discussion makes it clear that households in resettlement are not predominantly nuclear, either in their actual structure or in the sense of having hard boundaries for the flow of resources and mutual aid towards the broader extended family. Resettlement families help and are helped by their extended families. Given this, it is difficult to draw conclusions that relate the "nuclearization" of the household in resettlement, to changes in women's status or position as Jacobs attempts. A much more definite change is that of cohabitation of spouses.

Men living with their wives: changing gender relations?

As mentioned above, one rule of resettlement is that the permit holder remain on the stand and engage continuously in farming activities. Since most of the permit holders are married men, this means that resettlement provides a new type of social context for rural peasant households, where men and their wives live and farm together. Chenaux-Repond found that

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[47]. Household Schedule, III. 19.

this rule of resettlement was followed in her study schemes, where very few men had left the scheme for work. I found the same thing in my own site. Only an insignificant number of permit holding men had migrated for work. This is in spite of the fact that the Resettlement Office had turned a "blind eye" to male migration since the implementation of ESAP (see Chapter Two) and the devastating drought of 1992, as it was recognized that economic hardship had become profound in many households.[48] For the most part then, it is the case that male permit holders are living and farming on the scheme.

As such, men are taking a much more active role in farming than is predominantly the case in Communal Areas. Although women are still the main farmers (see comments of Agritex worker above), men are definitely involved. Men are mostly responsible for ploughing, making contours, stumping the fields, and cultivating with hoes and oxen. Women do the weeding and planting, and share in the work of driving oxen and applying fertilizers. Harvesting is also mainly done by women and children, while men are mainly in charge of winter ploughing, constructing granaries and transporting the harvest from the fields. Women tend to thresh their "women's crops", although they can also be involved with men in threshing maize. Men dominate in the weighing, packing, loading and

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[48]. Interview with Resettlement Officer, February 16 1996. Field Notes Book II, p. 10.

marketing of maize.[49] It is likely that the sharing of farming work leads to more shared decision making and responsibility in the household (Jacobs 1991). There is also an indication that while women are predominantly in charge of the care of children, men in the study site take some responsibility for the care of children, such as in taking them to the clinic or traditional healer, and paying for any necessary medication.[50]

Conclusions

These two chapters have attempted to provide an outline of gender dynamics in the major livelihood arena of agriculture in a Model A resettlement scheme. Clearly, social structures limit women's opportunities to use the major resource of land. The state plays a role in this, by imposing a land use system (the permit system), that restricts women's primary access to land. Only women without men can have access in their own right, while married women (the majority), access land only through their husbands. History and culture are coherent with state policy in this, making the call for primary rights to land for women a formidable task for local women's groups.

Within this limiting context, however, are important sites of female power. Women's crops and robust boundaries

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[49]. Gender Division of Labour Schedule.

[50]. Gender Division of Labour Schedule. This is corroborated by the clinic staff who say that although they mostly see women and children, men do often bring children to the clinic (Interview with Clinic Staff, July 11 1996).

around certain types of women's income form an important material base for women's lives as economic beings. Further, the gendered household responsibilities that accompany gendered incomes, do not necessarily work against women, as men appear to accept a major portion of economic responsibility along with their claim control of most of the income. This more cooperative household dynamic appears to have multiple causes, including co-habitation of spouses and the unforeseen effects of male initiatives such as sending wives to Master Farmer training in order to escape indebtedness.

Other influences can be attributed to the state, such as the effects of progressive views of women held by state officials, and the overall surveillance that makes it incumbent upon men to act responsibly as husbands and farmers in order to maintain the right to stay on the scheme. While feminist analyses has been locally criticized for investing too much hope for change in the state (Moyo 1995), the state can clearly play a major role in improving women's opportunities. Women are quick to see advantages in state-backed moves away from "custom". For example, women have clearly embraced the practice of granting widows succession to resettlement permits, using it to avoid the disliked practice of widow-inheritance. Succession to permits has also helped some women manipulate practices in property inheritance to their advantage, and hence avoid the destitution that has come

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to be associated with widowhood in Zimbabwe. Unfortunately, the recommendations of the Land Tenure Commission are set to erode some of these gains for women.

The state may have power to influence social change in some arenas, but make little headway elsewhere. This is evident in the development of extended families in resettlement, and the resultant sub-division of arable plots, despite state dictates against it. There is also extensive contact between resettlement dwellers and extended family elsewhere, both in terms of giving and receiving aid. It therefore cannot be said with much certainty that resettlement has promoted the nuclearization of households. As such, it is difficult to make inferences about "nuclearization" and women's status in resettlement. In terms of polygyny, it appears that factors beyond the mere fact of resettlement are responsible for increases in polygyny, most especially the type of major cash crop grown. Given the success of other state policy in resettlement to protect some of women's interests, it is possible that a state stand against polygyny would have some effect.

In the next chapter, I look specifically at gender in the social system of natural resource use. As shall be seen, the overall context of gendered divisions of labour and access and control in agriculture is implicated in the human system of natural resource use.

Figure 6.1 The Domestic Politics of Gendered Income

Source: The Sunday Mail (Harare) March 3 1996.

CHAPTER SEVEN

Configurations of Gendered Power
in the Social Forest in Resettlement

Many aspects of local use and management in the social forest in resettlement have already been considered. The roles and effects of local institutions, traditional and state rules, and common property conflicts with neighbours have been discussed. This chapter furthers this discussion by considering gender relations in the social forest.

Forestry and agroforestry have predominantly marginalized social issues (see Chapter One). But social forestry, which deliberately turns the focus on social issues has marginalized gender relations. This is surprising given the prevalence of gender as an organising dynamic in rural productive systems (see Chapters Five and Six). In the study site, use and management in the social forest is profoundly gendered. Gendered divisions of labour and gendered power relations affect use patterns, use of space, commercialization of natural resources, and conservationist practices (example tree planting). The consideration of gender, then, is crucial to understanding the use and management regimes in the social forest in resettlement. Further, to look at the other side of the coin, gendered power relations and the materiality of women and men's lives are reflected in natural resource regimes in ways that can inform gender theory in new ways. Gender theory has tended to focus on the central economic

issues of production and reproduction. Hence in rural studies, feminist scholarship focuses on gendered access to land and cash income (see Chapters Five and Six). It is argued here, that while natural resources of the social forest do not usually provide inputs that can be valued in a monetary sense on a level comparable to arable land, income generating projects or waged work, they nonetheless often serve crucial roles in rural subsistence.[1] More importantly, however, is that the relationship of people with the social forest reflects and provides a location for gendered power relations. In this sense, studying the social forest can extend the scope of gender theory to include more than the major economic elements of production and reproduction.

In this chapter, I consider configurations of gendered power in the social forest in my resettlement case site. First, however, I give a theoretical overview of approaches to studying gender/women and the environment, which has become a new paradigm in development studies.

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[1]. Determining the economic value of the social forest and other natural resources forms a branch of ecological economics. As part of the sustainable development paradigm, the scholarship attempts to foster environmentally sound economic development by placing values on unexploited resources. In the Zimbabwean context see Campbell, Vermeullen and Lynam 1991; Grundy et al 1993; Campbell, Grundy and Matose 1993. My interest is not in placing monetary value on the social forest in resettlement, but investigating the ways in which use and management in the social forest is part and parcel of the broader social, economic and cultural system.

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Theoretical approaches to Gender and Environment.

There is a large and expanding theoretical and empirical literature falling loosely under "women, environment and sustainable development", increasingly known as "WED" (Braidotti (et al) 1994). This literature has two main strands. The first focuses on women's relationship with the environment, as users, managers, and primary victims of environmental deterioration. The second theorizes links between women's subordination under patriarchal systems and the domination and deterioration of the environment under modern systems of production (Joekes et al 1994). As such it challenges growth models based on the exploitation of nature of either the liberal or socialist variety, and promotes subsistence perspectives for human co-existence with the earth (Mies and Shiva 1993). This latter approach represents a radical paradigm shift from both the liberal school of Women and Development (WID), and the more radical Gender and Development (GAD) school associated with critical neo-marxist and dependency approaches. The first strand, focusing on women's special relationship to the environment in production systems, is largely compatible with WID and GAD.

The literature concerned with women's relationship to the environment in productive systems, emphasizes the social roles and relationships that make women's relationship to the environment different than that of men. Women's roles as subsistence farmers, as gatherers of forest products, and

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managers of home gardens and the trees in them, make women crucial actors in environmental degradation (in the case of land squeezed) and reclamation and sustainable use (see Agarwal and Narain 1985; Collins 1991; Dankleman and Davidson 1988 and 1991; Sontheimer 1991). At the same time, systems of gender inequality confound or prevent women's attempts to meet subsistence needs or manage resources sustainably. The literature seeks both to make women's roles visible to policy makers and hence make policy more likely to succeed, and to promote greater gender equity for women. Although the work often challenges land distribution and use practices, it on the whole neither essentializes and relationship between women and the environment, nor challenges a focus on improving productive systems. Improvements, however, should be fairer to women, and environmentally sustainable.[2]

Joekes (1994) critiques this approach by suggesting that it takes for granted women's labour and time in extra activities to save the environment, and fails to recognize that women's interests are not always compatible with environmental preservation. The approach also underestimates the importance of non-resource based productive activities for women. Joekes proposes that the relationship between women and

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[2]. This approach has some similarities to left environmentalism of the first world, which attempts to extend a Marxist critique of capitalist development to include a vision for sustainable environmental exploitation (see Mellor 1992a and 1992b; Merchant 1990 and 1994; Redclift 1983; Rudy 1994).

natural resources is an empirical question in each specific context, and must be investigated rather than assumed. Attention must also be given to the other relevant contextual issues such as traditional use patterns, property rights, and the total system of livelihoods (much like Fortmann promotes; see also Jackson 1993).

The second strand in the WED literature characteristically theorizes a special link between women and the environment on the basis of biology, spirituality, or a shared position with the earth from exploitation at the hands of men and male ideologies of domination and control. The approach has important links with ecofeminism, a Western feminist movement. There are a number of strands of ecofeminism (see King 1990), but in general, ecofeminism critiques Western culture as the basis of the environmental crisis. Dualistic thinking that posits man as separate from nature and hence able to dominate and control it, has led to a blind belief in unlimited productive expansion, and in technology to repair any damage done to the environment. The same dualistic thinking is behind the dichotomous gender system that promotes male domination and control. Ecofeminists therefore stress the interconnectedness of people and the earth, seek to recover spirituality for rational, scientific modern culture, and highlight cultural practices of original peoples seen as models of harmonious living with the environment (Biehl 1991; Caldecott and Leland 1983; Daly 1978;

Diamond and Orenstein 1990; Griffin 1978; Heller 1990).

For WED thinkers in this stream, this theme of indigenous knowledge, or subjugated knowledges, and environmentally non-exploitative practices is important (Shiva 1988 and 1990; Mies and Shiva 1993; D'Souza 1994). Imperial expansion into the Third World brought the culturally and ecologically destructive practices of the West, endangering and at times erasing the more sustainable practices of the original inhabitants. Development has meant destruction, not progress. The task is therefore to throw off the foreign cultural and economic invasion, and rekindle older practices. Authors like Shiva highlight indigenous revolt against environmentally destructive practices, such as the Chipko movement in India, to promote local resistance as the basis of WED politics.

At this juncture the WED critique fits as part of the more general critique of developmentalism outlined in Chapter One. The goals of development, that is, economic growth and the development of modern Western institutional systems like education and Western medicine, are rejected. These goals are neither possible for the whole world, given finite natural resources, nor desirable in a social sense. Cultural integrity and difference are emphasized, which leads many of these authors into postmodern positions (Braidotti et al 1994; Apfell-Marglin and Simon 1994). These promote diversity of culture, and theoretical perspectives, while also seeking alliances for change (Harcourt 1994).

Critics quarrel with the apparent essentialism in these approaches, which seem to posit women as inherently closer to nature than men (Joekes 1994; see King 1990 and Carlassare 1994 for refutations of these charges). A closer link between women and nature may or may not be true in different contexts. One theorist points out that the connection of women and nature and a dominating ideology towards nature does not exist in Chinese culture. Hence the ecofeminist perspective is decidedly culturally specific (Li 1993). There is also an idealistic streak as regards traditional practices, which I find disturbing. Given the many violent and discriminatory practices against women in traditional cultures, it hardly seems feminist to point to these as models for future social systems. It also seems a new form of condescension, under the guise of appreciation for different values, to suppose that poor people do not want to improve their material conditions because it will ruin their cultural harmony. Mies and Shiva's promotion of a subsistence perspective is especially suspect here. Many Third World peoples are not merely constructed as poor in development dialogue, (ie so as to need development), but the actual material conditions of their existence are inadequate. Livelihood crises are not all made up for the benefit of experts to have something to do. Hence a focus on the economic issues of people's livelihoods is not totally out of place. Since this inadequacy is often directly caused by exploitative international relationships and first world

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consumption and production demands, there does seem to be a role for promotion of global equity and poverty alleviation.

