

**Rethinking Development in Post-Colonial Zimbabwe: The Case of the CAMPFIRE
Programme in Kanyemba**

By

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Abstract

This study is concerned with people's attitudes towards the Communal Areas Management Programme for Indigenous Resources (CAMPFIRE). This study is situated in Kanyemba, a ward in Mbire District, Mashonaland Central, Zimbabwe. CAMPFIRE is a community-based natural resource management programme that aims at empowering local communities to sustainably manage and benefit from wildlife and other natural resources within their confines. This study explores people's attitudes towards development (and CAMPFIRE as a development programme) and how they perceive, engage with, and contest development. There are two subgroups living in Kanyemba: the Chikunda, which is the majority group, and the Tembo Mvura. Rooted in post-development thinking, this study highlights the nuances and ambiguities in people's attitudes towards development. The study relies on interviews, participant observation, and archival material. The study has three guiding objectives. Firstly, I set out to explore how the Tembo Mvura and Chikunda community members living in Kanyemba perceive and interact with the CAMPFIRE programme and how their views coincide with or diverge from mainstream development discourse. The study discusses the Tembo Mvura and Chikunda definitions and descriptions of development and the two groups' perspectives and experiences of the CAMPFIRE programme. While the Tembo Mvura have mostly negative attitudes towards CAMPFIRE, their Chikunda neighbours exude both positive and negative attitudes towards development, projecting a sense of joy and appreciation but also disillusionment with development. Secondly, I highlight how Tembo Mvura and Chikunda actively participate in and challenge the CAMPFIRE project and how these interactions can be interpreted within the framework of post-development theory. As I explore these attitudes, I portray the ambivalence evident in people's simultaneous desire for and dismissal of development. While the people dismiss some aspects of development, they still want some development, hence the ambivalence. Finally, I explore how the residents of Kanyemba have responded to the limitations of CAMPFIRE, what alternatives to development they propose, and what role cultural, historical, economic, and environmental factors play in shaping the communities' alternatives to development. The residents of Kanyemba have different historical and cultural backgrounds, and I highlight how these have influenced the different alternatives to development proposed by Tembo Mvura and Chikunda. In this regard, I explore the nuanced critiques of development held by residents of Kanyemba, examining how cultural and historical factors influence their selective engagement with different aspects of the CAMPFIRE initiative. This thesis contributes to post-development thinking by arguing that the ambivalence evident in people's attitudes towards development in Kanyemba makes dismissing development more complicated than some post-development theorists suggest. The findings of the study show that people's ambivalence towards development emanates from CAMPFIRE's approach that strips individuals of agency, stifles their voices, and curtails democratic participation in determining their preferences and how they desire to progress.

Dedication

This work is dedicated to my wife, Shamine, and my son, Xyair Chikomborero. To my parents, Jackson and Edith Mayebe, words alone cannot capture my eternal gratitude. To Uncle Joseph Mwandiringa, this thesis is a result of your influence; you should be smiling from the heavens.

To the people of Kanyemba, this is for us!

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

ADRA	Adventist Development and Relief Agency
APU	Anti-Poaching Unit
AWF	African Wildlife Foundation
CASS	Centre for African Social Sciences
CAMPFIRE	Communal Ares Management Programme For Indigenous Resources
CBNRM	Community-Based Natural Resources management
CITES	Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species
COVID-19	Coronavirus Disease of 2019
DNPWM	Department of National Parks and Wildlife Management
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GNP	Gross National Product
GoZ	Government of Zimbabwe
HWC	Human-Wildlife Conflict
LGDA	Lower Guruve Development Agency
MDC	Movement for Democratic Change
MP	Member of Parliament
MRDC	Mbire Rural District Council
MZP	Mid-Zambezi Project
NAZ	National Archives of Zimbabwe
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
PAC	Problem Animal Control
RDC	Rural District Council
VIDCO	Village Development Committee
WARDCO	Ward Development Committee
WINDFALL	Wildlife Industries New Development For All
WFP	World Food Programme
WWC	Ward Wildlife Committee
ZimParks	Zimbabwe Parks and Wildlife Management Authority
Zimstats	Zimbabwe National Statistics Agency
ZRP	Zimbabwe Republic Police

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

In August 2017, I embarked on a journey to Kanyemba to conduct interviews for my master's dissertation. Kanyemba is a ward in the Mbire Rural District Council of Mashonaland Central in Zimbabwe. The valley's heat, typical for this time of year, made daytime travel less appealing, so I departed from the Mushumbi business centre around 5 p.m. Along the way, I offered a ride to two gentlemen who were going to Chitima and Angwa villages. The condition of the road, unfortunately, was far from ideal. The last repairs had been haphazardly done during the 2013 election campaign season, leaving the road riddled with protruding stones and uneven surfaces. As a result, my average speed was 15 kilometres per hour.

