Wildlife and Development Series No 5

TWO VIEWS FROM CAMPFIRE IN ZIMBABWE'S HURUNGWE DISTRICT

Training and Motivation Who Benefits and Who Doesn't?

Cherry BIRD & Simon METCALFE

IIED

In association with The CAMPFIRE Collaborative Group

Preface

The first eight papers in this series are a linked set which focus on Zimbabwe's *CAMPFIRE* programme. The views presented are those of the authors, not of IIED.

The Communal Areas Management Programme for Indigenous Resources (CAMPFIRE) is an exploration of rural development and conservation in Africa. It seeks to restructure the control of Zimbabwe's countryside, giving people alternative ways of using their natural resources. A wholly African initiative, *CAMPFIRE* emerged in the mid-1980s with the recognition that, as long as wildlife remained the property of the state, no one would invest in it as a resource. Since 1975, Zimbabwe has allowed private property holders to claim ownership of wildlife on their land and to benefit from its use. Under *CAMPFIRE*, people living on Zimbabwe's impoverished communal lands, which represent 42% of the country, claim the same right of proprietorship. Conceptually, *CAMPFIRE* includes all natural resources, but its focus has been wildlife management in communal areas, particularly those adjacent to National Parks, where people and animals compete for scarce resources. Since its official inception in 1989, *CAMPFIRE* has engaged more than a quarter of a million people in the practice of managing wildlife and reaping the benefits of using wild lands.

Produced and Published by the International Institute for Environment and Development,
3 Endsleigh Street, London WC1H 0DD, UK.
Sub-editor: Dilys Roe
Design and Production: Eileen Higgins
Printed by Russell Press Ltd, Radford Mill, Norton Street, Nottingham NG7 3HN.

ISSN 1361 8628

The full range of titles in this series are:

Number 1

The lesson from Mahenye: Rural poverty, democracy and wildlife conservation.

Marshall Murphree

Number 2

Share and share alike? Equity in CAMPFIRE

Stephen Thomas

Number 3

Lacking confidence?

A gender-sensitive analysis of CAMPFIRE in Masoka village

Nontokozo Nabane

Number 4

The legacy of dualism in decision-making within CAMPFIRE

Stephen Thomas

Number 5

Two views from CAMPFIRE in Zimbabwe's Hurungwe District:

Training & motivation. Who benefits & who doesn't?

Cherry Bird and Simon Metcalfe

Number 6

Was Mrs Mutendi only joking?

Access to timber in Zimbabwe's communal areas

C Bird, J Clarke, J Moyo, J M Moyo, P Nyakunu and S Thomas

Number 7

Political ecologies of scale:

The multi-tiered co-management of Zimbabwean wildlife resources

Richard Hasler

Number 8

From liability to asset: Wildlife in the Omay Communal Land of Zimbabwe

Russel Taylor

Hurungwe District
The Local Landscape

The Hurungwe District in north-western Zimbabwe encompasses state, private and communally designated lands, including some very fertile areas which have attracted a growing number of cultivators to the region. The northern and eastern parts of the district up to the Zambezi river are administered by the Wild Life Department, and include Mana Pools National Park, and the Charara, Hurungwe, Sapi, Doma and Chewore Safari Areas. These areas are geographically more rugged, dissected by Zambezi tributaries with steep slopes suggesting a high erosion risk and less suitable for agriculture, especially since they contain significant populations of wild animals.

Mukwichi Communal Land is situated in this rugged area, on the southern boundary of Mana Pools National Park and the Chewore Safari Area. Parts of Mukwichi were settled in the early 1960s by Korekore people relocated from the northern protected areas. Prior to independence in 1980 the settler regime governed the area through the traditional authority hierarchy of chief, headmen, and kraal heads. However, despite the area's limited agricultural utility, during the 1980s many settlers moved in and nearly doubled the original population, to about 15,000 people. The Mukwishe river cuts deeply into the heart of the area and remains a large tract of wild land. An extensive boundary with the protected areas ensures that significant wildlife lives on the edges of the protected areas, and the fringes of human habitat.