Adopting a theoretical approach

The evidence from my case study favours a practical position, such as Joekes (1994) promotes. The relationship between women and environment is an empirical question, depending on local social, cultural and productive systems. In my case study site, a view that sees women as closer to the environment because of reliance on products such as firewood, would be simplistic and essentialist. Women and men are both reliant on their natural environment, although their relationships differ. It is the gendered nature of these relationships that forms the body of this chapter.

Themes in the literature on gender and the social forest in Zimbabwe.

In the few studies that have been done on the social forest in rural Zimbabwe gender emerges as a key concept. Women and men have distinct uses of trees and their products, and differential control and access to these resources. For example, men are primarily involved in the use of trees for timber, and hence are the key beneficiaries of eucalyptus woodlots, the main reforestation effort of the government (Chimedza 1989). Men and boys are the hunters of wild game and boys are the main gatherers of honey (Matose 1994). Women gather fuel wood, edible forest products, thatching grass, medicines and fruits. Some scholars have found that men's

relationship to these products is frequently commercial (as in selling timber or game), with the income gained often going for self-consumption. Meanwhile, it is claimed that women's activities are primarily engaged in for household consumption, with even income gained from, for example, selling fruit, being used to meet women's responsibilities for household subsistence (Fortmann and Nabane 1992).

Women's responsibility for family subsistence is also pivotal in seeing the links between environmental degradation and aspects of household survival such as nutritional levels. Declining sources of woodfuel lead to longer walks for women to gather wood, which in turn puts stress on women's time and energy to cook nutritious foods (Chimedza 1989).

Another key aspect of gender relations in this arena is the way in which women's claim to the resources is mediated by their relationship to men. Women gain access to tree resources in the same way they access land: through marriage (see Chapters Five and Six). This means that divorced and widowed women often lose access to these resources, seriously jeopardizing their household security. This insecurity of access to the social forest can also deflate their motivation for such practices as tree planting or agroforestry projects (Fortmann and Nabane 1992). The issue is more than division of labour, but also involves differential power relations embedded in social practices of marriage and resource entitlement.

Gendered aspects of access and control are important, but there are also other aspects to the relationship between women, natural resources and household security. A central plank of women and development analysis in Africa cites dwindling access to land for women as a cause for decreasing nutritional status for children. However, Chimedza found that women were selling nutritious foods, such as groundnuts, in order to buy empty foods such as sodas and refined products. She claims that this has had a profoundly negative impact on child nutrition in Zimbabwe (Chimedza 1988). Hence, while access is important, access is translated through knowledge and ideological systems that value products in ways that may contradict nutritional health. The same may be true for nutritious tree and forest products. The nutritional value of fruit, caterpillars, game, mushrooms and so on, for rural households may be deflated through the translation of these products into cash, and thence to nonedible or nutritionally poor foods. Another hazard of translating resources into cash is confiscation by men and a consequent drain of resources away from women and children. Clearly, the link between access and household subsistence levels is complex, and must be specifically problematized.

The research on which this literature is based has predominantly been carried out in Communal Areas in Zimbabwe. No detailed study of gender in the social forest in resettlement has been done. Findings from my own study concur

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with some of the work in Communal Areas, and depart from others. In the rest of the chapter, I relate my own findings to the themes in the literature and suggest ways of enriching the study of gender in the social forest.

Study Findings: Gender Differences

The first indication in my field work that gender was important in studying the social forest, was the consistently different perceptions of men and women in the Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) workshops used to initiate the research (see Chapter One for discussion of this methodology). In these workshops, men and women were divided into different groups and asked to work on the same tasks. In nearly every exercise, men's and women's representations of their natural resource worlds differed.

In the first PRA exercise, groups were asked to draw a map of their village and surrounding area. This exercise was designed to produce information on the geography of resource areas for the village, but also to reveal some social aspects of the village space: what do people chose to draw, and in what order and detail? Maps were drawn in the soil, with rocks, twigs, leaves and so on used to mark features. Men's and women's maps tend to contain similar elements, showing houses, fields, grazing areas, dams, boreholes, roads and so on. However, in the actual drawing, women tended to start with the houses, while men tended to begin with roads and village

boundaries.[3] In the maps themselves, men's maps tend to cover a larger geographical area, showing the village in relation to landmarks farther afield than women's maps. These differences perhaps reflect different positionality of men and women, where women orientate themselves more to the homestead and fields than do men, who tend to have greater mobility.

Following the drawing of a resource map, a product list was developed. A significant gender difference occurs here: men and women mentioned different resource products. For all four villages in the study, for example, only women mentioned fish, and in three villages only women mentioned herbal medicines. Meanwhile it was only men--in all four villages-- that mentioned bush vegetables.

The product lists were used to develop **seasonality diagrams**. Groups were given twenty stones and asked to distribute them by month for each product to represent the relative amount used or collected over the calendar year. Gender differences appeared for the four products common to all groups: poles, thatching grass, wild fruits, and firewood, but were most extreme for poles and thatch. Differences are illustrated in Tables 7.1 and 7.2.

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[3]. Louise Fortmann also found this in here PRA work (Fortmann 1995).

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Table 7.1 Seasonality Diagrams for Poles.
(Women's scores appear above the line in each cell,
men's below the line.)

POLES	J	F	M	A	M	J	J	A	S	O	N	D
Village 1		9/2	4/14	3/4	2/–					2/–		
Village 2*		2/–	10/–	–/3	–/3	–/6			–/4	8/4		
Village 3			9/–	5/6	2/5			–/1		4/3	–/3	–/2
Village 4			5/–	–/3	–/3	–/3	–/1	12/3	–/4	3/3		

*Men in Village 2 included fibre as part of poles.

Table 7.2 Seasonality Diagrams for Thatching Grass.
(Women's scores appear above the line in each cell,
men's below the line.)

Thatch Grass	J	F	M	A	M	J	J	A	S	O	N	D
Village 1	–/3	–/3	–/5	–/5	2/–	5/–	8/–	5/–			–/2	–/2
Village 2					–/17	10/3	10/–					
Village 3	–/1	–/1	–/2	–/3	–/3	6/2	10/1	3/1	1/1	–/1	–/2	–/2
Village 4				–/1	5/3	–/4	8/6	3/3	3/2	1/1		

Gender differences also emerged when groups were asked to identify the resource areas or **sources** for the different products. Men and women and the different villages all mentioned the same types of resource areas, except for "bush" identified by men's groups only, and "dams" by women's groups only. In the exercise, people were given twenty stones and asked to place them for each product according to the relative

amount obtained from the different resources areas. Taking the example of firewood, Table 7.3 shows the gender differences in source areas for each village.

Table 7.3 Sources for Firewood by Village and Gender.
(Women's scores appear above the line in each cell, men's below the line.)

FIREWOOD	K	F	R	G	D	W	WMT	P	B
Village 1	5 / 4	7 / 8		2 / 2				6 / 6	
Village 2	2 / 2	14 / 6	— / 2	3 / 3		— / 1		1 / 3	— / 3
Village 3	4 / 5	8 / 6		5 /		— / 1		3 / 3	— / 5
Village 4	10 / 9	5 / 2	1 / 2	2 / 3				2 /	— / 4

Resource Area Key
K=Kopjes   F=Fields   R=Rivers   G=Grazing Areas
D=Dams   W=Wetlands/Veld   W.Mt=Wedza Mountain
P=Plantations (Gum) B=Bush

Table 7.3 shows that mostly the same sources for firewood are mentioned both by the different villages and the two genders. However the proportions are different. For example, Village 2 relies less on kopjes and heavily on fields; Village 4 relies less on fields and heavily on kopjes. For men and women, in Village 1 there is almost no difference in perception. For Village 2, women emphasize fields much more, while men spread more out into other areas such as plantations, bush and wetlands. In Villages 3 and 4, women chart grazing or fields more heavily, whereas men's scores show up in the bush area. In three of the four villages, women perceive a greater

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reliance on fields as a source for firewood. When all products
and areas are considered, there are slight differences in the
relative importance of resource areas to men and women. The
most important difference is in the relatively high importance
of bush as an area where men gather high proportions of many
products, and as an area where women do not venture at all.

Gender differences appeared again in an exercise that
asked people to list the different uses for natural resource
products. Table 7.4 illustrates this for Village 3 in the
study.

Table 7.4. The Uses of Products. Village 3.

PRODUCT	USES (WOMEN)	USES (MEN)
Firewood	cooking, warming, making fire	cooking, brick-making, selling
Poles	gardens, cattle pens, matara*, fencing	houses, fowl runs, cattle pens, granaries, selling
Thatching Grass	thatching house, compost, selling	thatching, brooms, mats, compost, hay, selling
Herbs (Medicine)	backache, diarrhea, mupfuhwira (husband taming), eyes, headache, abortion, luck, potion to make husband enjoy sex	curing, selling

*A pole and thatch structure used to store grains out of reach
of goats and cattle.

The interesting gender difference in Table 7.4 is the greater
detail given for uses of different products by either of the
two groups. Men say more about uses for poles and thatch,
while women give more detail for medicines.

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When asked what proportion of products was consumed domestically, and what proportion sold, gender differences showed up again. Table 7.5 shows the proportion sold as given for all villages and groups.

Table 7.5. The Commercialization of Natural Resources by Village and Gender. Data for four Villages on Proportions Sold.

(For proportions sold, women's score appears above the line in the cell, men's below).

PRODUCT	V.1	V.2	V.3	V.4
Firewood	0 0	30% 0	0 20%	30% 0
Poles	0 0	20% 0	0 20%	20% 0
Thatching Grass	90% 30%	70% 20%	80% 30%	10% 0
Herbs (Medicine)	80% 40%	30% 60%	70% 50%	50% 30%
Fruits*	30% --	-- 20%	50% --	-- 30%

*partial data only; missing groups did not score these products.

In Table 7.5, major gender differences appear for all of the products listed, the largest gaps appearing for thatching, and herbs.

The consistency with which gender differences appear throughout the exercises indicates that significant differences of perception of natural resources and their use exist between women and men in the area. In analyzing these difference, I use data gathered through some of the interview

schedules, key informant interviews and observations.[4]

As discussed in Chapters Five and Six, the study site is an area where pronounced gendered divisions of labour, gendered expenditure responsibilities, gendered income possibilities, and gendered mobility patterns are well-entrenched. These social patterns affect and reflect people's relationships to natural resources. Men and women live in somewhat different resource worlds . For example, the mentioning of "bush" as a resource only by men (Table 7.3), reflects a gendered mobility pattern. Women's close relationship to the homestead and women's domestic duties of cooking and childcare, their dominant roles in the fields, where women do most of weeding and harvesting and even some of the ploughing, and their responsibility with market gardens, preclude wandering farther afield. By contrast, men's and boys' involvement with cattle herding and hunting takes them into these "bush" areas.

Differences in men's and women's Seasonality Diagrams (Tables 7.1 and 7.2) and Uses Matrices (Table 7.4), reflect the fact that men and women collect things separately, and sometimes use them for different purposes. For example, women dominate in collecting thatching but then use it mostly for sale, whereas men use collected thatch to perform domestic building tasks. Also, some products are predominantly used and

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[4]. I draw on the Gender Division of Labour Schedule, Men's and Women's Schedules, Tenure Schedule and selected parts of the Household Schedule.

collected by only one gender. Poles are largely the domain of men, while herbs are much more frequently known, gathered, administered and sold by women. On firewood, while men and older boys can be involved in transporting heavy loads by scotchcart, the gathering of firewood is still perceived as women's work.[5] This could mean that if and when fuelwood becomes short in the area, women will be differentially affected by longer walks, which may in turn decrease their time and energy to cook nutritious food in the home (Chimedza 1989). Divisions of labour are also reflected in differences in perception of the commercialization of resources (Table 7.5). Men and women are involved in the sale of different natural resource products. In all cases of gendered perception differences, the divisions of labour could mean that one group mistakenly reports on activities that are dominated by the other gender. In any event, the first major finding is that **gendered divisions of labour figure strongly in resource use.**

This concurs with other writing that considers gender in the social forest in Zimbabwe (Fortmann and Nabane 1992; Matose 1994).

My data also supports the contention that **women's access to natural resources is mediated through their relationship with men** (see Rocheleau, Thomas-Slayter and Edmunds 1995). As

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[5]. This was also found in the only other major study of wood products in Resettlement in Zimbabwe (Elliott, 1994: 26).

seen in Chapters Five and Six, women in the resettlement site gain access to resettlement land primarily through marriage. Only the husband's name appears on the permits, and hence upon divorce or widowhood, women have no legal right to remain in the resettlement. As was seen with widows, the dominant trend has been for them to maintain occupancy of the stand. A widow's right to the homestead, fields and gardens is also extended to any trees planted in the homestead.[6] In the case of divorce, however, a woman leaves the area, and with this move, loses access to tree products and other natural resources such as thatching grass, fish, wild fruit or herbs. This may be one reason that paying for tree seedlings to plant is predominantly constructed as male,[7] and the authority over fruit trees planted in the homestead is said to belong to the father in the majority of cases.[8]

Gender in Commercialization of Resources.