When I dropped the two gentlemen off at their bus stops, I felt exhausted and needed rest. Reaching the Angwa shops, I decided to pull over and take a brief break. As I relaxed, a group approached me, requesting a ride to Kanyemba. While discussing our departure time, a man in a Zimbabwe National Parks uniform approached us. He strongly advised against driving at night, citing a wounded elephant roaming the area. His words, combined with my fatigue, made sleeping at the shops much more appealing. I informed the group seeking transportation that I would leave at dawn the next day. Upon waking, I checked my van and woke my travel companions. We started our journey, but the pace remained slow, never exceeding 30 kilometres per hour. Soon after passing the turn-off to Dande Safaris Area's Usanga Usanga campsite, we encountered a broken-down tractor that had been stranded since the previous morning. The occupants, unable to venture into the forest due to dangerous animals in the Dande Safaris, had spent the entire day without food or water. Fortunately, I had carried 25 litres of drinking water and had packed 40 packets of Maputi, a local snack of popped maize.

As I conversed with the people at the tractor, a vehicle with officials from the Zimbabwe Revenue Authority (ZIMRA), accompanied by members of the Zimbabwe Republic Police (ZRP), arrived. We engaged in a conversation, and they inquired about my destination. They seemed bewildered when I informed them that I was heading to Mariga for research. During our conversation, one Zimra official made an offhand remark that surprised me: 'MaDoma are backward and live like animals'. MaDoma or Doma is a term popularly used to refer to the

Tembo Mvura people (see Section 3.3.2.1 of this study, which discusses this naming). Curious, I pressed him for more information. He elaborated, ‘You should see their houses and way of life. They still need development’. While this was not my first visit to the Kanyemba area (where the Tembo Mvura live), it was the first time I heard such a description being applied to the Tembo Mvura’s way of life. One of the passengers from the broken-down tractor, a woman of Tembo Mvura origin, waited until the Zimra car had left to explain why the Tembo Mvura lacked proper housing. She stated that ‘development’ had not reached them. Intrigued, I asked her to clarify what she meant by development. She said the people wanted houses and food. She explained that the people were treated as if they were undeserving of the good life enjoyed by the neighbouring Chikunda people. Her words revealed deep frustration with the unequal distribution of resources and opportunities. This encounter proved immensely insightful for my master’s and doctoral research. As I drove away, I pondered a crucial question: what did ‘development’ mean to the people of Kanyemba? What are the people’s experiences with development? The questions became the driving force behind this research.

While conducting interviews for my master’s research, ‘Living on the margins of the state: Towards a social history of Tembo Mvura/Doma of Kanyemba in Zambezi Valley’, which focused on the history of the Tembo Mvura community, the issue of development (or the lack thereof) consistently arose. The community’s repeated inquiries about development resonated deeply with my personal experiences. On nearly every visit to Kanyemba, I found myself stuck in the sandy riverbed or had a punctured tyre or broken suspension component, a tangible manifestation of the lack of infrastructural improvement. People expressed their disappointment not only with the absence of development but also with the restrictions imposed on their traditional hunting and gathering practices. The Tembo Mvura community seemed to attribute almost every negative experience to CAMPFIRE. Their understanding of development was heavily influenced by their neighbours, the Chikunda, who supposedly enjoyed the benefits of CAMPFIRE. This led to the assumption that any development desired by the Tembo Mvura would automatically be enjoyed by the Chikunda as well. The Tembo Mvura complaints, based on the comparison with their neighbours, further aroused my curiosity to understand the Chikunda perspective towards development in Kanyemba. That is how this study was born.

My academic background is in history and ethnographic research. When I decided to pursue a PhD, I told myself I would tell stories of development in Kanyemba. I use ‘stories’ because this study would not unearth a single, unified narrative. Before commencing my PhD, I was

unfamiliar with post-development theory. My supervisor, one of the few African voices in post-development discourse, facilitated my introduction to post-development thinking. As I was working on my proposal, I asked what development is and who determines the state of development. I wondered if development is visible at all in Kanyemba and how the residents define and describe development. This study embarks on a journey to find out how the Chikunda and Tembo Mvura communities of Kanyemba have contested and engaged with development, specifically, the Communal Areas Management Programme for Indigenous Resources (CAMPFIRE). This journey explores local definitions, descriptions, and personal experiences with CAMPFIRE, revealing the complex and often contradictory attitudes towards development held by the people of Kanyemba. As this study highlights, the narrative from Kanyemba attests to the notion that the term development cannot be universally understood. Indeed, development has been termed an ‘amoeba’ concept because it seems to be able to take any shape (Esteva, 1985; Sachs, 2010).