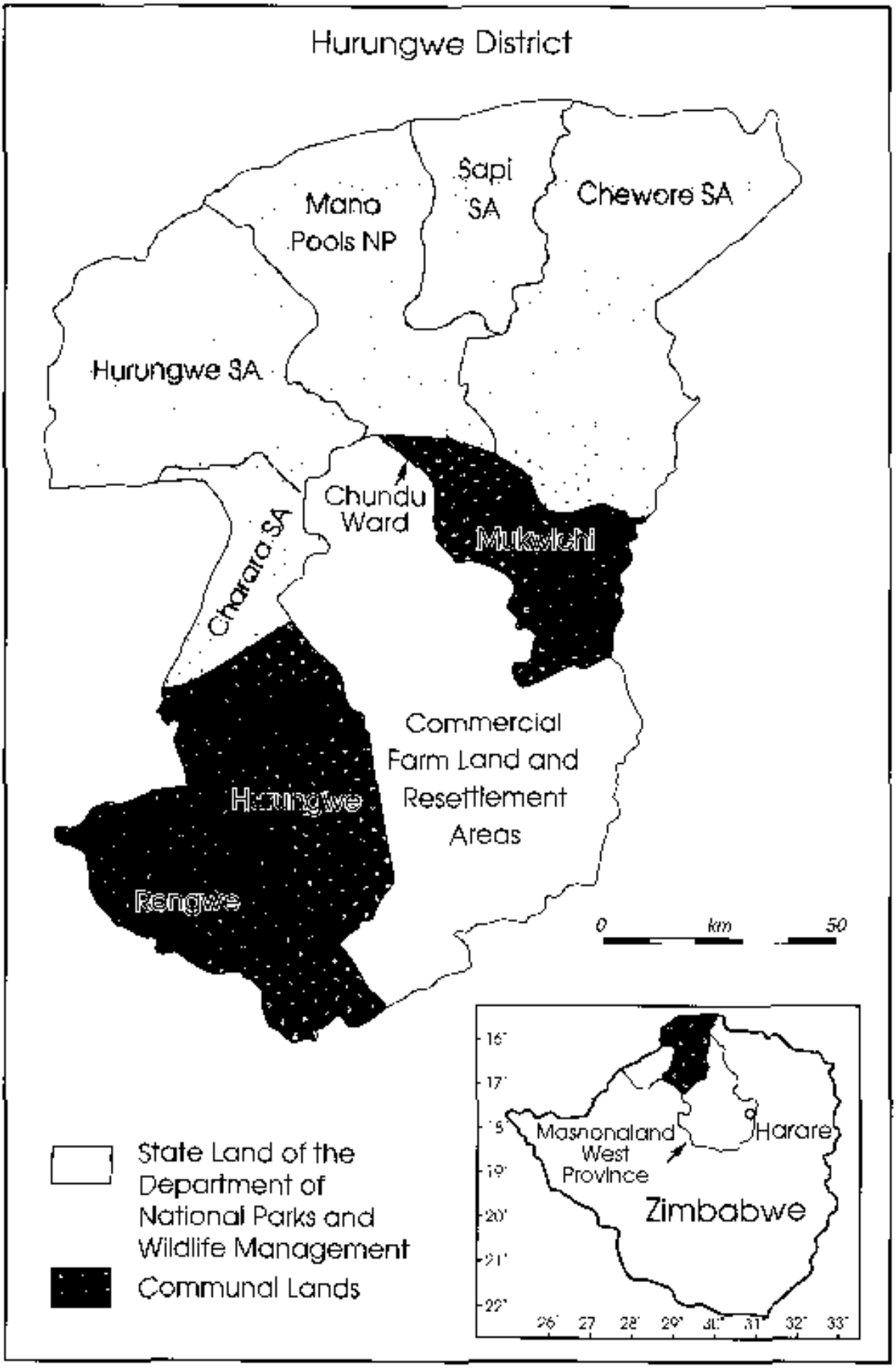
The spread of human settlement throughout Hurungwe District has led to a high degree of social tension due to differences in customs and educational backgrounds. It is also true that the newcomers are less tolerant of the presence of wild animals and the problems they cause. Generally, they tend to be more aggressive in filing complaints to the authorities, more politically aware, and more likely to forge their way into positions of leadership within the communities, which leads to resentment among the long-established settlers. Also, with the cultivation of the steep and rocky slopes by immigrants there has been a noticeable increase in soil erosion and river siltation. Responding to growing ecological strains, the District Council adopted a policy of restricting access to this rugged terrain. In 1991 the council applied for "appropriate authority" status to manage the area's natural resources under Zimbabwe's Communal Areas Management Programme for Indigenous Resources (CAMPFIRE).

The Hurungwe District Council views the adoption of CAMPFIRE as a useful measure in its attempt to stem the tide of settlers flooding into the area. In 1991 the more marginal areas were demarcated as "wildlife areas" and families who moved in illegally were evicted. Since the inception of the CAMPFIRE programme, the council has followed a policy of withholding CAMPFIRE-derived household dividends from families who were not legally registered within areas designated for settlement. This policy included a refusal to attend to problem

animal complaints emanating from people illegally settled in wildlife areas.

To the west, the district is bounded by the Sanyati River, along which the land is very rugged and supports an appreciable wet season population of elephant, although numbers of other species are very small, making it of limited viability as a hunting concession. However, the community hopes to develop eco-tourism on a small scale. A small quota of wet season elephant have been successfully marketed in an attempt to compensate inhabitants of the surrounding area for the large amount of crop damage which they have suffered.