The findings from my study question the idea that men have a greater tendency to have a commercial relationship with natural resources than do women (Fortmann and Nabane 1992). In the study site, both women and men are involved in selling natural resource products. It is nearly exclusively women who sell thatching grass and herbs, while women and men both sell fish and wild vegetables. Children are usually the ones to

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[6]. Women and Men's Schedule, II. 7.

[7]. Gender Division of Labour Schedule.

[8]. Tenure Schedule, qn. 2.

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sell wild or exotic fruits, for example to fellow school children. Men are the ones to sell poles and fibre, but these are rare activities. Men and boys are mainly involved in selling firewood to teachers, local businessmen or people in Communal Areas. Also, it is sometimes the case that women's relationship to a particular resource is commercial, while men's relationship to the same product is domestic. This is the case with thatching grass.[9] Hence, it is not the case that women's relationship to natural resources is qualitatively different from men's in terms of being less commercial and more subsistence based. Increased commercialization of natural resources, therefore, may not mean a loss of women's access or control of resources. There seems to be nothing essential about how women relate to natural resources in this resettlement site. These different findings from other work may be related to the differing nature of prevailing gender relations in general in the study area. In Chapters Five and Six it was shown that women have other well-established and respected sources of income, which may explain why they also have a commercial relationship to some natural resource products. This relationship also throws into doubt the suggestion that increased commercialization of natural resources will decrease the benefit derived from these products in the household and by women and children

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[9]. PRA data: Commification of Natural Resources; Gender Division of Labour Schedule; Tenure Schedule.

specifically, as Chimedza suggests. This is not only because women control part of the commercialization process and hence the benefits are more likely to be used for household subsistence needs, but also because there is a greater tendency for men in the resettlement site to contribute income and labour to the household rather than use it for self consumption. Hence the effects of commercialization of resources on gendered access and control and the subsistence needs of the household must be located within an analysis of the specific context of gender relations. It can not be assumed that commercialization will automatically mean loss of access for women, or negative effects on children's nutrition.

A site of female power: "Husband-taming herbs"

Women depend on natural resources for key subsistence needs, such as firewood, some foods and medicines. They also use them to gain a little income. However, in at least one interesting aspect, women's relationship to natural resources is a site of female power. The fact that women tend to be more knowledgeable than men about herbal medicines gives them important status and power generally (Moore 1993). However, women's special knowledge of herbs includes a more direct challenge to male dominance in the form of `husband-taming herbs'. These herbs are mentioned frequently, and with great hilarity by women, and greatly feared by men. The herbs allegedly allow a woman to "call" her husband from anywhere, keep him confined to the house, or control his behaviour in

different ways.[10] This is especially useful to women with husbands given to adultery or excessive drinking. Apparently, a man drinking with his friends at the local bottle store will suddenly put down the beer pot and say, "I have to get home", without knowing why. The herbs deprive him of his autonomy and dignity, and are much more sinister than something that may be called a "love potion".

Putting aside the rational question of whether these herbs actually work, the more interesting point is how to interpret their cultural and social meaning. One interpretation would be that since male dominance and power are so pervasive, the institution of "husband-taming herbs" is an idiom of female resistance, a narrative of power with no overall effect on unequal gender relations, except to appease women with the illusion of some power. This analysis is compelling given the evidence of inequality and often violence in heterosexual sexuality. High incidence of rape including wife rape, wife battery and incest prevail in Zimbabwe. Dominant culture casts wives as submissive to their husbands in all ways, including sex, and women who express their sexuality through clothing, words or actions, are called prostitutes, whether they are married or not.[11]

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[10]. Discussion groups of women in PRA workshops; informal key informant interviews.

[11]. See Zinanga 1996; Zimbabwe Women's Voices (ZWRCN 1995); and the following selected articles from the local press:
"Rape--the nations most common crime" The Herald,

However, perhaps this interpretation is too reductionist. A slightly modified interpretation would be that the use of these herbs represents a site of genuine female power. Women also use herbs for other purposes related to relations with husbands. They know of herbs to insert into the vagina to make sex more pleasurable for the husband (and hence keep him faithful)[12] and herbal baths for accelerating shrinkage of the vaginal area after childbirth (Kaler 1997). Women's knowledge and use of herbs reveals a sense of the secrecy in women's lives: they hide a lot of things from their husbands (Kaler 1997).[13] Secrecy, and activities bordering on witchcraft avail women of some autonomy and control in a context where they are predominantly subservient. Western feminist theory with its

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August 10, 1995.
"The taboos of sex education" The Sunday Mail, June 30 1996.
"The things wives do wrong" The Sunday Mail, July 14 1996.
"10 years jail for raping and infecting woman with HIV" The Herald, August 21 1996.
"Backyard abortions top 80,000, says doctor" The Herald, September 21 1996.
"Women launch campaign on domestic violence" The Herald, November 25 1996.

[12]. PRA data: Uses of Products. Among urban feminists, the use of herbs to dry up vaginal fluids to provide a site for "dry sex" for men, is seen as a dangerous expression of male dominance. Not only is "dry sex" uncomfortable for women, but it makes women more susceptible to the contraction of the HIV virus and other sexually transmitted diseases.

[13]. Kaler's research documents the domestic politics of contraception in late colonial Rhodesia, in the process revealing "secret spheres" of women's lives.

focus on equality for women alongside men, is prone to miss the power of separate spheres in other cultural contexts.

From the point of view of the husbands, the fear of "husband-taming herbs" may be linked to a broader sense of unease about social change and disruption brought on by resettlement. As discussed in earlier chapters, the process of resettlement disturbs the usual pattern of settlement according to lineages, introduces new types of institutions and rules, and intensifies pressures to adhere to modern ideologies and practices, both in terms of farming as well as family life. Besides these influences particular to resettlement, there are the general social disturbances of the war years, and the influence of revolutionary socialist ideologies of the post-Independence period. People's social worlds are in a state of intense change, and the resulting dis-ease fosters beliefs in "dark" powers such as bewitching herbs (Bourdillon 1993). In the broader society, the practice of witchcraft, that is the use of herbs and spells for evil purposes such as giving an enemy bad luck, illness, possession or even death, and accusations of witchcraft have reached alarming levels.[14] Recently, ZINATHA (Zimbabwe's National Traditional Healers Association) has proposed changes to the archaic Witchcraft Suppression Act (of 1899), in order to

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[14]. "Witchcraft" must be understood as separate from the practice of herbal medicine. Genuine traditional healers use herbs for their medicinal and symbolic properties to treat physical and psychological illnesses with often effective results.

redefine witchcraft so as not to include genuine traditional healers, and help deter the practice and false accusations of witchcraft.[15] ZINATHA's analysis, according to its head Dr. Chavunduka, is that economic hardship and social disintegration set people looking for scapegoats. Hence, people accuse neighbours of witchcraft, often taking matters into their own hands and burning the "witch's" house. On the other hand, people turn to witches to help them advance their own interests. As Chavunduka says:

> There are witches in every stratum of society...
> and it is not only the ignorant who are bewitched.
> Even Government ministers are affected.[16]

Although witches can be male or female, the case of "husband-taming herbs" is clearly gendered. Male insecurity in the face of intense social change in resettlement, including in the gender relations of family life, may lend potency to the herbs. Accusations of the use of these herbs are sometimes at the bottom of divorce, as are beliefs that a wife has been bewitched. This latter belief is especially prevalent if a baby or young child dies. Parents of a son married to such a wife often pressure their son to divorce the wife to rid the family of the bewitching influences.[17]

False traditional healers often promote the breaking of

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[15]. "Harsh anti-witchcraft laws proposed" The Sunday Mail, July 7 1996.

[16]. Ibid.

[17]. Key informant interviews, October 13 1995 and July 10 1996. Field Notes II, pp. 6 and 25.

taboos or social rules as a means to cure serious diseases like AIDS. Some "healers" have "prescribed" incest or rape of young girls to AIDS victims. Through these crimes, victims are meant to invoke some "dark" power through which to overcome the disease (Bourdillon 1993: 109-112). A recent newspaper report on "rampant rape cases" in the communal lands adjacent to the resettlement study site, mentions that some local people claim that there are local traditional healers who direct people to commit child rape as part of their treatment.[18]

In Chapter Four, the Shona belief of a link between broader environmental conditions such as drought and the social health of communities was discussed. The ancestors are thought to withhold rain if the proper ceremonies are not done, and if people break the cultural and social rules in their behaviours. Serious social crimes of men connected to witchcraft such as incest (zvikwambo), murder and use of herbs and charms to become rich, are often mentioned as causes of drought. Often, however, the crimes are distinctly female in nature, such as with abortion and baby dumping.[19]

Perhaps "husband taming herbs" can best be understood within this broader social-cultural narrative of links between social crimes, social-cultural upheaval and environmental

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[18]. "Rampant rape cases worry community" The Sunday Mail March 22 1997: 7.

[19]. Household Schedule, III. 1; 4.

disaster. Male fear of women misbehaving, of getting out of control, is a gendered part of a wider fear of social change and disruption. Real slippages in male dominance in resettlement (see Chapter Six), provide fuel for the flames of male insecurity. Draconian use of herbs by women to control men makes sense in a world where herbs figure in other "evil" activities to achieve personal advantage, and where use of herbs can be associated with disruption of the proper social order.

Conclusions

This chapter has drawn out some of the gendered aspects of the social forest in a resettlement site. Divisions of labour and gendered mobility affect use patterns in resources. Men and women collect resources separately, sometimes in different places and often for different uses. Certain forest products are more frequently used by one gender, and certain resource areas can have differential importance for men and women.

Gendered power relations affect aspects of access, control and management in the social forest. Most women gain access to resources as they get access to land: through men. Tree-planting, and tree-ownership, especially in homestead areas, is constructed as male. Divorced women lose access to natural resources as they do land.

The fact that women in the resettlement have well-respected sources of income is reflected in their

participation in the commercialization of natural resources in the area. While the rate is very low for both men and women, the fact that the process is not male dominated suggests that commercialization in itself will not necessarily have negative effects for women.

Gendered power is also reflected in the institution of "husband taming herbs". Evaluating the herbs' potency throws light on gendered aspects of the broader narrative of social-cultural upheaval. This not only educates gender theory on the embeddedness of gender relations in the natural world, but also highlights the complexity with which social dynamics are implicated in the social forest.

CHAPTER EIGHT

Conclusions

This thesis has cast a wide net in the study of the social forest in a resettlement area in Zimbabwe. In an attempt to dissuade developmentalist approaches seeking technical solutions to the problem of dwindling forest resources, the thesis has investigated a range of historical and social issues. Chapters One and Two looked at historical and contemporary issues pertaining to state policy and practice. Chapter Three explored tenure issues, and the dynamics of rules and local institutions in forest resource management. The place of traditional rules and institutions was discussed in Chapter Four. Finally, the nature and implications of gender relations for the social forest formed Chapters Five, Six and Seven.

Several main themes emerge from these discussions. The first involves the legacies of Zimbabwe's colonial past. The most important of these is the persistence of inequitable land distribution. Post-Independence Zimbabwe has not lived up to the promises of the revolution to dismantle the highly skewed land distribution pattern which sees the best agro-ecological land in the hands of commercial farmers (still mostly white), while the mass of Zimbabwe's rural peasantry remain squeezed on inadequate lands of poor soils and rainfall. To date, only a small proportion (about 6%) of Zimbabwe's population has been resettled on lands acquired by the government. This

failure has partly to do with government respect for the economy's dependency on commercial agriculture, and external pressures such as those from the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund not to disturb export earnings. However, emerging class interests of the new black elite in the benefits of the "land situation", both in terms of engaging in commercial farming, and in land speculation, are also part of the explanation.

The most important implication of this situation for this study is the way in which government's basic acceptance of the inherited land use and distribution system has made room for its acceptance of colonial constructions of peasants as environmentally destructive and hence in need of state-directed conservation interventions. Instead of the revolutionary position of seeing degradation of African rural areas as a consequence of inadequate land, the government now gives more credence to the colonial focus on improving peasant practices. The current state-imposed extension policies and rules in Communal and Resettlement Areas differ little from the practices of the colonial state. This thesis contributes to understanding this process by bringing the woodlands into the analysis which has otherwise been dominated by discussion of policies affecting arable land. The continuity of post-colonial policies with those of the colonial state may make Zimbabwe a ripe target for development through the projects and policies of foreign experts, but it does not augur well

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for the finding of real solutions to resource degradation in rural areas.