The study argues that how development is defined varies and is dependent on one’s socio-economic position. I explore how the communities have actively negotiated their position within the development framework. In Kanyemba, development is defined and described differently by the different groups living in Kanyemba, and as a result, attitudes towards development vary. This study also highlights the complexity of dismissing development and calling for its end. I employ a variant of post-development thinking to highlight the complex nature of people’s attitudes towards dismissing development. Post-development thinking has been popularised by its advocacy for alternatives to development. As I will show, some of the people of Kanyemba propose alternatives to development, especially alternatives which allow them to have full authority over animals in their area and access to the resources they believe they need to have a good life.

1.2 Research aims and objectives

How do Kanyemba communities negotiate and contest development, specifically in the context of the ongoing CAMPFIRE programme, and how do they construct local alternatives to mainstream development? This is the study’s broader question, which gives birth to the overall objective of the study. This research aims to highlight the attitudes of Kanyemba communities towards development, with a particular focus on their interactions with the CAMPFIRE programme. To achieve this aim, I will be guided by these objectives:

- To employ a bottom-up methodology to portray how Kanyemba community members perceive and interact with the CAMPFIRE programme and how their views coincide with or diverge from the mainstream development discourse.
- To explore how the people of Kanyemba actively participate in and challenge the CAMPFIRE project and how these interactions can be interpreted within the framework of post-development theory.
- To investigate how the residents of Kanyemba have responded to the limitations of CAMPFIRE, what alternatives to development they propose, and what role cultural, historical, economic, and environmental factors play in shaping the communities' alternatives to development.

From these objectives, I formulated the research questions. These research questions served as a guide for how this thesis was to be formulated.

- How do Kanyemba residents perceive and interact with the CAMPFIRE programme? Do their views coincide with or diverge from mainstream development discourse?
- How do they actively participate in and challenge the CAMPFIRE project, and how can these interactions be interpreted within the framework of post-development theory? Do the attitudes of the Kanyemba residents challenge or support the post-development criticisms of initiatives like CAMPFIRE?
- In response to the failure of CAMPFIRE, what alternatives to development do the Kanyemba communities propose, and what principles form the foundation of these alternatives? What roles do cultural, historical, economic, and environmental factors play in shaping the Kanyemba residents' alternatives to development?

1.3 Justification for and significance of the study

Since the middle of the 20th century, many development theories have emerged, each aiming to illuminate the path for 'underdeveloped' nations to bridge the gap separating them from their more developed counterparts. These diverse theories of development sought to identify the key factors enabling these nations to achieve a level of advancement similar to that of the developed states. Implicit within these theories was the assumption that the journey from underdevelopment to development involved replicating the trajectory of developed nations, with modernity and development serving as the ultimate destinations. Development theory has

undergone numerous transformations and faced scrutiny from diverse thinkers. However, the idea of development remains influential, particularly in rural Zimbabwe and similar contexts.

The present study on development in Kanyemba is critical because it explores local attitudes towards CAMPFIRE. This programme has garnered some academic attention as both a resource conservation initiative and a development programme. Scholars like Child (1993, 1996), Jani (2022), Mashinya (2007), Maveneke (1995), Murphree (1993, 2004), and Taylor (2009) have conducted varied research on CAMPFIRE. These scholars' research on CAMPFIRE provides valuable insights into the programme's mechanics and its broader impact on communities. This study offers a crucial perspective by exploring the local attitudes towards CAMPFIRE and, more generally, towards development. By prioritising local voices and experiences, this study illuminates how communities in Kanyemba perceive and interact with CAMPFIRE, unveiling their hopes, aspirations, concerns, and, ultimately, the reasons for the programme's contested trajectory.

The vibrant discourse of post-development has resonated throughout the Global South, particularly in regions grappling with the complex realities of development. However, within the vast African context, a noticeable dearth of research exists regarding applying post-development thinking to analyse and deconstruct development narratives critically. The continent's historical experience with development, characterised by numerous failed initiatives and dismissed projects, offers numerous case studies ripe for scrutiny. While scholars like Ferguson (1994), Matthews (2004, 2017), and Andreasson (2005, 2017) have made valuable contributions in this domain, there is still more to be done in the African context. This study addresses this critical gap by exploring development in Zimbabwe and Kanyemba in relation to post-development theory. The selection of this theoretical framework is far from arbitrary. Zimbabwe, and more specifically Kanyemba, offers a rich context for the analysis of post-development theory. As is the case with many countries in the Global South, Zimbabwe has been the recipient of numerous development initiatives. Kanyemba, akin to numerous rural communities in Zimbabwe, has been the recipient of various development initiatives, including CAMPFIRE. However, these initiatives have not been successful in attaining their intended objectives. The reasons for these failures range from poor implementation, top-down approaches, the disregard for local cultures and knowledge, and the lack of local participation. Post-development thinking can help us understand whether and why people reject development initiatives like CAMPFIRE and what they would like to see in place of such initiatives.