The task of preserving these wildlife areas has been made more difficult by the tendency of local chiefs to boost their own authority by settling people where they please in return for a financial consideration. This has led to conflict between traditional leaders and the District Council over the implementation of CAMPFIRE.


Hurungwe District
Mana Pools NP
Sapi SA
Chewore SA
Hurungwe SA
Chundu Ward
Mukwichi
Charara SA
Commercial Farm Land and Resettlement Areas
Hurungwe
Rengwe
0 km 50
Masvonaland West Province
Harare
Zimbabwe
State Land of the Department of National Parks and Wildlife Management
Communal Lands

Training and Motivation

With a large area to cover, and a wide range of conditions present and problems to solve, it was difficult to devise a cohesive CAMPFIRE training programme which would satisfy all requirements. The approach has been as follows:

1. A series of formal centralised workshops, aimed at members of the Wildlife Committees and/or Resource Monitors, to provide training on specific issues. These have usually been of two or three days duration and included representatives from all seven wards at the same time, so that between 25 and 50 people have been trained together, giving them the opportunity to exchange experiences and ideas in their free time, as well as hearing each others' contributions during the official sessions. Feedback indicated they found this to be of great value. During the workshops, as much use as possible was made of role play and interactive discussions by participants, and it was clear from the beginning that they had very strong ideas of their own.

2. Written handouts were given to all wildlife committees, either reports on specific issues or, more often, follow-ups from workshops. In response to a perceived need, a district newsletter has been produced bimonthly to provide a forum for the expression of views and the exchange of ideas and experiences between the different wards.

3. A few workshops have been run at ward level, giving access to a larger number of people within each community, and the opportunity to focus on the needs of that particular community.

4. In a less formal context, training is ongoing through the regular attendance of the Wildlife Co-ordinators at Ward Wildlife Committee meetings. In this way, guidance can be given in the day-to-day running of CAMPFIRE affairs within each community, and specific issues can be sorted out as they arise. For most wards, meetings are held every four to six weeks.

In addition, on a few occasions, staff have attended courses run by outside organisations, such as the Leather Institute, Wild Life Department, and Silveira House. When new members are elected to committees, they are given informal training sessions and handouts as required. Workshops have covered institutional development, wildlife management, use of revenue, tenders from safari operators, council by-laws, accounts and record keeping, animal survey techniques, problem animal control, communication, community problems, beekeeping, and tree planting.

Institutional Structures

Campfire's administrative structure has been designed to harmonise with other organs of district government. At grassroots level, Village Wildlife Committees of six members are elected by the residents of each village with a Village Development Committee [VIDCO] involved in CAMPFIRE - that is, those VIDCOs with significant wildlife populations. Representatives of these committees sit on the Ward Wildlife Committee, which is chaired by the

councillor. The councillor sits on the District Wildlife Committee, which is a sub-committee of the District Council and also includes the council chairman and vice-chairman. In addition, one other representative, usually the secretary or treasurer, from each Ward Wildlife Committee is also co-opted as a non-voting member of the District Wildlife Committee. Other co-opted advisors include council executive staff and representatives from other government departments, such as the Forestry Commission, Department of Natural Resources, and Department of Agricultural, Technical and Extension Services.

At village and ward level, committees are encouraged to invite traditional leaders, local government extension workers, and headmasters to attend meetings as co-opted advisors. They are also encouraged to work with existing Village and Ward Development Committees, although it is clear that in many cases there are conflicts and power struggles between the traditional leaders, development committees, and wildlife committees; much of it due to jealousy and fear of the power vested in wildlife committees by virtue of their access to substantial financial resources. The situation varies from ward to ward depending on the personalities involved, and there are some cases where members of VIDCO committees are also members of Village Wildlife Committees, which can considerably enhance the effectiveness of CAMPFIRE in the area.

Each ward also has appointed a number of Resource Monitors/Problem Animal Reporters who are paid from the ward budget to note problem animal complaints and refer them to the District Council for action if necessary, undertake animal surveys, assist with education of communities and other resource-related tasks.

At council executive level, the programme has been largely administered by a full-time volunteer Wildlife Co-ordinator based at the District Council offices. The volunteer works with a trainee council employee who, in addition to other duties, acts as interpreter. The council's senior executive staff offer advice, as do officers of the Wild Life Department's CAMPFIRE unit, the World Wide Fund for Nature, and the Zimbabwe Trust. Four district game scouts are employed to monitor the safari hunting that is licensed under the programme and to assist with the education of communities, poaching patrols, problem animal control and animal surveys.