History has also left a legacy in the dynamics of rules and tenure in the woodlands in the new resettlement areas. As in the designated African farming areas under white rule, communities access the woodlands communally in resettlement. However, like in colonial times, the rules of woodland use are state imposed and ultimate ownership of the land resides with the state. This system is not based on an understanding of the needs and values of the community. Rather, the system reflects an inherited conservationist view of the state imposed in top down fashion. As such, communities do not have the requisite authority to develop their own rules and institutions, which are essential for successful group management of a natural resource. The most serious consequence of the system as it stands is the inability of communities in resettlement to prevent the poaching of resources such as firewood and poles by their neighbours in relatively resource-poor communal areas. This poaching, besides land clearance for cultivation, appears to be the single greatest stress on the forest in resettlement. The state's solution to the problem in the social forest in resettlement is to change tenure in the forest from communal access to private property of individual settlers. This is unlikely to solve the problem of poaching, as the underlying issue of resource scarcity in neighbouring communal areas is left unresolved. The discussion in this

dissertation of the evolution of thinking on woodland management in African areas from a communally based system to private property has not been traced elsewhere. Further, the examination of the resource conflict with Communal Area neighbours reveals similarities and differences with the only other case study on the topic (Elliot 1993), hence highlighting some potentially general themes as well as the particularities of any given context. My study also relates the issue in detail to institutional issues for the first time.

Besides historical legacies and state policy another theme of the research is to explore people's lived realities and perceptions at the village and household level. As such, the thesis addresses concepts of indigenous knowledge. Some aspects of what people call tradition endure in local woodland management, in the form of traditional rules such as a ban on cutting fruit trees. Aspects of tradition in woodland management have been studied in some Communal Areas in Zimbabwe, but this is the first study on these issues in a resettlement context. Moore (1993) considers culture in the social construction of the landscape, but the resettlement scheme in his study differs from mine and most others in that many of the settlers lived on the land as commercial farmworkers, and have historical linkages to the land through ancestral presence. In my study site, many of the foundations of tradition are weakly formed. People are not settled

according to lineage groups, do not have a common traditional leader, and have not, for the most part, established links to the specific area through the presence of ancestral spirits. Further, Christianity is widespread. While the older churches such as Roman Catholic, Methodist and Anglican have historically shown some tolerance for the continued practice of some traditional customs such as rain making and consultation with the ancestors, some of the mushrooming new African churches, such as branches of the Apostolic Faith, preach zero tolerance for tradition. As such, social conflicts exist over certain traditional practices that require community involvement such as rain making and the practice of chisi (the setting aside of a day off ploughing). Traditional practices are further undermined by the strength of modernizing ideologies and policies of the state in resettlement. Resettlement is about redressing past injustice in land distribution, but it is also about development, in that government aims to improve the contribution of African farmers to commercial agricultural production. As such, settlers must follow modern farming and conservation practices. These factors mean that while tradition figures in woodland management, its dictates are poorly followed, and its meaning must be read through competing and co-existent cosmologies and ideologies. This research suggests that in post-colonial contexts, something called indigenous knowledge may not be identifiable as a clearly defined knowledge set in

opposition to modern/Western knowledge. It may in fact turn out to be inextricably linked and implicated in colonial history and Western ideologies and practices. The work in Chapter Four provides a case study of this dynamic nature of local knowledge which can serve to build a new paradigm of indigenous knowledge. Further research could be done on the mechanisms through which traditional power, that is, the influence of dominant lineages in resettlement, establishes itself over time, and how this affects the efficacy of traditional rules in resource management.

Finally, I have looked extensively at how gender figures in the social forest. Men and women use forest products for different purposes, reflecting a fairly rigid gendered division of labour. Men and boys collect, use and sell poles, while women are primarily involved in firewood collection. Thatching grass is mostly collected by women, but then they are involved in selling it, while men are mostly responsible for using it in domestic building. Medicinal herbs are mostly collected, used and sold by women, while men and boys are exclusively involved in hunting game. Further, men and women have different mobility patterns, which means that different resource areas are of varying importance to them. For example, men gather many products from an area they call bush, which tends to be at the edges of village boundaries, while women rely more heavily on areas such as fields, that are closer to home. These data are the first of their kind for a

resettlement context. These relationships suggest that while the social forest is gendered, there is little support for a theoretical position that posits women as somehow closer to nature, or more dependent on natural resources than men. Both men and women rely on the social forest for key products, both for consumption and, in limited ways, for income. This work should help dissuade theoretical approaches to women and the environment that promote an essentialized and static view of women, and further understanding of how gender in the natural world is contextually specific.

Gendered power relations affect aspects of access, control and management in the social forest. Most women gain access to resources as they get access to land: through men. Divorced women lose access to natural resources as they do land. This probably explains why tree-planting and tree-ownership, especially in homestead areas, are constructed as male. This evidence supports that from Communal Areas (Fortmann and Nabane 1992). It also illustrates the utility of structural analyses of gendered power that point out how women face obstacles in accessing resources through institutions such as marriage.

Women in the resettlement have well-respected sources of income, such as that from market gardens and certain "women's crops" like groundnuts. Women also participate in their own right in larger income earning activities such as irrigation schemes and cattle fattening. These aspects of women's

economic power are formed partly by the practice of traditional dynamics wherein certain types of income are marked as belonging to wives, but also as a result of the intervention and surveillance of the state in resettlement. A progressive state view of women as the real farmers in resettlement has opened new opportunities for income generation. This finding suggests that feminist analysis should not neglect the power of the state to change social conditions for women. There is also a social climate in resettlement that promotes greater sharing of decision-making in households than is commonly the case in Communal Areas. Hence, while men maintain greater access to and control of the major portion of household income, this inequality of power is somewhat mediated by a greater tendency for men to give a voice to their wives. These findings suggest that while a structural analysis is helpful in painting the broad strokes in gender relations, women still have important sources of power and negotiation. Understanding this power could lead to key sites for strategic change. Research should be done into how support for women's areas of power can help transform the larger picture of structural disadvantage.

The gender dynamics of women's power are reflected in women's participation in the commercialization of natural resources in the area. While the rate is very low for both men and women, the fact that the process is not male dominated suggests that commercialization in itself will not necessarily

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have negative effects for women. This finding erodes one "totalizing narrative" in women and development literature that posits a functionalist relationship between capitalist development and the economic marginalization of women. This relationship may or may not materialize, depending on the prevailing social and market conditions.

Gendered power is also reflected in the institution of "husband taming herbs". Evaluating the herbs' potency throws light on gendered aspects of the broader narrative of social-cultural upheaval. This not only educates gender theory on the embeddedness of gender relations in the natural world, but also highlights the complexity with which social dynamics are implicated in the social forest. Further study into how gender ideologies and relations are reflected in social-cultural constructions of the natural world would contribute greatly to understanding formations of indigenous knowledge in this context. The association, for example, between female social crimes such as abortion and the onset of drought bear close examination.

Overall, this thesis stresses the complexity with which people interact with their environment, and the way in which broader historical and political issues are implicated at the local level. As such, locally focused, technical solutions to livelihood crises such as dwindling forests will not go far. Communities and their forests do not fit easily into chunks of data that can be fed into self contained "development

projects".

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Women Plus (publication of the Zimbabwe Women's Resource Network and Centre (ZWRNC))

The Zimbabwe Independent (Harare Zimbabwe: various articles)

APPENDIX A: PRA DATA

The PRA exercises used included Wealth Ranking, Historical Trends Diagram, Resource Map, Seasonality Diagram, Product x Uses Matrix, Product x Source Matrix, Commercialization Matrix, Tenure Diagram, Flow Chart on the "Development".

1. Wealth Ranking.

In this exercise, a small group of villagers (men and women), were asked to group villagers by name according to wealth status. They were then asked why the groups were formed in the way they were. In this way we obtained stratification information for the village as well as wealth indicators.

The Indicators. In all four villages, the five or six indicators arrived at were virtually the same. The top three indicators were cattle, farming implements and agricultural yields, in all four villages. The other indicators, scotchcarts, income generating projects, and toilets occupied the other positions in various mixes. The consistency in the indicators suggests that they should be adopted as an appropriate means of measuring wealth, as the people define it, in the area.

Nature of the Groups. Three villages used four groups, one village used six. The definition of the groups was remarkably similar: mainly numbers of cattle, ownership of farming implements and level of agricultural yield. For the village with six categories, if groups C and D and groups E and F are collapsed, there is little difference in the way the categories are defined for all villages.

Wealth Profiles of the Villages. Where there was significant variation is in the percentages of villagers in each group (see Table 1).

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Table A. 1. Percentage of Households in Wealth Categories by Village

(Actual Number of Households in Brackets)

Category	Village 1	Village 2	Village 3	Village 4
A	24.4 (10)	51.0 (25)	24.0 (13)	33.3 (12)
B	41.4 (17)	22.5 (11)	16.7 (9)	33.3 (12)
C	24.4 (10)	12.2 (6)	16.7 (9)	27.8 (10)
D	9.8 (4)	14.3 (7)	11.1 (6)	5.6 (2)
E	N/A	N/A	11.1 (6)	N/A
F	N/A	N/A	20.4 (11)	N/A
Female Headed Households (Widows)[1]	9.8 (4)	22.5 (11)	11.1 (6)	33.3 (12)
Number of Households in Village	N= 41	N= 49	N= 54	N= 36

2. Historical Trends.

Without exception, men and women in all four villages charted a current and continuing disaster in the three resources listed. As the charts from each village differ very little, they can be reduced to one each for men and women through averaging of the results without distorting the individual responses unduly. (See Table 2 and 3). Participants were given 30 stones and asked to score the resources for the years mentioned.

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[1]. In the four study villages, the only "single" women with stands were widows. Although divorce and remarriage was a common occurance (village discussion field notes), divorced women would move away while the husband retained claim to the stand. Figures for number of widows were obtained through questions to the group in the PRA exercises, and were checked against the records held by the Resettlement Officer.

Table A.2. Women's View of Historical Trends.

Women	TREES	WATER	GRAZING	SERVICES
1980	17	18	19	2
1986	7	8	7	6
1995	4	3	3	10
2000-2010	2	1	1	12
Total	30	30	30	30

Table A.3. Men's View of Historical Trends.

Men	TREES	WATER	GRAZING	SERVICES
1980	13	16	14	4
1986	8	7	8	6
1995	6	5	5	8
2000-2010	3	2	3	12
Total	30	30	30	30

Explanations. Men and women explained the depletion of resources as resulting from a combination of their own use, the unlawful plunder of their neighbours in Communal Lands, drought, the effects of common property practices, and neglect of culture (which both causes drought and leads people to cut trees traditionally protected).

3. Seasonality Diagrams

Building on the Resource Map, I wished to get concrete information on the kinds of tree and woodland products villagers were obtaining from their surroundings. The **Seasonality Diagram** produces several types of information. As a calendar, it shows the seasonality of resource use and availability. It also provides a product list. The list of products is illicited from the group, so while the list may not be exhaustive, it gives qualitative information on what the group thinks of as important. Most groups mentioned a core set of products, making comparisons possible. We also asked people to score preset major agricultural activities, ploughing, weeding and harvesting, plus the activity of fetching water from far places. This allows a comparison between these major rural survival activities, and those connected with trees and woodland resources.

Products.

Groups were asked to list the tree and forest products, leading from the discussion of the Resource Map. These lists can be compiled from all groups and villages to get a sense of the kind of resources available and in use in the area. Although people were asked to concentrate on tree and woodland products, others were included if mentioned. The following is a complete list from the four villages and both men's and women's groups:

1. poles
2. thatching grass
3. firewood
4. wild fruits
5. bush vegetables
6. herbal medicines
7. fish
8. wild animals
9. rope (fibre)
10. grazing vegetation
11. garden vegetables
12. water

Variations among Villages.

There was little variation in the ways that men and women and different villages scored the major agricultural activities by season. Where there is variation is in the seasonality of the use of different natural resource products. In the use of poles and thatching grass, for example, while the uses for the products are the same, the timing of use differs among villages. The data for poles and thatching grass are given as examples (see Tables 4 and 5). Participants were given 30 stones and asked to chart the given activity or use of a product by month.

Table A.4. Seasonality Diagrams for Poles.
(Women's scores appear above the line in each cell, men's below the line.)

POLES	J	F	M	A	M	J	J	A	S	O	N	D
Village 1		9/2	4/14	3/4	2					2		
Village 2*		2	10	/3	/3	/6			/4	8/4		
Village 3			9	5/6	2/5			/1		4/3	/3	/2
Village 4			5	/3	/3	/3	/1	12/3	/4	3/3		

*Men in Village 2 included fibre as part of poles.