In this study, I facilitate a deeper understanding of the limitations and shortcomings inherent in the traditional development and conservation paradigms. I identify and explore alternatives to development rooted in local knowledge, values and experiences. In so doing, I foster a more nuanced and inclusive understanding of development that transcends the confines of Western-centric models. Furthermore, by exploring their lived experiences, this study uncovers how the Kanyemba communities negotiate, resist and ultimately shape their attitudes towards development. The current scarcity of research on post-development and its application in Africa, Zimbabwe and Kanyemba justifies the undertaking of this study. By focusing on Kanyemba, this research hopes to contribute to the ongoing conversation about rethinking development and fostering alternatives to development that are more equitable and sustainable for future African communities.

This study is significant in both development and political contexts, employing a bottom-up approach to comprehend people's attitudes toward development. While there have been numerous scholarly papers and NGO reports on CAMPFIRE, proposed improvements to the programme have often originated from an 'expert' perspective and adopted a top-down reformist approach that overlooks local input. Lessons drawn from Kanyemba's experience can offer invaluable insights for policymakers, practitioners, and academics, encouraging a departure from conventional models and a shift toward more participatory and locally-driven development approaches. While crucial for policymakers, this study should be seen as a lens emphasising local perspectives on development, using post-development theory rather than providing specific policy solutions.

Post-development thinkers are renowned for their promotion of alternatives to development. One of the significant aspects of this research lies in its exploration of whether communities in Kanyemba are seeking such alternatives. This investigation provides insights into alternatives to development that place a premium on human welfare, cultural diversity, and social justice. Furthermore, the research offers an understanding of the challenges the community encounters in their pursuit of these development alternatives.

1.4 Limitations of the study

This study offers insights into the development experiences and challenges in Kanyemba, Zimbabwe. However, its findings may not be fully generalisable due to certain limitations. The primary limitation is the study's focus on Kanyemba, a single community within the 58 diverse districts of the CAMPFIRE programme. The heterogeneity of these districts suggests that the

attitudes observed in Kanyemba may not represent the sentiments across all districts, potentially limiting the broader applicability of the findings.

While the attitudes collected in Kanyemba assert that CAMPFIRE may have failed to fulfil its promises, the goal of this thesis is not to make blanket claims that are applicable to other CAMPFIRE areas. The limitation of this study is that the issue raised in Kanyemba cannot be taken as representative of rural areas in Zimbabwe or Africa at large. This thesis aimed to detail the experiences of one community made up of two sub-communities (Chikunda and Tembo Mvura). I provide detailed and nuanced attitudes to the people, and these should not be taken as being the same across the rural sector in Zimbabwe.

1.5 Organisation of the study

This thesis is made up of nine chapters examining and delivering on the study's objectives. This opening chapter lays the foundation for the entire research journey. It begins by clearly articulating the research aim and objectives, providing a concise overview of the study's overarching goal and the specific questions that guide its direction. This chapter highlights the study's relevance, underscoring its potential impact on existing knowledge and its potential for real-world applications. The chapter also addresses the study's limitations.

Chapter Two explores and critiques the existing literature on development. Commencing from the mid-1940s, the chapter traces the evolution of the development paradigm, shedding light on its dynamic nature. Underlining the challenges associated with defining development, the discussion sets the stage for introducing post-development theory. This study adopts a post-development perspective, and the chapter provides a comprehensive overview of its emergence and trajectory. Chapter Two equips readers with an understanding of the development landscape, highlighting established paradigms and alternative perspectives, such as post-development. By laying this groundwork, the chapter establishes a solid foundation for the subsequent exploration and analysis undertaken in the research.

In Chapter Three, the study provides a comprehensive context for the research. Beginning with an introduction to the study area, Kanyemba in Mbire, the chapter navigates the area's ethnic composition and climatic conditions. Furthermore, the chapter acquaints the reader with the intricacies of Community-Based Natural Resources Management (CBNRM), within which the Community Areas Management Programme for Indigenous Resources (CAMPFIRE) operates. Chapter Three lays the groundwork for the subsequent chapters, ensuring the reader comprehends them.