Financial matters are administered at the district level through a special wildlife account, which is run by the District Council financial department in the same way as all other council accounts, and monitored by the Wildlife Co-ordinator. All CAMPFIRE revenue is paid into this account before being disbursed to the community bank accounts, or as household dividends. At the end of the year, after deduction of the council levy and the agreed percentage for the district CAMPFIRE administration budget, funds are disbursed to the producer communities according to the hunting returns. Each CAMPFIRE ward has its own bank account which is audited annually by the Assistant Wildlife Co-ordinator, and some VIDCOs also have their own accounts. Separate accounts are opened for major income-generating projects, such as grinding mills.

The division of revenue in 1992 and 1993

is set out in Table 2. At present, revenue is almost exclusively generated from a safari hunting concession under one operator who has hunting rights over the whole district, plus, under a special agreement with the Wild Life Department, parts of Charara and Chewore South Safari Areas. The only other source of revenue is from a small photographic tourism concession which utilises land from two of the wards, and there are plans under way to operate a small community eco tourism camp in another ward (see Table 3).

Prior to amalgamation in 1993, there were seven wards involved in CAMPFIRE, four on the eastern [Mukwichi] side, one of which was a resettlement area, and three on the western [Hurungwe] side. After amalgamation, two of the Mukwichi wards were combined, but for CAMPFIRE purposes they have continued to function separately (see table 1). Some of the other wards were combined with non-CAMPFIRE wards, but have again continued to function separately for CAMPFIRE purposes.

Future Directions

Whatever its limitations, the approach adopted by the Campfire programme has been designed to produce immediate benefits. If people were to have faith in the programme, it was necessary to make things happen quickly so that the communities involved understood that promises of benefits were real. In the early stages, the impatience of the committees to see progress was very clear and it was

Table 1: Resources in the Wards

Ward no. & name	No. of VIDCOs Involved	National Parks Bordered	Special Resouce Points	Bank Account
7 Nyamakate	10	Mana Pools Hurungwe Charara	Resettlement area Wide range of animal species	1 Ward
8(1) Chundu	6	Mana Pools Chewore	Wide range of animal species. Serious illegal settlement problems	1 Ward 1 Project 4 VIDCO
8(1) Karuru	6	None	Mainly elephant	1 Ward 1 Project
9 Kasangarare	2	Doma Chewore	Excellent wildlife population in one VIDCO	2 VIDCO
13 Chidamoyo	4	None	Very small seasonal wildlife, mainly elephant	1 Ward
15 Rengwe	6	None	Wet season elephant. Severe problem animal control	1 Ward
16 Nyaodza	6	Charara	Heavily settled, little wildlife, some problem animal control	1 Ward

Source: Summarised from the District Wildlife Management Committees of Hurungwe Rural District Council 1993 Financial Report.

Table 2: Division of Revenue

Revenue from Wildlife Department		Revenue from Communal Land 1992		Revenue from Communal Land 1993	
15%	Council	15%	Council levy	15%	Council levy
35%	Wild Life Department	15%	District CAMPFIRE budget	5%	Trophy fees plus "Right to hunt"
50%	Communities bordering National Parks	70%	Communities	80%	Communities

Source: Summarised from the District Wildlife Management Committee of Hurungwe Rural District Council 1993 and 1994 Financial Reports.

Table 3: Revenue in the Wards

Ward	Source of Revenue	Revenue 1992	Revenue 1993	Use of Revenue 1992	Use of Revenue 1993
7	Own hunting Parks hunting Tourism (1993)	Z$103,578	Z$98,138	Household Dividends	Households Dividends, Schools, Borehole Repairs
8 (1)	Own hunting Parks hunting Tourism (1993)	Z$213,349	Z$188,007	Household dividends Grinding mill (part purchase) Maize trading	Household dividends Schools Grinding mill (final payment) Proposed garden
8(2)	Own hunting	Z$28,257	Z$42,840	Grinding mill (part purchase)	Grinding mill (final payment) Schools
9	Own hunting Parks hunting	Z$68,299	Z$104,433	Household dividends Clinic Chickens	Household dividends Clinic, School Dip tank
13	Sale of problem animal hides	Z$3,257	Z$6,000	Beehives	Schools Market place build Maize trading
16	Own hunting Sale of hides Proposed tourism camp	Z$38,957	Z$12,600	Behives Dip tank	Dip tank
16	Parks hunting	Z$8,730	Z$28,275	Schools	Schools Proposed dip tank

Source: Summarised from the District Wildlife Management Committee of Hurungwe Rural District Council 1993 and 1994 Financial Reports.

important to tap that enthusiasm before it evaporated.

The prior existence of the hunting concession and the substantial amount of revenue it generated acted as a driving force, so that much of the thrust of the training had to be directed towards effective use of the available revenue. This in turn raised awareness as to the importance of wildlife and the need for effective conservation.