This example of poles shows significant use pattern differences among the villages. Taking men and women's scores together, Village 1 charts the collection and use of poles as predominantly a late summer and fall activity. Village 2 splits the activity between the late summer and fall period and early to mid-summer. Village 3 charts poles mostly as a

late summer and fall activity, with some in early to mid-summer. Finally, Village 4 scores poles as nearly 50% a winter activity (June to August).

Table A.5. Seasonality Diagrams for Thatching Grass.
(Women's scores appear above the line in each cell,
men's below the line.)

Thatch Grass	J	F	M	A	M	J	J	A	S	O	N	D
Village 1	—/3	—/3	—/5	—/5	2/	5/	8/	5/			—/2	—/2
Village 2					—/17	10/3	10/					
Village 3	—/1	—/1	—/2	—/3	—/3	6/2	10/1	3/1	1/1	—/1	—/2	—/2
Village 4				—/1	5/3	—/4	8/6	3/3	3/2	1/1		

These data reveal that even among villages that are close together in distance, and share cultural, historical and tenure characteristics, there can be significant differences in resource use patterns.

4. Product x Source Matrix.

The **Product x Source Matrix** uses the same products listed for the Seasonality diagram, but scores them according to the sources or resource areas of the product. This reveals not only the sources of the different products, but the relative importance of resource areas themselves. That is, certain resource areas may be sources for many products, while other areas may provide only a few products.

Resource Areas.

Similar geography and purposeful village demarcation by Resettlement authorities, means that the villages have similar kinds of resource areas. Taking the men's and women's groups together, all but one village (Village 3), mentioned the same resource areas. The women in Village 3 did not mention wetlands (mapani) or veld. There is a wetland area in this village, but it is currently dried up, and gardens errected in the area have been abandoned (Notes from Resource Drive). The following is a complete list of resource areas mentioned:

1. fields
2. dams
3. gum plantations
4. wetlands/veld
5. bush

6. rivers
7. kopjes
8. grazing area
9. Wedza Mountain

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In the exercise, villagers are given 20 stones, and asked to place them for each product according to the relative amount obtained from the different resource areas. Table 6 gives Village 4 as an example.

Table A.6. Product x Source Matrices for Village 4.
(Women's scores appear above the line in each cell, men's below the line).

Resource Areas

Product	K	F	R	G	D+	W	W.Mt	P	B*
Firewood	10 / 9	5 / 2	1 / 2	2 / 3				2 /	— / 4
Thatching Grass		13 / 9	2 / 3	2 /		3 / 8			
Poles	8 / 5	4 / 3		2 / 5				6 / 5	— / 2
Wild Fruits	5 / 5	1 / 3	1 / 3	4 / 1		3 / 1	6 / 3		— / 4
Fish+			8		12				
Herbs+	4	1	1	1	1	5	6	1	
Ropes+	12						8		
Total Resources	5 / 3	5 / 4	5 / 3	5 / 3	2	3 / 2	3 / 1	3 / 1	— / 3
Score	39 / 19	24 / 17	13 / 8	11 / 9	13	11 / 9	20 / 3	9 / 5	— / 10

*Mentioned only by men
+Mentioned only by women

Resource Area Key
K=Kopjes   F=Fields   R=Rivers   G=Grazing Areas
D=Dams   W=Wetlands/Veld   W.Mt=Wedza Mountain
P=Plantations (Gum)   B=Bush

The bottom two rows of the table show the total number of resources or products obtained from each resource area, and the total score of the relative amounts of resources obtained in each area. These totals give a rough sense of the relative importance of each area in terms of number and amount of resources obtained. When evaluating these scores it is important to remember that men were scoring fewer products (4) than women (7), and thus their scores will be lower. Again,

women's scores appear above the line in each cell, and men's below.

Table A.7. Number of Areas Sourced for Woodland Products.

	FIREWOOD	POLES	HERBS	FRUITS	THATCH
Village 1	4	4	7	7	4
Village 2	7	7	9	7	7
Village 3	6	5	6	9	6
Village 4	6	5	8	7	4

These findings indicate the interconnected nature of the resource areas in terms of supplying household needs.

Gender and village differences in sources for products.

The Product x Source matrix can also be used to assemble comparative data on the sources of products for the different villages, and for the two genders. Non-uniformity of products listed means we are unable to compare the full list of products. Here I present firewood, poles, thatching grass and wild fruits.

Table A.8. Sources for Firewood by Village and Gender.
(Women's scores appear above the line in each cell, men's below the line.)

FIREWOOD	K	F	R	G	D	W	WMT	P	B
Village 1	5 / 4	7 / 8		2 / 2				6 / 6	
Village 2	2 / 2	14 / 6	— / 2	3 / 3		— / 1		1 / 3	— / 3
Village 3	4 / 5	8 / 6		5 / —		— / 1		3 / 3	— / 5
Village 4	10 / 9	5 / 2	1 / 2	2 / 3				2 / —	— / 4

Table 8 shows that mostly the same sources for firewood are mentioned both by the different villages and the two genders. However the proportions are different. Tables for other products were also compiled, but for brevity, are not included here. Gender differences in sources for products indicate the importance of including gender as a variable in this exercise.

5. Product x Uses Matrix

The **Product x Uses Matrix** exercise was designed to collect information on the various uses for different forest products, as well as what proportion is consumed as compared to how much is sold. Questions were asked about the dominant gender of those selling any of the products, as well as to whom and where the products were being sold. This information can be used to build a picture of the **Gender Division of Labour in the Commercialization of Natural Resources** (see below). It can also be compared with the rules outlined in the Tenure Diagrams (see below), which often involve restrictions of the sale of natural resource products.

In the exercise, the products mentioned in previous exercises were listed in a column on the left of a large piece of chart paper. Participants were asked to name the various uses for each product, which were written in a column beside the product by the Research Assistant. Next, participants were given 10 stones, and asked to divide them according to how much of the product was consumed by the household, and how much was sold.

Taking the four villages together, there is little variation in the uses mentioned for the different products. Some lists are more comprehensive than others, but not contradictory. A complete list of all uses mentioned for each product follows:

Firewood: cooking, warming, ironing, brickmaking, brewing beer, making fire, selling

Poles: gardens, kraals, matara, fencing, houses, fowl runs, cattle pens, granaries, selling, roofing, huts, orchard, agricultural implements, hoe handles

Thatching Grass: thatching houses, gardens, making fire, hay-making, grazing, mulching, selling, bathing rooms, roofs, matara, granaries, fowl run, compost, brooms, mats

Herbs: backache, diarrhea, mupfuhwira, eyes, headache, abortion, luck, potion to make husband enjoy sex with wife), curing, selling, cough, nhova, fontanel, measles, family planning, sexually transmitted diseases, AIDS, mamhepo, zvitsinga

Wild Fruits: eating, selling

Vegetables (Garden): eating, selling, feeding (small livestock like goats and hare)

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Fish: eating, selling

Vegetables
(Wild):   eating, medicine, selling

Wild
Animals: eating, selling, preserving for future generations

Fibre: thatching, garden, ties for firewood and thatching
              grass, dara, rope, mats, bags, hats

Table 9 focuses on the data for proportions of natural resource products sold for all four villages, divided by gender for each village. Each score represents the number out of ten that the group awarded to the proportion of that product that was sold. It represents the extent to which these products are **commercialized**, and gives a sense of how much people benefit from natural resources beyond the assumed benefit of household consumption. Later we will look at how gender figures in this process.

Table A.9. Commercialization of Forest and other Natural Products.

Data for four Villages on Proportions Sold (number out of ten).

(For proportions sold, women's score appears above the line in the cell, men's below).

PRODUCT	V.1	V.2	V.3	V.4	AVERAGE (ALL GROUPS)	AVERAGE (WOMEN)	AVERAGE (MEN)
Firewood	0 / 0	3 / 0	0 / 2	3 / 0	1 (10%)	1.5 (15%)	.5 (5%)
Poles	0 / 0	2 / 0	0 / 2	2 / 0	.75 (7.5%)	1 (10%)	.5 (5%)
Thatching Grass	9 / 3	7 / 2	8 / 3	1 / 0	4.125 (41.3%)	6.25 (62.5%)	2 (20%)
Herbs (Medicine)	8 / 4	3 / 6	7 / 5	5 / 3	5.125 (51.3%)	5.75 (57.5%)	4.5 (45%)
Vegetables (Garden)*	7 / 5	6 / --	8 / --	8 / --	6.8 (68%)	7.25 (72.5%)	5 (50%)
Fruits*	3 / --	-- / 2	5 / --	-- / 3	3.25 (32.5%)	4 (40%)	2.5 (25%)
Fish*	8 / --	2 / --	2 / --	7 / --	N/A	4.75 (47.5%)	N/A
Wild Vegetables*	-- / --	-- / 0	-- / 4	-- / 0	N/A	N/A	1 (10%)
Wild Animals*	-- / --	-- / 2	-- / --	-- / 2	N/A	N/A	1 (10%)
Water*	-- / --	-- / --	-- / 1	-- / --	N/A	N/A	1 (10%)
FIBRE	-- / --	-- / --	-- / --	1 / --	N/A	1 (10%)	N/A

*partial data only; missing groups did not score these products.

From Table 9, the following general comments can be made. **Firewood** or **poles** are largely consumption products. It is mostly women that mention the selling of firewood and poles. A significant proportion of **thatch** is sold in three villages.

One of these villages is alleged to take thatch from a neighbouring village's area. There is a large difference between the reporting of men and women on the sale of thatch. As seen below, women are largely involved in the selling of thatch, while men use it mainly for domestic purposes. A significant proportion of **herbs** is sold. There is a slight trend for women to indicate a higher percentage than men. For **fruits**, data are partial. Most fruit is indicated as consumed, but both men and women indicate between 20-50% sold. **Garden vegetables** were scored mostly by women, who indicate that a large majority is sold. These gardens are normally controlled by women, so easy to see why they showed up on the women's charts, but were left out by the men. The villages are divided over the reporting for **fish**. Only women reported here. For two villages 70-80% is sold, while in two others around 80% is consumed. One of the selling villages is near the Resettlement centre where teachers, health workers and other government employees live. The other selling village is the closest of the four to Wedza. Only men in three villages mentioned **wild vegetables**, and men in two villages scored **wild animals**. For both, the data suggest these as predominantly consumed, with any sold going to Wedza, teachers, to other villagers, and to commercial farm workers. **Water** was scored by men in two villages. In only one was a small proportion sold, and this to a nearby secondary school experiencing water problems.

6. Tenure Diagrams: Rules, Institutions and Compliance in Forest Resource Management.

The **Tenure Diagram** exercise is designed to collect data on the rules, responsible institutions, and degree of compliance and enforcement in natural resource use and management. In the exercise, the products and resource areas mentioned in earlier exercises were placed on a chart, spaced around a central rectangle, "Tenure". For each product or area villagers were asked to give the rules, which were jotted down close to that circle on the chart. They were then asked to name the institutions that set and/or enforce the rules. Finally, they were asked how the rules were enforced, and whether or not people followed the rules. In the chart form generated in the village meetings, the findings from different villages and gender groups are difficult to compare. For clarity, each product and resource area is taken separately, and the responses from each group is given. **Table 10** shows the data for firewood.

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Table A.10. Tenure Data for Firewood by Village and Gender.

FIREWOOD	RULES	INSTITUTIONS	ENFORCEMENT/ COMPLIANCE
VILLAGE 1	**Women:** cut dry wood only; people are given permission to cut wet wood by VIDCO (thorn trees only)	VIDCO; ZRP	ZRP arrests and fines culprits; rules are followed
	Men: don't cut trees, dry wood only; don't sell firewood	VIDCO; NRB; village chairman; Chiefs	rules followed, but not strictly; people from CAs[2] come to collect firewood
VILLAGE 2	**Women:** no tree cutting	NRB; VIDCO patrol	culprits arrested and fined; people forced to follow
	Men: cut dry wood only; no selling	NRB; VIDCO; ZRP representatives; Village Chairman; Villagers	those caught are fined; some do and some don't follow; people from CAs steal firewood

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[2]. CAs = Communal Areas

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Table A.10 Continued (Village 3).

FIREWOOD	RULES	INSTITUTIONS	ENFORCEMENT/ COMPLIANCE
VILLAGE 3	**Women:** need permit from VIDCO for number of trees (can't exceed); no selling	VIDCO; RO	fined for exceeding number of trees; culprits arrested; rules followed and enforced; thieves from Village 1 and CAs stealing firewood, poles and t. grass
	Men: need permission to cut; don't cut mobola-plumtree or bloodwood; cut in different places; don't sell to outsiders; don't ring barktrees; no outsiders allowed	NRB; VIDCO; Village Chairman; Ward Councillor; Village elders; spirit mediums	if outsiders caught, they are fined; rules some-times followed

Table A.10 Continued (Village 4).