In Chapter Four, I discuss the methodological approach that underpins this research. The chapter details the research design, underscoring the multifaceted approach integrating interviews, observation, and archival material. The chapter acts as a critical link between theory and application and a methodological compass, guiding the reader through research design and data analysis complexities.

Chapter Five marks a shift towards the research findings, immersing the reader in the perspectives of the residents of Kanyemba, specifically the Tembo Mvura community. The chapter explores the Tembo Mvura community's definition and description of development. The chapter highlights the nuanced attitudes within the community towards development, particularly within the context of the CAMPFIRE programme. The transition from conceptual understanding to lived experiences equips the reader with a comprehensive understanding of the local perspectives on development, paving the way for a more in-depth analysis.

Chapter Six unveils the Chikunda perspectives on development by exploring their descriptions and definitions of the concept. This chapter examines the dichotomy of attitudes—both organically emerging from within the community and those influenced by external factors. The chapter explores what I will call 'imposed attitudes', providing examples illustrating how external factors can shape and mould community perceptions. This qualitative analysis sheds light on the subtle and often insidious ways development agendas can be imposed upon local communities, potentially undermining their autonomy and self-determination. Chapter Six demonstrates that attitudes towards development are rarely monolithic or dualistic.

Chapter Seven analyses the intersection between the attitudes of the Tembo Mvura and Chikunda communities towards development, using human-wildlife conflict (HWC) as a lens. The chapter explores the repercussions of heightened HWC, illustrating its adverse impact on people's perspectives towards CAMPFIRE. The chapter unveils a shared sentiment among the Tembo Mvura and Chikunda communities, noting their collective viewpoint on the detrimental effects of wildlife on their livelihood resources. By highlighting the consensus in their experiences, the chapter establishes a critical link between the HWC and the evolving attitudes towards development programmes such as CAMPFIRE. Through this exploration, Chapter Seven not only elucidates the negative consequences of increased HWC but also showcases a noteworthy convergence of perspectives between the Tembo Mvura and Chikunda communities.

Chapter Eight marks a pivotal point in the research journey, bringing the empirical findings and the post-development lens into a dialogue. It demonstrates how the theoretical framework of post-development illuminates the participants' rejection of CAMPFIRE. This perspective promotes radical and pluralistic democratic practices. The chapter explores the various alternatives to development that emerge from the research findings. This exploration culminates in presenting the study's central thesis. By weaving together research data and theoretical insights, Chapter Eight paints a comprehensive picture of the complex and multifaceted relationship between post-development and the dismissal of development. It challenges simplistic interpretations and invites the reader to engage with the findings with a critical and open mind.

Chapter Nine provides a summary of the study's key arguments. The recap commences by reinforcing the study's central thesis. It discusses the research objectives and assesses their fulfilment. The chapter summarises the study's response to the research questions laid out at the beginning. Additionally, the chapter explores the study's contribution to advancing comprehension of development in marginal areas. Concluding the recap, attention is given to potential avenues for future research.

CHAPTER TWO

DEVELOPMENT AND POST-DEVELOPMENT: A LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

The concept of development has been a subject of intense scholarly inquiry across various disciplines. Development as a paradigm, concept and practice has gone through many changes over the years. The concept has been criticised for numerous reasons, resulting in changes to development theory and practice to address the concerns. Post-development theory as a school of thought differed from many other critical approaches in that it seemed to dismiss development – with all its different paradigms and approaches – entirely. A better grip on how post-development theory is going to be used in the study warrants a comprehensive literature review. This chapter comprises two sections. The first section examines development as both a discourse and a practice, offering a concise overview of the various phases of development thought. It assesses the evolution of development thinking, tracing its journey from orthodox to revisionist to post-development paradigms. The second section scrutinises post-development theory as a radical critique of the discourse and practice of development. This section explores post-development theory's origins, key debates, and evolution over time. It also addresses criticisms of the post-development perspective. Lastly, the chapter briefly surveys the presence of post-development thought within Africa, highlighting its relatively limited influence.

2.2 Theories of development

Development constitutes a central focus within this study, and this section is dedicated to exploring its definitions and descriptions, with a particular emphasis on its multi-dimensional facets. It is important to recognise that the definition of development is controversial, characterised by layers of complexity, and has evolved significantly over time. Ziai (2016:73) aptly notes, 'Development means different things to different people'. Among the numerous definitions and depictions of development, a recurring theme is that of change. While the overarching objective of enhancing living standards has remained a constant, the strategies and approaches employed to attain this goal have evolved, engendering shifts in the discourse surrounding development. The demand for a more comprehensive development paradigm has given rise to various approaches. For example, development has been reconceptualised as

endogenous, participatory, and alternative in response to criticisms directed at the discourse and the associated practices (Duffield, 2002; Ziai, 2016).