The success of the programme, however, is dependent upon the willingness and ability of a selected group of trained participants to pass on the conservation message to the rest of the community. They are expected to become trainers themselves. Unfortunately, it is clear that in many cases this does not happen, revealing a major weakness in the programme. This has required further training and raising of awareness at the community level. If more people are aware of the benefits to be derived from conservation of resources, then more demands will be made upon trained participants and committee members to share their knowledge.

Intensive training of a targeted group has generated considerable motivation and commitment. For instance, Resource Monitors who are paid for their work regard themselves as having a proper job and therefore a function to fulfil. However, this has also cultivated the emergence of a local elite who regard themselves as experts in their field. They are often reluctant to pass on their knowledge because it may entail a surrender of power. This can create a distance between the wildlife committees and the communities they serve who tend to regard the CAMPFIRE programme as belonging to the committees and the experts rather than to the community as a whole. This only serves to underline the importance of encouraging communities to participate more fully in decision-making, to be more aware of conservation issues, and to demand accountability for project and financial management.

One indication that people are not yet ready to identify CAMPFIRE as their own creation is their unwillingness to undertake work for the programme and related community projects without payment. Whereas previously, they would have moulded bricks for the school without payment, they now demand that CAMPFIRE money be used for this. There is a tendency to cash in on what is perceived as a windfall. Similarly, more and more of the wildlife committees are demanding payment for their services in the form of allowances, as well as large allowances for meals on trips into town, or uniforms for Resource Monitors. Some of these demands may be reasonable and worth considering for the sake of retaining the commitment and services of enthusiastic committee members, but a certain amount of caution and control will need to be exercised, and the situation requires delicate and judicious handling.

Now that people have more confidence in CAMPFIRE revenues as a form of regular income, similar to that derived from other resources, more thought needs to be put into ways of ploughing money back into projects which facilitate the continuation of the programme by improving the natural resources upon which it is based. These projects in turn, if properly managed, could be effective in improving the quality of life of local inhabitants. Examples of this might be the provision of water supplies for both

wildlife and domestic livestock, and the planting of trees. Already these ideas are being discussed by the more far-sighted of the community who regret the "squandering" of CAMPFIRE revenues on household dividends which are often too small to be in any way meaningful.

One recent step has been to address women's groups in an effort to increase their involvement in decision-making. Women are conspicuously absent from most of the wildlife committees, only attending general community meetings. Because of this, it is clear that their understanding of CAMPFIRE issues is limited. This is a pity because, in general, they have a more practical attitude towards community issues which could be of great value in formulating sensible policies.

Approaching the schools is also an important step, especially since many of them have benefited directly from CAMPFIRE revenue. Building on this awareness to educate the youngsters to conserve for the future is an opportunity not to be missed. A promising development in Hurungwe is the arrival of a volunteer conservation education officer, employed by the Wildlife Society, and it is hoped that he will work with the CAMPFIRE staff to build on what has been started.

Who Benefits and Who Doesn't?

CAMPFIRE as a Community Business Enterprise

Sport hunting provides the bulk of the financial return to communities from CAMPFIRE in the Zambezi Valley, and Hurungwe District is no exception. The hunting quota for the Zambezi CAMPFIRE Districts: Guruve, Binga, Nyaminyami, Hurungwe, and North Gokwe have quite balanced quotas of 'big' and 'plains' game (Table 4). The eastern districts (not shown in the table) of Centenary and Rushinga have poor quotas while Mt. Darwin, with dense settlement and fragmented habitat, has no quota at all. It is believed that elephant will not be tolerated once population density approaches 20 persons per km^2, especially if some settlers are 'outsiders', with a low tolerance of wildlife.

The Hurungwe hunting concession, approved by the Wild Life Department, includes Mukwichi and a southern section of the Chewore Safari Area. It ranks fourth in value in the Zambezi Valley communal areas, after Kariba, Guruve, and Binga. The Hurungwe District Council concession generated almost US$120,000 in 1992. This was based substantially on 'big game' species. The district decided to distribute all the revenues from the Mukwichi concession on the basis of returns going to the villages on whose land the animals were shot. Wildlife revenues from the Chewore Safari Area were distributed evenly to those wards who had a common boundary with the protected areas of Chewore and Mana Pools. The council levied 15% of the revenue which included a 2% levy to the national CAMPFIRE Association.

A further proportion was taken up by management costs, which included a wildlife manager and four game guards. Keeping a credit balance of nearly US$20,000, 65% of revenue worth over US$77,000 was returned to producer communities, (Table 5).