FIREWOOD	RULES	INSTITUTIONS	ENFORCEMENT/ COMPLIANCE
VILLAGE 4	**Women:** no cutting or burning live trees; don't use plantation trees for firewood **Men:** no cutting of live trees (except thorn trees) in kopjes, grazing areas, or other people's fields	rules by government to the Chief; NRB in charge and councillors VIDCO; NRB; Village Chairman	pay fine to the chief; people sneak in from CAs at night and cut down trees rules followed in kopjes but not well in grazing areas; those caught are fined

VIDCO= Village Development Committee
RO= Resettlement Officer
CA= Communal Area
NRB= Natural Resources Board
ZRP= Zimbabwe Republic Police
ICA= Intensive Conservation Authority

Table A.11. Tenure Data for Poles by Village and Gender

POLES/ PLANTATIONS	RULES	INSTITUTIONS	ENFORCEMENT/ COMPLIANCE
VILLAGE 1	**Women:** for poles, don't cut any poles without VIDCO permission; in plantations, don't chop down eucalyptus (seek permission from VIDCO); don't eat mushrooms from plantations (poisonous); don't burn grass or graze cattle **Men:** in plantations, no stumping of gum trees; ie cut tree at about 60cm from the ground; need VIDCO permission to cut; don't burn grass; don't cut immature trees; no collecting honey from trees	Poles: Neighbour- hood Watch; ZRP; Plantations: AGRITEX Plantations: Villagers; Village Chairman; NRB	Poles: rules enforced and followed; pay fine to ZRP; Plantations: AGRITEX enforces and people follow; no fine but imprisonment Plantations: rules not followed

Table A.11 Continued (Village 2).

POLES/ PLANTATIONS	RULES	INSTITUTIONS	ENFORCEMENT/ COMPLIANCE
VILLAGE 2	**Women:** for poles, don't cut muhacha; don't clear cut; don't cut fruit trees for poles; need permit from Branch Chairman; for plantations, no selling of poles; should replant gums if cut; can cut gums, but just the top; don't collect mushrooms there (poisonous) **Men:** for poles, for domestic use only; should come from plantation; for plantations, no veld fires; no severe cutting of trees; cut tree about 30cm from ground; replace old trees; no cutting trees in plantations in other people's fields; if plantation is in your field, you can sell	Poles: VIDCO; NRB Plantations: NRB patrol; AGRITEX gives rules and asks people to plant Poles: VIDCO; ZRP; NRB; Village Chairman; AGRITEX Extension Officers Plantations: AGRITEX; VIDCO; ZRP; NRB; Village Chairman	Poles: arrested and pay $100 fine; rules followed N/A

Table A.11 Continued (Village 3).

POLES/ PLANTATIONS	RULES	INSTITUTIONS	ENFORCEMENT/ COMPLIANCE
VILLAGE 3	**Women**: plantations and poles taken together; don't cut without genuine reason; need permit from VIDCO and Chairman; only use scotchcarts (ie not dragging or sledges because causes erosion); no burning; cut tree at least 60cm from ground; don't eat mushrooms **Men**: for poles, cut from different places; don't take manure from places trees are growing; cut mature trees; for plantations, no veld fires; cut mature trees; allowed to sell locally but not to outsiders	VIDCO (permit); AGRITEX (rules) Poles: NRB; VIDCO Plantations: VIDCO; NRB; Village Chairman; Village elders	culprits arrested; rules followed Poles: not strictly followed Plantations: not strictly followed

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Table A.11 Continued (Village 4)

POLES/ PLANTATIONS	RULES	INSTITUTIONS	ENFORCEMENT/ COMPLIANCE
VILLAGE 4	**Women:** for <u>poles</u>, need permission from VIDCO to cut; don't use for firewood; for <u>plantations</u>, need permit to cut from VIDCO, Village Chairman, or Ward Councillor **Men:** for <u>poles</u>, need permission letter from VIDCO; no cutting in grazing areas, or people's fields, have to cut from your own field; for <u>plantations</u>, don't cut trees; must replace if cut one	<u>Poles</u>: VIDCO <u>Plantations</u>: NRB Poles and <u>Plantations</u>: VIDCO; NRB	<u>Poles</u>: pay fine to Chief; rules followed <u>Plantations</u>: rules enforced by NRB and are followed, but some people steal; $20 fine; people from CA steal <u>Poles</u> and <u>Plantations</u>: rules followed; fined if caught

Table A.12. Tenure Data for Thatching Grass by Village and Gender.

THATCHING GRASS	RULES	INSTITUTIONS	ENFORCEMENT/ COMPLIANCE
VILLAGE 1	**Women:** No Rules **Men:** No data	N/A	N/A
VILLAGE 2	**Women:** No data **Men:** No data	N/A	N/A
VILLAGE 3	**Women:** No data **Men:** No data	N/A	N/A
VILLAGE 4	**Women:** don't burn grass; don't cut grass in other people's fields without permission **Men:** don't burn grass; no herding cattle on selected areas	NRB NRB; VIDCO	people follow; people from CAs steal grass; pay fine to thief if break rules rules sometimes followed; those caught are fined

Table A.13. Tenure Data for Herbs by Village and Gender.

HERBS	RULES	INSTITUTIONS	ENFORCEMENT/ COMPLIANCE
VILLAGE 1	**Women:** don't remove tree bark; don't chop down tree if only need roots **Men:** first give praise to your ancestral spirtits before you take the medicines; whenyou are given medicine, you don't say thanks, you just take the medicine and go	NRB spirit mediums	NRB made rules and enforce; some follow; witch doctors don't follow rules strictly followed
VILLAGE 2	**Women:** taste it first; don't get medicine from cemetary areas; cover holes that are dug **Men:** if dig a hole, fill it in again to prevent erosion; this is our culture	ZRP NRB; VIDCO; ZRP	rules followed; if medicine is poison, doctor arrested by ZRP N/A
VILLAGE 3	**Women:** cover tree roots if you've dug them; test medicine before giving to patient **Men:** fill in holes you dig; don't cut tree, just use roots; don't use medicine from gum plantations; test medicine before giving	ZINATHA spirit mediums	N/A not strictly followed
VILLAGE 4	**Women:** no laws; don't give people herbs that kill **Men:** no data	Chief; Government	N/A

Table A.14. Tenure Data for Wild Fruits by Village and Gender.

WILD FRUITS	RULES	INSTITUTIONS	ENFORCEMENT/ COMPLIANCE
VILLAGE 1	**Women:** don't cut fruit trees; don't harvest unripe fruit	NRB; neighbour-hood watch	rules enforced and followed; pay fine to ZRP
	Men: don't cut fruit tree; don't take unripe fruit; don't sell wild fruits;	VIDCO; Village Chairman; Chiefs; NRB	rules followed but not thoroughly
VILLAGE 2	**Women:** don't cut fruit tree; don't pick unripe fruit	Chief	fine to Chief; followed by most except young people
	Men: no cutting of fruit trees; no taking unripe fruit; mostly eaten by small boys and herdboys, but elders can eat them too; also eaten by wild animals	?	sometimes followed
VILLAGE 3	**Women:** don't cut fruit trees	Chief	culprits pay fine to Chief
	Men: no cutting fruit trees; no throwing stones at trees; no scratching on trees (dries them out); no taking unripe fruit; don't eat fruit trees struck by lightening; don't say silly comments in places where you get fruits	spirit mediums	sometimes followed

| VILLAGE 4 | **Women:** no unsustainable harvesting of fruit (ie don't pick unripe, or more than you will eat) | rule by Chief; NRB in charge | fine to Chief; some follow, others don't |
| | **Men:** ? | NRB; ZRP; VIDCO Chairman; Villagers | no conflicts; rules followed |

Table A.15. Tenure Data for Fields by Village and Gender.

FIELDS	RULES	INSTITUTIONS	ENFORCEMENT/ COMPLIANCE
VILLAGE 1	**Women:** don't extends fields; use contour ridges **Men:** use contour ridges; don't cut grass or trees in other people's fields; don't cut trees recklessly; don't graze cattle in other's fields with germinated seedlings; don't extend fields into other's fields	AGRITEX extension Officers; VIDCOs field owner; AGRITEX; NRB; VIDCO; ZRP representatives	rules enforced and followed; fine paid to ZRP some people are removing pegs and overlapping into other's fields; AGRITEX should make the demarcation contours; some graze cattle on seedlings in other's fields
VILLAGE 2	**Women:** dig contours; don't enlarge; don't clear all trees; no burning; rotate crops; don't work Fridays (Chief)	AGRITEX; Chief	AGRITEX checks on fields; holds "Green Show" and "Field Day"; for Chief's rules, pay a goat if violate

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Table A.15 Continued (Villages 3 and 4).

FIELDS	RULES	INSTITUTIONS	ENFORCEMENT/ COMPLIANCE
VILLAGE 3	**Women:** use contours; don't cut all trees; don't clear land you are not going to plant; don't extend fields; practice 4 year crop rotation; no ploughing on spillway; no ploughing on Tuesday and Friday (culture)	AGRITEX; Chief	rules followed; fine paid to Chief
	Men: make contour ridges; no stream-bank cultivation; don't use sledges; no ploughing on the crest or highway	AGRITEX; VIDCO; Village Chairman; Councillor	strictly followed; nothing done to those breaking the rules
VILLAGE 4	**Women:** use contour ridges; no extension of fields	AGRITEX; Councillor	culprits pay fine; Councillor in charge
	Men: No data		

Table A.16. Tenure Data for Kopjes by Village and Gender.

KOPJES/ WEDZA MOUNTAIN[3]	RULES	INSTITUTIONS	ENFORCEMENT/ COMPLIANCE
VILLAGE 1	**Women:** don't chop down trees; don't throw stones; don't comment anything or you won't return; don't harvest unripe fruit	Chief (Svosve); ZRP	rules enforced and followed; people arrested; Chief charges a goat or something else
	Men: don't cut big trees[4]; don't burn grass; don't remove stones; don't kill snakes (pythons); don't destroy the ruins or those things built by long ago people	Village Chairman; Chiefs; spirit mediums	rules followed, but young boys don't follow
VILLAGE 2	**Women:** no tree cutting; no picking unripe fruit; no washing in wells (W. Mt); don't kill snakes; don't comment anything	Kopjes: NRB; VIDCO patrol; W.Mt: Chief (Svosve)	people forced to follow; arrested and pay fine ($100)
	Men: no cutting trees except dry wood; no grass burning; don't touch anything (eg. things found lying around, pots, etc.) you may go mad or have bad luck	Village elders; spirit mediums from village and elsewhere	rules followed thoroughly

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[3]. In cases where Wedza Mountain was included, rules were said to be the same.

[4]. A walk in kopjes near this village revealed rampant tree cutting.

Table A.16 Continued (Villages 3 and 4).

KOPJES/ WEDZA MOUNTAIN[5]	RULES	INSTITUTIONS	ENFORCEMENT/ COMPLIANCE
VILLAGE 3	**Women:** no tree cutting; don't remove stones; no Christian praying; don't comment anything	Chief (Mubaiwa)	pay goat to Chief
	Men: don't cut trees; don't burn grass; don't remove stones because leave soil unprotected (soil erosion); don't take skulls of dead as some are the spirits'; don't touch anything; no lovemaking	spirit mediums; elders	rules followed
VILLAGE 4	**Women:** no cutting live trees; no burning of grass or trees; no unsustainable harvesting of fruit; no hunting (W. Mt)	rules by government to the Chief; NRB in charge and Councillors	pay fine to Chief
	Men: no cutting live trees; no silly comments	VIDCO; NRB; Village Chairman	rules followed

[5]. In cases where Wedza Mountain was included, rules were said to be the same.

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Table A.17. Tenure Data for Grazing Areas by Village and Gender.

GRAZING AREAS	RULES	INSTITUTIONS	ENFORCEMENT/ COMPLIANCE
VILLAGE 1	**Women:** rotate paddocks; people from CAs not supposed to graze in RA	Village Chairman	enforced and followed; culprits given a task
	Men: don't burn grass; don't use sledges; no over-stocking; use paddocks; no outsiders (especially CA people)	NRB; Vetrinary Services; Villagers	rules not strictly followed; CA people come and graze cattle wherever they want to
VILLAGE 2	**Women:** No data		
	Men: no grass burning; no digging holes anywhere; no throuwing plastic; no cutting trees; fill up small gullies; introduce star grass	VIDCO; NRB; Village Chairman; Villagers	sometimes followed
VILLAGE 3	**Women:** no overstocking or overgrazing; no burning; CA people not allowed to graze	ICA; RO; NRB	fine to NRB; enforced and followed
	Men: no tree cutting; no grass burning; no ploughing; no outsiders grazing	NRB; VIDCO; AGRITEX; Village Chairman	sometimes followed; people from CA don't follow any rules

| VILLAGE 4 | Women: don't burn grass; CA people not allowed | RO makes rules; Chief | culprits arrested and fine to Chief; CA people grazing and feeding animals on crops |
| | Men: don't cut trees (except thorny trees); don't burn grass; don't use sledges | Village Chairman; VIDCO | rules not properly followed; those caught are fined |

Table A.18. Tenure Data for River Areas by Village and Gender.