Academic opinions on the origins of development discourse are diverse, leading to extensive debate. Nisbert (1969) traces the genesis of development discourse back to Ancient Greece, while Ziai (2016) links its inception with Enlightenment philosophy. Although it is acknowledged that development discourse may have historical roots spanning centuries, this research primarily concentrates on conceptualising development in the post-colonial (1980-present) period. In this study, I investigate the discourse that surfaced following President Truman's famous 'Point Four' speech on 20 January 1949. Potter et al. (2018) contend that Truman's address signified the dawn of the 'modern era' of development, particularly by using the term 'underdeveloped areas' to describe countries that would later be classified as the Global South. Truman underscored that it was the obligation of the developed world (the West) to instigate 'development' in the underdeveloped nations (the South).

2.2.1 Modernisation Theory

The conventional viewpoint on development, which sees it as closely related to economic growth, surfaced following World War II (WWII). This post-WWII era signified a substantial shift in the development paradigm (Thorbecke, 2007:3). President Truman's 1949 inaugural speech was instrumental in initiating the discourse and practice of development (Rist, 2019). Truman proclaimed that individuals in the Global South could now independently navigate their journey towards modernity, free from colonial influence (Ziai, 2016). However, while Truman dismissed the civilised versus uncivilised dichotomy that undergirded colonialism, he introduced a new binary construct: developed versus underdeveloped. Scholars such as Potter et al. (2012: 19) and Power (2003) contend that this faith in development as a transformative force, converting 'traditional' nations into modern, Westernised equivalents, forged a stark divide between the underdeveloped and the developed regions. The route to development was believed to require the discarding of 'backward' socio-economic structures and the imposition of Western values to incorporate the underdeveloped countries into the capitalist system (Ziai, 2016: 32). Early development theory, especially in the form of modernisation theory, promoted the idea that all developing nations should mimic the Western development model and enact transformative policies.

Moreover, the modern alterations to socio-economic structures, influenced by Truman's philosophy, were intended to empower newly independent Global South states to facilitate and

implement modernisation strategies (Nilsen, 2016). The discourse on development during this period was centred around the idea of directing socio-economic change in a specific direction. Consistent with this viewpoint, Rostow (1960) posited that development involved a transition from point A (symbolising tradition) to point B (representing modernity). However, this definition has been controversial within the discourse on development. Rostow's depiction of development gives little consideration to local voices as to whether position A is deemed undesirable by such communities and whether they desire to embrace point B. This idea of being caught between A and B is an essential aspect of this study that will be addressed in Chapter Eight. Similarly, Rostow's definition of development is often criticised for its inflexibility, as it excludes alternative destinations beyond point B, neglecting the fluidity of ideas, cultures, and policy approaches. As Peet and Hartwick (2015) note, the objective of development often revolves around achieving conditions characteristic of already prosperous societies at any cost. Given the diverse definitions and perspectives on development, it becomes clear why critics often perceive it as a contentious concept, as I will explore in Section 2.4.

The modernisation era's primary objective revolved around the growth of the Gross National Product (GNP) (Thorbecke, 2007; Lewis, 1954; Latouche, 2010). In the 1950s and 1960s, GNP was central to development economics, with economic growth equated with GNP growth or an increase in GNP per capita. However, scholars such as Potter et al. (2018), Seers (1972), and Thorbecke (2007) argue that development involves more than just income growth. As a result, relying solely on per capita national income calculations can be misleading when assessing the true impact of this growth. Potter et al. (2012:29) clarify that GNP does not account for the distribution of national output among different population groups and social classes. Furthermore, it does not consider the broader well-being of individuals, which extends beyond material goods and monetary measures. Critics of this overemphasis on GNP argue that modernisation may have intensified inequality and poverty (Hunt, 1989). While there are criticisms levelled at GNP, there is a relationship between the rise of GNP and positives such as improved health and education access. Development guided by modernisation theories faced significant criticism from dependency theorists who accused it of perpetuating underdevelopment in the Global South, advocating for an alternative approach.

2.2.2 Dependency Theory

Dependency theory gained prominence by highlighting the issues of imperialism, dependency and unequal power relations associated with modernisation theory. Dependency theory was

propounded by scholars like Baran (1962), Frank (1967), Rodney (1972) and others. According to Ziai (2016:44), many 20th-century conflicts in development theory were between the discursive subsets of modernisation and dependency theories. Frank (1967) criticised Rostow's (1960) stages of economic growth and sharpened Baran's (1962) analysis by arguing that development and underdevelopment were inseparable. Marginal Latin American economies exposed the capitalist dynamics (underdevelopment and dependency) in the Global South (Frank, 1967; Potter et al., 2012:74). Dependency theorists argue that underdevelopment resulted from resource exploitation in underdeveloped countries. This further buttresses the assertion that dependency theory focuses on powerful countries' economic domination and exploitation of weak states (Frank, 1967).