Table 4: 1993 Hunting Quota (main species) for CAMPFIRE Districts in the Zambezi Valley

Species	Hwange	Binga	North Gokwe	Kariba Nyamnyami	Hurungwe	Guruve	TOTAL
Elephant	4	12	5	4	7	12	54
Buffalo	5	110	34	129	39	99	416
Lion	6	4	2	7	8	13	40
Leopard	4	12	6	26	15	24	86
Hippo	0	3	0	9	1	8	29
Crocodile	0	3	0	9	1	11	32
Eland	0	5	1	5	4	4	15
Zebra	0	3	11	2	5	3	43
Water buck	0	5	1	27	2	7	42
Kudu	0	16	6	31	3	21	77
Sable	0	3	0	9	10	10	32
Impala	0	86	19	230	3	142	479

Source: Summarised from the Department of National Parks and Wildlife Management CAMPFIRE Hunting Quotas, 1993.

Table 5: Income and Expenditure of Hurungwe District (1992)

1. TOTAL INCOME	**US$119,342**
Includes trophy fees and concession fees from a quota which included (inter alia) 4 elephant, 32 buffalo, 6 leopard, 8 sable.	
2. TOTAL EXPENDITURE	
a) District Council levy at 15% which includes a 2% levy to the National CAMPFIRE Association	**US$ 16,869**
b) District level admin stration and management	**US$ 5,071**
c) Disbursements to producer communities (wards & villages)	**US$ 77,405**
d) Credit balance in account	**US$ 19,998**

Source: Summarised from the District Wildlife Management Committee of Hurungwe Rural District Council 1993 and 1994 Financial Reports.

The wards and villages of Mukwichi established wildlife committees under the ward and village development committees, and employed locally recruited grassroots workers called animal reporters. Only two of the three wards in Mukwichi had enough wildlife returns to consider devolving them further to the constituent villages. Four out of six villages in Ward 1 (Chundu) of Mukwichi received about US$36,000 which they chose to distribute as cash dividends. Two of the ward's villages, not having a contiguous boundary with the protected area, had no revenue from wildlife. Villages 4 and 6 made two thirds of the ward revenue ($24,000) and distributed US$50 dividends to 408 households. Before revenue could be distributed the village development committees first had to establish a register of residents.

The Hurungwe District policy was that no settler could immigrate into the area without its permission, which would be based on the outcome of a land use planning exercise. Nevertheless, many settlers had moved in and the question arose whether the 'squatters' should receive wildlife dividends. The villages, supported at district level, decided to exclude illegal settlers from wildlife benefits, and up to a quarter of households were excluded. The distribution of wildlife revenues for three wards in Mukwichi is shown in Table 6.

Managing Wildlife Revenue

The distribution of communal wildlife revenues has been a hotly disputed issue throughout the CAMPFIRE programme. Hurungwe, is only the third district after Guruve (Kanyurira), and Beitbridge (Chikwarakwara) to allow choice over revenue distribution to include cash dividends. The general pattern has been for districts to allow wards and villages choice over a project, usually for social infrastructure or income generation. By passing revenues down to villages Hurungwe was applying the CAMPFIRE principle of communal wildlife proprietorship needing to be sited at the level of the lowest accountable administrative unit. A combination of small scale organisation and direct wildlife benefits are regarded as critical ingredients in the development of community-based wildlife management institutions. The return of revenue to villages implicitly recognises the jurisdiction of the village, albeit within the tiered structure of wards within a district. While there is nothing inherently wrong with community projects, the absence of free choice casts wildlife production in a different light to

crops and livestock, which, as private property, have a direct impact on household incomes. Furthermore, the option of cash dividends necessitates a registration of what constitutes a household. So far, where the option has existed, it has been the household that has been preferred above individual participation. The management of communal wildlife is made easier by having bounded participation, or exclusive access, so knowledge of membership is essential.

At the Annual General Meeting of the Hurungwe District Wildlife Committee Meeting on the 11th February, 1993, the Councillor representing Chundu Ward stated: *"When I heard about CAMPFIRE I married the animals. I don't think of killing them anymore."*

Another councillor, at the same meeting, said: *"Wildlife has long destroyed our crops without compensation. We now have the money from wildlife and if we want to pay ourselves we can as it is now possible, and our business."*

The District Administrator, representing central governments position, sounded a word of caution in his summary, when he said: *"There are some places we do not know our own people, as people from other areas are running to receive the money. We need a register which should not be a rush job, done at the last minute before (wildlife) dividend distribution."*

Table 6: Mukwichi Producer Community Revenue Distribution

Producer Community (Ward)	Population of Ward/Village	Number of Households	Total Dividend US Dollars	Household Dividend US Dollars
Chundu Ward 1				
Village 1	1,108	198	7,184	31.66
Village 3	1,361	243	5,034	15.00
Village 4	1,120	200	11,011	48.33
Village 6	1,165	208	12,913	54.17
Comment 1: Wildlife revenues passed down from ward to the villages where trophy animals were shot. Village Wildlife Committees chose to distribute revenues by household (HH) in cash.				
Ward 2	4,952	884	4,710	
Comment 2: Ward chose a grinding mill				
Ward 3				
Village 17	2,803	519	6,932	13.36
Village 18	2,403	445	4,451	10.00
Comment 3. Villages had high number of Households resulting in small dividend				

Note: Data from Hurungwe District Council & I. Bond (WWF-Multispecies Project) (Exchange rate Z$6 to US$1)

Equity and Focused Value:
Compatible or not?