RIVERS/ DAMS	RULES	INSTITUTIONS	ENFORCEMENT/ COMPLIANCE
VILLAGE 1	**Women:** don't wash or bathe in river water; don't cultivate near rivers (gardens 30m from river); don't use nets when fishing; <u>dams</u>: fence the dam	government rules; ZRP in charge	enforced and followed; fines to ZRP
	Men: don't wash in river because soaps kill living things in river; don't dig along river; no streambank cultivation (gardens 30m from river); don't cut trees along river; when a person is taken by a mermaid you should not cry because he will be killed	VIDCO; NRB; spirit mediums	rules not followed
VILLAGE 2	**Women:** no fishing nets, hooks only; gardens 30m from river; no killing of frogs and snakes; don't use poison (ie for fishing); don't use toilet soap or black tins (you may disappear)	Chief	pay livestock or money to Chief; people not following
	Men: no tree cutting along river; no nets or poison for fishing; no streambank cultivation (gardens 30m); no bathing in river	VIDCO; NRB; AGRITEX; Village Chairman	not thoroughly followed

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Table A.18 Continued (Villages 3 and 4).

RIVERS/ DAMS	RULES	INSTITUTIONS	ENFORCEMENT/ COMPLIANCE
VILLAGE 3	**Women:** no tree cutting; no nets or poison for fishing; no washing in river (they use tins); no taking worms from river banks as this promotes siltation; gardens 30m, for big rivers, 1km from river	Chief; NRB	people following; culprits arrested
	Men: no tree cutting; no fishing nets; catch bigger fish only; no digging; no streambank cultivation; some pools- no gathing or swimming (sacred and there are mermaids)	NRB; VIDCO; Village Chairman; spirit mediums	rules not followed
VILLAGE 4	**Women:** can fish but no nets; gardens 30m from river; CA people not to have gardens	AGRITEX; Chief (dams)	rules not followed; fine to ZRP; for dams, some following; also fine to ZRP
	Men: cultivate 30m from river; don't say silly comments; there are mermaids	NRB; VIDCO	??

Table A.19. Tenure Data for Wetlands by Village (Women Only).

WETLANDS	RULES	INSTITUTIONS	ENFORCEMENT/ COMPLIANCE
VILLAGE 1	-don't cultivate in this area; don't burn grass	AGRITEX	enforced and followed; fine to ZRP
VILLAGE 2	No data		
VILLAGE 3	No data		
VILLAGE 4	-don't burn grass	Chief; NRB patrols	rules followed; pay fine; CA people burn grass (eg hunters)

One men's group (Village 2) included **wild animals** on their tenure diagram. Rules mentioned were: no hunting wild animals like bucks and impala. Institutions are NRB and ZRP. Some do follow, others don't.[6] Village 4 women's group included **fibre**. Rules: don't collect without specific reason. Institutions: rule by Chief; NRB in charge. Some follow others don't; fine to Chief.

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[6]. While in the area I ate game meat at a teacher's house, and saw it cooking in a hut.

APPENDIX B: INTERVIEW SCHEDULES

1. Household Schedule

ASKING CONSENT AND ASSURANCE OF CONFIDENTIALITY

This interview is part of the research being carried out by Allison Goebel (Mai Jenny) from Canada. Mai Jenny is working with the Institute of Environmental Studies at the University of Zimbabwe to undertake this research, which is part of her studies in Canada. The research is meant to investigate the major social issues concerning tree and woodland management and use in this Resettlement Area. Mai Jenny is not a government employee, nor a representative of an aid organization.

You are not obliged to participate in this interview if you do not wish too. You may also stop the interview at any point, or decide not to answer any number of the questions. Your name will not appear on the interview answer papers. No aspect of your replies will be repeated to anyone in connection with your name. The assistants to Ms Goebel have been fully instructed on this point. We greatly appreciate your participation.

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE: Households
(15 people in each village, with about equal
numbers of men and women asked)

Section One: Original Home and Relations with Relatives

1. Where did you come from before settling here?

2. How far is your old home from here? (eg. how long to walk there, take a bus, etc).

3. How often do you visit your former home? (ie times per week, month or year?)

4. What do you usually do when you go there? What functions do you attend? If any, who leads them?

5. Do you still have land, livestock or property there? If so, who cares for them?

6. Do any of your relatives from neighbouring "Reserves" come here? How often? Do they come in some season(s) more than others? For what reasons do they come here?

7. Do they ever collect resources, like firewood, poles, thatch, grazing, etc from this area for use at their own homes? If they do, is this done in some season(s) more than others? Do they use more resources during drought years? Has the usage been constant since 1980, or has it increased or decreased over the years? Explain fully.

8. If relatives come to collect resources, how do you feel about this? Do you ever try to stop them? How?

9. Why did you come to the Resettlement?

10. How did you live before you came here? Were you farmers, hunters, fighters?

Section Two. Protection and Management of Resources

1. What roles do you think the government, the VIDCOs, the Resettlement Office, Agritex and the NRB should play in protecting natural resources?
(Fill in answers on table) (Table will be expanded in field copy)

GOVERNMENT	
VIDCO	
RESETTLEMENT OFFICE	
NRB	
AGRITEX	

2. What activities does Agritex perform in your area? Do you find the advice given useful? Explain.

3. What would be the best ways to ensure that grazing areas stay healthy?

4. How are paths laid out in your village? Who decides where they go and why? Are any steps taken to prevent paths from forming gullies?

5. What improvements have you made to: (a) your fields (b) your grazing area?

6. Have you ever planted trees here in the Resettlement? If yes, what kind, how many, and where? If not, why? Explain fully.

7. How does inheritance of land operate in Resettlement? How do you think it should be?

Section Three. Role of Tradition

1. In your opinion, do you think that drought is becoming more frequent? Why do you think this?

2. Since you came to Resettlement, can you list the number or tonnes, or the number of bags of maize you produced in each season? Were the years with smaller yeilds drought years? Were there other factors that caused smaller yeilds? (On field copy table has rows for each year from 1981-1995)

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YEAR	YIELD	EXPLANATION
1981-1995		

3. How do these yeilds compare to those in the ten years before Resettlement? (Fill in whichever years you can remember). (On field copy table has rows for each year from 1980-1995)

YEAR	YIELD	EXPLANATION
1980-1995		

4. What do you think are the main causes of drought?

5. Do you think that people follow tradition less in Resettlement, as compared to Communal Lands? Why?

6. Who is your traditional leader here? Of what totem is he/she?

7. In what ways do you think traditional leaders should be involved in the protection and management of natural resources, like trees, woodlands, rivers, wetlands, fields, bush etc? Is there anything preventing them from acting in the ways you think they should?

8. Do people follow chisi (days off ploughing) in your village? Does everyone agree on this practice? Do some people also name Sunday as a rest day for Christian reasons?

9. Are people buried close to your village here, or are they taken to their former homes for burial? Does this influence the way people feel about the land? Explain fully.

10. Are there any spirit guardians for this area? Include both spirits for the whole region and spirits specifically named for the Resettlement Area. If so, who are they? How were they named?

11. What happened to the autochotonous (original indigenous) spirits of the area? Do you think they are happy?

12. Do people do supplication (kupira) in this Resettlement? Explain.

13. Are there any shrines in the area? Whose spirits are active in these places?

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14. Why do people avoid cutting wild fruit trees? Are there any spirits thought to own or protect these trees?

15. Have any sacred woodlands (rambotemwa) been established in this area? if yes, who established them, and do people respect the areas? With which spirits are they associated?

16. Have any sacred wetlands or pools been named? Who named them, and do people respect them? With which spirits are they associated?

17. Is your life better here than in the Communal Lands? In what ways is it better? Is it not as good in some ways? Explain.

18. Do neighbours help each other more or less in Resettlement, compared to Communal Areas?

19. Do you have more or less contact and mutual aid with your extended family here as compared to Communal Areas?

20. Do you consider it a good thing for people to be wealthy? Explain fully.

21. If you were very successful farming, and produced a large surplus for sale, would your responsibilities to relatives increase? How would you use the extra money?

22. Do you belong to any groups or organizations? What is the purpose of the group(s)? How often does it meet?

23. Do you think Resettlement has compensated people for the past unfairness of white control? Explain.

Section Four: Personal and Household Information.

Part A. (Observed)

1. Circle one: Male   Female

2. Approximate Age: below 25 years   25-55 years   over 55

Part B. Household Structure and Income.

1. Please list the people who normally reside in this household. What are their relationships to you? What are their ages? (Put relationships and ages in chart.)

	Adult Men	Adult Women	Male Children	Female Children
Total				

2. Do you support anyone else that does not live here? Who and where to they normally stay?

3. Do any members of the household have paid jobs? Yes/No

If yes, do they contribute to the household? Yes/No

If yes, what do they contribute?

How often do they contribute?

If they contribute, does the household rely on this money for farming inputs? **Yes/No**

4. Does your household rely on other outside funds in order to have farming inputs?   Yes/No

If yes, what is the source of these funds?

Part C. Indicators of Wealth.

1. How many cattle does your household have? _____

2. Which of the following do you own: a) plough b) harrow c) scotchcart

3. In normal years, do you harvest enough for household needs? Yes/No

4. In normal years, do you harvest enough to sell?   Yes/No

5. How much do you usually sell?   _____ tonnes or _____ bags

6. Do you have any income generating projects? Yes/No
   If yes, describe.

Part D. Social Details.

1. How many years of schooling did you complete? _____ years

2. Do you read <u>Shona</u>? Yes/No <u>English</u> Yes/No

3. Have you ever been divorced? Yes/No

4. Have you ever been widowed? Yes/No

5. What is your current status: married   divorced   widowed

6. Check any number of the following:
   (a) I am a Christian _____. Name Church:_____
_____
   (b) I believe in ancestral spirits _____

   (c) I believe in Christianity and ancestral spirits ___

   (d) I believe in nothing for sure _____

7. What is your totem?

8. Does anyone in this household hold a Master Farmer certificate? Any other special qualifications?

2. Tenure Issues

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE 2: Tenure Issues

(To be asked of 5 men and 5 women in each village-- 40 responses)
 Note to Assistants: Explain that we are checking some information got in the village meetings, plus asking for more information.

1. Please score the amount consumed compared to amount sold using 10 beans.

PRODUCT	C	S	Who sells this product	Sold to Whom? Where?	Who decides what to do with this money	What is the money from this sale used for
Firewood						
Poles						
Thatching Grass						
Herbs (Medicine)						
Vegetables (Garden)						
Wild Animals						
Fish						
Fibre						
Wild Vegetables						

Exotic Fruits (eg. mangoes, oranges, bananas)						
Wild Fruits						

2. Please describe how resources are used and managed in homestead areas and fields:

A. Homestead Areas

TENURE in HOMESTEAD AREAS	Who has authority to say how the resource is used	Rules for use and care of the resource	How do men use this resource	How do women use this resource	Any other group or person
1. fire-wood					
2. wild fruit trees					
3. exotic fruit trees (eg mango, orange, banana).					
4. gardens					
5. home fields					

B. Fields

TENURE in FIELDS	Who has authority to say how the resource is used	Rules for use and care of the resource	How do men use this resource	How do women use this resource	Any other group or person
1. fire-wood					
2. poles					
3. thatch					
4. fruit trees					

3. Who has authority over any trees that are planted, for example, trees in the homestead, in fields, gardens and other areas? Does this change if there is divorce or widowhood?

PLANTED TREES	HOMESTEAD	FIELDS	GARDENS	OTHER PLACES
Gum Plantations				
Exotic Fruits				
Wild Fruits				
Trees for Shade				
Re-establishing trees for gardens and kraals[1]				

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[1]. These are trees that people plant in order to cut poles that, when pounded into the ground, re-establish easily, and hence make strong fencing for gardens or kraals.

3. Check of PRA data on Commercialization

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE 2.1 : Commercialization of Resources

(To be asked of 20 men and 20 women in each village-- 160 responses)

Note to Assistants: Explain that we are checking some information got in the village meetings.

1. Please score the amount consumed compared to amount sold using a total of 10. That is, the total amount gathered by the household is equal to 10. Then ask people to say how much out of 10 they use in the household, and how much out of 10 they sell.