Moreover, the dependency school of thought posited that attempts to foster capitalist-oriented modernisation inadvertently trapped developing nations in dependent and exploitative relationships with the global North (Rist, 2019). Dependency theorists contended that global trade dynamics often did not benefit Africa. For example, Rodney (1972) argued that the relationship between Europe and Africa was characterised by exploitation, negatively impacting the region's development. Blackden et al. (2007:249) also asserted that the persistent legacies of colonialism were accountable for heightened poverty, gender inequality, and slow growth in certain Global South countries. These critical viewpoints questioned the idea that development, in the form of capitalist modernisation, could effectively eliminate poverty by satisfying people's basic needs (Lang, 2019). Dependency theory subsequently influenced policies that pursued structural changes within communities, including modifications in economic ownership, production methods, and legal frameworks.

However, while dependency theory offers valuable insights into historical inequalities and exploitative relationships between developed and developing regions, it presents a one-sided perspective of global economic dynamics. It often overlooks the potential advantages of trade and economic integration for developing countries. Furthermore, it sometimes oversimplifies complex issues by attributing all development challenges to external factors such as colonialism while ignoring internal factors like governance, corruption, and social divisions. Therefore, while the theory underscored essential aspects of global economic inequality, it should have considered other theories and factors for a more holistic understanding of development dynamics.

2.2.3 Basic Needs Approach to Development

The recognition that the traditional measure of Gross National Product (GNP) was an inadequate indicator of prosperity and societal well-being led to the advent of the Basic Needs Approach (BNA). This represented a paradigm shift marked by transformative thinking. Seers (1979) argues that the BNA did not marginalise the concept of development; instead, it called for a refocusing of attention, directing efforts towards small-scale initiatives and the needs of society's most vulnerable groups. Simultaneously, the foundations of extensive infrastructural investments persisted, signifying a purposeful integration of scales. Willis (2011) makes a sharp observation, arguing that the policies derived from the BNA's principles were firmly linked to the needs of impoverished segments within communities. The fundamental premise of the BNA was its steadfast commitment to improving human lives, with its primary goal being the elimination of hunger and poverty.

Stewart (1985) further explores the selection process of basic needs goods bundles, an exercise carried out carefully considering the goal of upliftment. In this quest for improvement, the needs of hardworking individuals and their families were paramount, including the working population within the broader development scope. As Seers (1979) explains, the BNA emerged as a defining moment in the history of developmental practice. The approach aimed to reduce inequality, poverty, and societal marginalisation, positioning itself as a beacon of hope in a landscape characterised by disparities and deprivation. In essence, the Basic Needs Approach embodied a rallying cry for a fair and humane path of development that deeply resonated with humanity's collective aspirations.

Stewart (1985) acknowledges the widespread uncertainty surrounding defining and justifying specific basic needs. While scholars such as Streeten and Burki (1978) and Willis (2011:3) agree that 'basic needs' include necessities like 'adequate shelter, food, clothing, and employment', it is important to note that the list of needs within the BNA framework is not fixed. In the context of the Global South, basic needs may include elements like food, shelter, and access to healthcare, reflecting regional disparities. Furthermore, some groups within the Global South may have additional needs, such as access to electricity and potentially personal transportation through car ownership. This difference highlights the fluidity and context-sensitivity inherent in defining what constitutes a 'basic' need. Kapoor (2008:23) criticises BNA discourse by stating that a basic need is fundamentally an 'ethnocentric construction'. He argues that BNA imposed a simplified, universalist understanding of human needs, which

stripped away the sociocultural complexity of non-Western societies. BNA created an artificial hierarchy between 'basic' and 'secondary' needs and, in the process, positioned Western policy experts to define and measure the needs of the 'Third World poor'. This viewpoint suggests that the West was privileged, allowing them to identify, define, and justify what they considered basic needs, often without considering the diverse socio-cultural contexts and perspectives that shape people's needs. This ethnocentric bias within the BNA approach underscored the need for a more inclusive and culturally sensitive understanding of basic needs, acknowledging that their importance and interpretation can vary significantly across different regions and communities. The BNA approach in the development conversation highlights the absence of a universal formula for achieving development (Kapoor, 2008; Stewart, 1985). Advocates of the BNA approach insist that development should be inclusive of society and multi-focused rather than centred only on economic factors.