Having established the principle of placing a focused value for wildlife at the village level, with free choice over expenditure, the village wildlife committees of Chundu ward recommended that the two villages without returns should be included, at the others expense. The villages without wildlife-generated revenue had not agreed to the establishment of the administrative boundaries in the knowledge of wildlife management possibilities. Although the Chundu ward boundary was accepted, the village boundaries could be redesignated so that either all six villages had a frontier with wild land and the protected land, or the ward revenue distribution system, could accommodate all villages.

Thus villages themselves have to address the issue of focused value for wildlife versus equity issues within the ward. Ward identity in the case of Chundu appears important, but equally so is the fact that the decision was made by the lower unit of villages and not unilaterally by the ward or district.

Equity between wards within Mukwichi district has not been promoted as a possibility and has not been an issue. However, there are advocates at district level, representatives and executives who occasionally push for a district-centred control of expenditure. Wards 1 (Chundu) and 3 situated next to protected lands made sufficient returns to allocate wildlife dividends to villages which distributed them to households as dividends. Ward 2 in Mukwichi with 884 households only made US 4,710 dollars which would have amounted to only 5 dollars per household. Consequently, Ward 2 opted to build a community grinding mill and run it as a ward income generating project. The project has led to the development of ward community producers group, for natural resources held in common. It might serve the community in several ways in future combining development and conservation objectives. At this stage its future seems more uncertain.

Exclusivity

It is an aspiration of CAMPFIRE to help people sharing natural resources to develop economic institutions for managing their use. Mukwichi's positive early experience could turn out to be short lived if it cannot control migrant settlers moving into the ward's wild land habitat. While Chundu Ward is taking strenuous steps to control poaching of wildlife, its wild land frontier with the parks is being increasingly fragmented. The threat of unplanned settlement persists. Unless the resident communities can enforce rules of access to their area the entire programme is threatened. More settlers entails less wild habitat and watered down share holdings. Unless and until this issue is resolved, Mukwichi's wildlife opportunities in the future are in the balance. What the area faces critically today, all the Zambezi valley districts will have to confront sooner rather than later. Not providing wildlife dividends to 'squatters' does not solve the problem as they remain on the land and create a base for dissension. It is clear that many community members realise this dilemma and wish to establish a position on the issue.

The threat to newly acquired wildlife revenues posed by new settlers was not seen as a problem at first until the value of the resource was appreciated by villagers. Now that wildlife is seen as a land use option critical questions are being raised. Tenure issues are becoming clearer because of CAMPFIRE. Who lives on the land, and where they live, are no longer other peoples' issues but directly those of the residents. If the residents of Ward 1 want wildlife to be a land use in their area it is in their interests to control access to the ward.

However, the issues of community membership and resource access rights provide a setting for a dispute between traditional authorities and the statutory-based, locally elected Council committees. Making a rule about access to district land does not necessarily mean effective enforcement of it at the community level. Effective implementation of agricultural land use plans is not a reality in Chundu, nor most of the Zambezi valley for that matter. The inability of local communities to exclude new settlers poses a very serious threat to the possibility of achieving sustainable resource use as well as maintenance of wildlife diversity.

It raises the question as to whether many rural communities nowadays could enforce exclusivity on their resource base in the face of serious 'freeriding' pressures. If communities cannot enforce exclusion what does that say for community-based approaches? Does the government have to be the 'enforcer of last resort'? It may be that despite a policy aimed at achieving community-based conservation the actual outcome will be a co-management arrangement, at least in the short run until use rights are more stable.

An Exclusion Zone

Ironically, the co-management compromise seems to be what is driving Chundu Ward's CAMPFIRE project. Time is of the essence. The District Wildlife Committee is fully aware how valuable its wild animals are. The district has the support of Chundu Ward Wildlife Committee to establish an unsettled 'buffer zone' on the protected area boundary. However, the ward and village committee cannot coerce this decision on everyone. By coincidence another programme protecting the beef export industry has proposed the erection of a 'foot and mouth' disease protection fence in the area. The fence could either be situated along the park boundary or through northern Chundu and Mukwichi generally. Both Council and the elected community leadership have been able to exploit this circumstance to their advantage.