PRODUCT	Consumed	Sold
Firewood		
Poles		
Thatching Grass		
Herbs (Medicine)		
Vegetables (Garden)		
Wild Animals		
Fish		
Fibre		
Wild Vegetables		
Exotic Fruits (eg. mangoes, oranges, bananas)		
Wild Fruits		

4. Women's Schedule

Interview Schedule: Women's Situation
Women's Views
(5 women from each village)

1. Women's Groups.

1. Do you belong to a women's group?

2. What is the purpose of this women's group?

3. When and how did it form?

4. How many members are there?

5. What are the achievements of the group?

5. Are the goals of the group being met? Explain.

2. Women and the Land.

1. Are married women allocated fields in your village? If so, who allocates these fields?

2. What crops do you grow on your land? List as completely as possible on the chart below.

3. Who decides which crops you grow, and where you grow them? Who decides when to plant them? (Fill in answer on the chart)

4. Of the crops listed, are there any that are strictly considered to be women's crops or men's crops? Explain fully what this means.
(Tick on chart and write any explanations here).

CROPS	Who decides what, where and when to plant?	Men's crop (tick)	Women's crop (tick)

5. Are any of these practices with crops different from your

former home(s)?

6. What happens when a man and woman divorce? Who stays in resettlement, and where does the other partner go?

7. What happens in the case of widowhood?
With rights does a widow have to
(a) fields?

(b) gardens?

(c) trees planted in the homestead? (eg fruit trees)

(d) live in the homestead?

(e) household contents (eg furniture, dishes, clothes, etc)

8. Is any of this different from in your former home(s)?

3. Women's Situtation

1. Has your situation as a woman improved in any way since coming to Resettlement? Has it gotten worse? Explain.

2. Are wives treated differently by their husbands in Resettlement? Explain.

5. Men's Schedule

Interview Schedule: Care of the land, instititions, women: Men's Views
(5 Men in each Village)

1. Care of the Land

1. From your experience, what causes river siltation? How do you think this can be prevented?

2. Do you think ploughing close to rivers causes siltation? Explain.

3. What is the purpose of contour ridging in fields? Are contours effective? Are there any negative effects of contours?

4. What do you think are the best ways to halt the depletion of resources like trees, grazing and water?

2. Women and the Land.

1. Are married women allocated fields in your village? If so, who allocates these fields?

2. What crops are grown by most households in your village? Please list as completely as possible on the chart below.

3. Who in the household or village decides which crops to grow, and where to grow them? Who decides when to plant them? (Fill answer in on the chart).

4. Of the crops listed, are there any that are strictly considered to be women's crops or men's crops? Explain fully what this means.
(Tick on chart and write any explanations here).

CROPS	Who decides what, where and when to plant?	Men's crop (tick)	Women's crop (tick)

5. Are any of these practices with crops different from your former home(s)?

6. What happens when a man and woman divorce? Who stays in resettlement, and where does the other partner go?

7. What happens in the case of widowhood?
With rights does a widow have to
(a) fields?

(b) gardens?

(c) trees planted in the homestead? (eg fruit trees)

(d) live in the homestead?

(e) household contents (eg furniture, dishes, clothes, etc)

8. Is any of this different from in your former home(s)?

6. Gender Divisions of Labour

Gender Divisions of Labour

(To be asked of a small group of informants, eg women's group)

Gender Roles, Roles for Children, and Roles for Special Groups

Describe the roles of women, men, children or other special groups such as lineage, totem groups, religious or leadership groups for the following activities:

ACTIVITY	WOMEN	MEN	CHILDREN	OTHER GROUPS
PLOUGHING				
WEEDING				
HARVESTING				
THRESHING GRAIN				
SELLING SURPLUS GRAIN				
DECISIONS ABOUT SPENDING INCOME FROM GRAIN SALES				
PURCHASING CATTLE				
CARING FOR CATTLE				
DECISIONS ABOUT SELLING CATTLE				
DECISIONS ABOUT SPENDING INCOME FROM CATTLE SALES				
COLLECTING FIREWOOD				

COLLECTING POLES				
BUILDING WITH POLES				
COLLECTING THATCHING GRASS				
BUILDING WITH THATCHING GRASS				
BUILDING VEGETABLE GARDENS				
CARING FOR GARDENS				
DECISIONS ABOUT SPENDING INCOME FROM GARDENS				
COLLECTING HERBAL MEDICINES				
RESPONSIBILITY FOR SICK CHILDREN AND OTHERS IN FAMILY				
CONSULTATION WITH CLINIC OR TRADITIONAL HEALER IN CASE OF ILLNESS				
PURCHASE OF MEDICINES IN CASE OF FAMILY ILLNESS				
COLLECTION OF WILD FRUITS				
HUNTING OF WILD ANIMALS				

COLLECTION AND USE OF FIBRE OR ROPE				
CATCHING OF FISH				
COLLECTION OF WILD VEGETABLES				
COLLECTION OF WATER				
CARING FOR AND DISCIPLINING CHILDREN				
EARNING MONEY FOR SCHOOL FEES				
EARNING MONEY FOR HOUSEHOLD NEEDS LIKE SOAP, COOKING OIL, FUEL, ETC				
EARNING MONEY FOR BUYING FARMING IMPLEMENTS				
EARNING MONEY FOR HOUSEHOLD FURNISHINGS LIKE BEDS, LOUNGE SUITES, BENCHES, TABLES, ETC				
EARNING MONEY FOR BUYING TREE SEEDLINGS TO PLANT				
EARNING MONEY FOR AGRICULTURAL INPUTS LIKE SEEDS AND FERTILIZERS				

EARNING MONEY TO PURCHASE SMALL LIVESTOCK LIKE GOATS, DONKEYS, CHICKENS, ETC				
EARNING MONEY FOR CEREMONIES, PARTIES, AND OTHER ENTERTAINMENT				
CEREMONIES AND CONSULTATION OF ANCESTORS				

7. Resettlement Officer (1)

KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEWS: Resettlement Officer
Schedule 1

1. Do farmers on the Resettlement do anything to improve the condition or value of their land? Either fields, grazing, bush, river or kopje areas? Explain.

2. Describe the way in which settlers are chosen. Has this practice changed at all since Independence?

3. What are the major rules for farmers on the Resettlement? Where are they documented? Are these rules generally followed?

4. What are the most usual types of conflicts and disputes that come to your attention? How are they dealt with?

5. To what extent is sub-division of land occurring in the Resettlement? eg Father or mother dividing land for a grown child or other relative. Is this a problem?

6. Are there any special projects, ie government or NGO operating in the Resettlement? What are the aims? How do they operate? What are the current outcomes or effects?

7. In your view, what were the major goals of the whole Resettlement project at the beginning? Are these goals being met? How do you evaluate this Resettlement in particular? What are the major problems blocking progress in this Resettlement?

8. Resettlement Officer (2)

KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEW: Resettlement Officer
Schedule 2

1. Care of the Land

1. Describe the roles and responsibilities of the following institutions as relates to natural resources:

NRB (Natural Resources Board	
VIDCO	
Resettlement Officer	
Village Chairman	
Village Elders	
Village Neighbourhood Watch	
Ward Councillor	
Agritex Extension Officer	
Chief	
Spirit Mediums	
ZRP	
District Administrator	
Forestry Commission	

Which of these do you think is best suited to have authority over the protection of natural resources like firewood, poles, soils, rivers, etc? Explain.

2. From your experience, what causes river siltation? How do

you think this can be prevented?

3. Do you think ploughing close to rivers causes siltation? Explain.

4. What is the purpose of contour ridging in fields? Are contours effective? Are there any negative effects of contours?

5. What do you think are the best ways to halt the depletion of resources like trees, grazing and water?

2. Women.

1. Are married women allocated fields in your village? If so, who allocates these fields?

2. What happens when a man and woman divorce? Who stays in resettlement, and where does the other partner go?

3. What happens in the case of widowhood?
With rights does a widow have to
(a) fields?

(b) gardens?

(c) trees planted in the homestead? (eg fruit trees)

(d) live in the homestead?

(e) household contents (eg furniture, dishes, clothes, etc)

4. In the village meetings we had, men often said that the rules for resource use, such as a ban on cutting live trees, getting permits for the cutting of poles, etc, were not followed well. Meanwhile women often said the rules were followed. Why do you think men and women have different opinions on this?

9. Agritex Worker (1)

KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEWS: Agritex Officer
Schedule 1

1. Please describe your major responsibilities and activities in the Resettlement.

2. Does your advice to farmers include anything to do with trees, tree planting or agro-forestry? Explain. If so, from which source do these ideas come? (ie your government department, Forestry Commission, NRB, etc).

3. Are there any special projects, ie government or NGO operating in the Resettlement? What are the aims? How do they operate? What are the current outcomes or effects?

4. Evaluate the agricultural performance of the farmers here. In your view, are they making the best of the resources they have? If not, what are the major factors preventing optimal usuage of the farming land?

5. In your extension work, do you speak with women as well as men as farmers? In your view, is it men or women who are the main farmers here?

6. Irrigation Schemes.

a) Describe the irrigation schemes on the Resettlement.

b) Who or what bodies started or funded these schemes?

c) Are they successful?

d) Who decides what to plant on these schemes?

e) What is your role in relation to the irrigation?

f) Do both men and women control plots on the schemes?

7. To what extent is sub-division of land occurring in the Resettlement? eg Father or mother dividing land for a grown child or other relative. Is this a problem?

8. Cattle Fattening.

a) Please describe the cattle fattening projects in the Resettlement.

b) What is your role in these?

c) How many people are involved in this practice?

d) Are any women involved?

e) How do you evaluate cattle fattening as an income generating opportunity for these farmers?

9. In your view, what were the major goals of the whole Resettlement project at the beginning? Are these goals being met? How do you evaluate this Resettlement in particular? What are the major problems blocking progress in this Resettlement?

10. Agritex Worker (2)

<u>KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEW: Agritex Worker</u>
Schedule 2

1. Care of the Land

1. From your experience, what causes river siltation? How do you think this can be prevented?

2. Do you think ploughing close to rivers causes siltation? Explain.

3. What is the purpose of contour ridging in fields? Are contours effective? Are there any negative effects of contours?

4. What do you think are the best ways to halt the depletion of resources like trees, grazing and water?

2. Women and the Land.

1. Are married women allocated fields in your village? If so, who allocates these fields?

2. What crops are grown by most households in this resettlement? Please list as completely as possible on the chart below.

3. Who in the household or village decides which crops to grow, and where to grow them? Who decides when to plant them? (Fill answer in on the chart).

4. Of the crops listed, are there any that are strictly considered to be women's crops or men's crops? Explain fully what this means.
(Tick on chart and write any explanations here).

CROPS	Who decides what, where and when to plant?	Men's crop (tick)	Women's crop (tick)

3. Irrigation

1. Do you think the households have the labour requirements

and other inputs, to manage both irrigations and their 5 hectare dryfields?

4. Tenure

1. What would be the best form of land use in this Resettlement? (land allocation, use, tenure?)

11. District Administrator

Key Informant Interview: District Administrator

1. For how long have you held this post in Hwedza?

2. Can you please explain how the structure and role of the Rural District Council has changed since 1980?

3. What were the criteria for selecting Resettlement applicants in the early 1980s? Has this changed over the years? What are the current criteria? Do widows or divorced women ever get stands these days?

4. In your view, what were the main goals of the resettlement initiative in the early 1980s? Do you think these goals have been met?

5. Are you aware of any tree planting or woodland management efforts being made in the area, either by government bodies or NGOs?

6. Do you have any information regarding the extent and causes of deforestation in the Resettlement? What are your views on how this could be slowed down or managed?

7. Poaching of resources such as firewood, poles, thatching grass and grazing by Communal Area residents is a problem in the Resettlement. Has this come to your attention? Is anything being done/planned by the DAs office to deal with this?

8. What is happening in regards to the reommendation to dissolve the VIDCOs? Does this affect resettlement in any way?

9. Do you have any information regarding the reallocation of Resettlement villages into private family plots in Sengezi? What is the reasoning behind this change? In your view, what are the advantages and disadvantages of this change? Are there any problems emerging with this process in Sengezi?

12. Natural Resources Board.

KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEWS: Natural Resources Board

1. Please describe the mandate and major functions and activities of this office.

2. Does the area of responsibility of this office include the Resettlement Area?

3. What are the rules governing tree and woodland use by the rural residents? Are there any special rules in Resettlement?

4. How are these rules enforced?

5. Is the enforcement effective? Explain.

6. Do you perceive deforestation in the Resettlement as a problem?

7. If so, what do you view as the major cause of this deforestation?

8. If so, what is the most effective way to deal with this problem?

9. Are you aware of any tree-planting or agro-forestry activities in the area? If yes, describe.

10. Was anyone in this office here either during the '70s or right at Independence? If yes, can they describe the state of the woodlands and other natural resources at that time in what is now the Resettlement?

11. Has the role of this office changed at all since Independence? Please explain.

12. "Poaching" of CA residents is a major problem mentioned in the Resettlement. Is this office aware of this? Are there any practices or plans to deal with this problem?

13. To what extent do you think natural resources such as firewood and poles are being sold in the Resettlement? Do you know who is involved? Has this activity changed over the years since Independence?