The Hurungwe Council has agreed with the Veterinary Department that the fence can go through the communal land and that there will be a ban on both settlement and livestock north of the fence. This decision effectively creates a wildlife buffer zone between settled areas and protected ones. As long as that zone can be maintained Chundu Ward will have wildlife. This seems a good result but it must be remembered that it is not based on a consensus. In fact without the serendipitous intervention of the 'foot and mouth' fence it is likely that decision-making would stall and the zone would be lost by default. The Department of Veterinary Services is now the scapegoat for enforcing a difficult decision. The game fence which establishes a clear exclusion zone seems to have been the best available course in the short run anyway, but it was a co-management decision.

District, Ward and Village institutions are struggling to co-ordinate the traditional authorities and people presently resident to make rules regarding access to common wild lands in their area. Enforcement presently requires back up. The problem is by no means resolved, but the keen awareness that exists on the issue has been raised by the CAMPFIRE concept of common ownership and use of wildlife.

Conclusion

Chundu Ward's experience so far shows how the issues related to the management of communal property are becoming increasingly clear through the CAMPFIRE programme. CAMPFIRE provides a focused view of the broad but central issues related to authority, tenure, land use and settlement. It is a small step from a community dealing with wildlife as a common property to applying the same principles to woodland and forage resources, and even access to land. While most property management paradigms are based on state and private property regimes, CAMPFIRE is putting new meaning into communal property regimes. It is becoming increasingly apparent that property rights allocated to discrete communities are essential, but further, that those communities must be able to defend their rights.

Zimbabwe's Land Tenure Commission has recently vindicated the CAMPFIRE approach stating:

"We believe that the current legal and administrative structures in Communal Areas have collapsed because there is a lack of clarity on roles and functions of various institutions at local levels over issues of land and natural resource management. There is evidence that the dissolution of traditional authority and role in land and natural resource matter at Independence was premature..."

Despite the fact that CAMPFIRE has had to implement a wildlife policy within a hostile land tenure and rural governance environment the Commission further states:

"The Commission concluded that the CAMPFIRE programme is a qualified success and demonstrates probably the most important recommendation for the Commission. That is, rural communities can own and utilize resources effectively and sustainably provided there are clear benefits to the community and that the community is empowered through local level institutions." (Govt. of Zimbabwe, 1994)

References

*Govt. of Zimbabwe (1994) **Report of the Commission of Inquiry in Appropriate Agricultural Land Tenure Systems**. Professor Mandivamba Rukuni (Chairman) Volume One. Main Report.*

Notes

The Wildlife and Development Series is produced by the International Institute for Environment and Development (IIED) to highlight key topics in the field of sustainable wildlife use. The Series is aimed at policy makers, researchers, planners and extension workers in government and non-government organisations world-wide. This Series arises from two sources. First by invitation of IIED to others working in this field. Secondly from IIED's own work.

This is an invitation paper. It is one of a series that reviews a selected feature of contemporary importance from Zimbabwe's Communal Areas Management Programme for Indigenous Resources (CAMPFIRE). It was arranged and edited by the Africa Resources Trust on behalf of the CAMPFIRE Collaborative Group supported by the Biodiversity Support Programme (a consortium of the World Wildlife Fund, the Nature Conservancy and the World Resources Institute) with funding by the United States Agency for International Development.

The Case Studies

In this paper, two very different but fundamental aspects of CAMPFIRE in Hurungwe are reported from individuals with comprehensive experience in the District. The first viewpoint is concerned with training and motivation within the community, the other dwells on community membership and problems of immigration. These are strongly complimentary reports and although they specifically cover important issues within the context of CAMPFIRE in Hurungwe, they have much wider application within the programme.

Authors

Cherry Bird was, until 1995, the Wildlife Co-ordinator for the Hurungwe Rural District Council in Zimbabwe. Her contact address is Voluntary Service Overseas, PO Box 664, Harare, Zimbabwe. *Simon Metcalfe* is an Honorary Research Fellow with the Centre for Applied Social Sciences (CASS) at the University of Zimbabwe, PO Box MP167, Mount Pleasant, Harare, Zimbabwe and also works as a Zimbabwe Trust CAMPFIRE Programme Advisor.

Please note that:

- With the introduction of the Rural District Councils Act in 1988, all Rural Councils and District Councils in Zimbabwe were amalgamated to form Rural District Councils. The two terms are interchangeable in the CAMPFIRE papers.
- The Department of National Parks and Wildlife Management has been referred to as the Wild Life Department in this series of papers.

1995

IIED

INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTE FOR ENVIRONMENT AND DEVELOPMENT

3 Endsleigh Street,
London WC1H ODD, UK

Telephone: +44 (0)171-388 2117
Facsimile: +44 (0)171-388 2826
E-mail: iieduk@gn.apc.org