2.2.4 Neoliberalism

The 1980s marked a shift in development where neo-liberal thinking took precedence in economic policy and development thought (Dumenil and Levy, 2005, 2011; Friedman, 1992; Harvey, 2007). Specifically, the elections of Margaret Thatcher in 1979 and Ronald Reagan in 1980 are considered to have signalled the start of a period of neoliberal economic policy. Their economic policies, often called 'Thatcherism' and 'Reaganomics', became synonymous with neoliberalism, rapidly becoming a dominant approach worldwide. Both supporters and critics contend that neoliberalism became the prevailing global economic system at this time (Harvey, 2007; Howard and King, 2004; Potter et al., 2018; Steger and Roy, 2010). It was adopted by international financial institutions (IFIs) like the International Monetary Fund, which based their approach to development on neoliberal doctrine (Rapley, 2007).

Neoliberalism has various definitions and descriptions depending on the perspective used, but there are some commonalities. Dumenil and Levy (2005) describe neoliberalism as an ideology that prioritises market and private interests and promotes the idea that markets should operate without significant state intervention. Steger and Roy (2010:14) define neoliberalism as a set of economic reform policies aimed at loosening economic regulations, fostering liberalisation in trade and industry, and privatising state-owned enterprises. Similarly, Dumenil and Levy (2005) perceive neoliberalism as the resurgence of economic liberalism, which advocates for states to refrain from intervening in the economy and for individuals to participate in free and self-regulating markets. Potter et al. (2018: 105) maintain that neoliberal policies lead to the

privatisation of the market, reduce social welfare systems, and encourage free markets in developed and developing countries. Neoliberals believe that governments' involvement exacerbated the debt crisis, leading them to advocate for a free market or laissez-faire approach. In addition, Friedman (1992) states that neoliberalism urges governments to lower taxes, relax the regulation of market forces, and remove their influence on fiscal policies. The general agreement was that the state must establish and maintain an institutional framework supporting the free market ideology. Furthermore, Howard and King (2004) assert that neoliberalism requires states to diminish their power in fiscal policies and significantly restructure and redirect their activities. According to Rapley (2007), a neoliberal approach suggests that society benefits when individuals are allowed to pursue their narrow self-interests and suffers when individuals are compelled to pursue collective interests.

While neoliberal thinking has been associated with some positive outcomes in some Global South countries, it has also been met with substantial criticism for its limitations. Under the influence of neoliberalism, IFIs made access to loans conditional upon the adoption of Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs), which resulted in a decrease in government interference in economic activities (Ray, 2007). Rapley (2007) contends that these SAPs fell short of their intended objectives, resulting in widespread poverty and marginalisation. This failure has sparked extensive examination and critique from various ideological standpoints, as underscored by Magazzino (2010). Drawing from experiences in Asia and Latin America, Dumenil and Levy (2005) argue that neoliberalism was a predatory system favouring a select few at the expense of the wider population. Howard and King (2004:60) further endorse this view, asserting that neoliberal policies fostered an environment where corporate executives committed fraud against shareholders, managers unilaterally terminated workers' contracts, and business organisations manipulated regulatory processes to exploit consumers.

There is a consensus among scholars such as Gatwiri et al. (2020), Magazzino (2010), Harvey (2007), and Rapley (2007) that neoliberalism has resulted in decreased economic growth, increased unemployment, reduced access to health facilities and exacerbated inequalities within countries. Moreover, it has worsened the living and working conditions of the majority, expanding the gap between the economic centre and periphery, with the latter bearing the impact of economic instability. Saad-Filho and Johnston (2005) suggest that neoliberalism undermines its existence by persistently advocating for 'reforms' that consistently fail to deliver the promised 'efficiency gains'. This has eroded neoliberal states' legitimacy. The ongoing failure of neoliberalism to deliver sustained economic growth and enhance living

standards has prompted many to question its efficacy. Harvey (2007) proposes that development is more likely to be realised outside a neoliberal framework, reflecting the growing scepticism surrounding this approach.

2.2.5 Participatory Development

Participatory development surfaced as a crucial countermeasure to the deeply rooted issues of marginalisation and exclusion in mainstream development. This method, which eventually became a key part of the Basic Needs Approach (BNA), started to gain momentum in the 1970s and has been evolving since. Chambers (1994:954) describes participatory development as being based on Paulo Freire's idea that individuals who are impoverished and marginalised have both the ability and the right to examine their realities, with their viewpoints serving as invaluable contributions. Mohan (2014) highlights that participatory development resonates with many due to its rejection of top-down, state-centric approaches. Instead, it redirects its attention to the grassroots level, empowering local communities to express various development goals that matched their ambitions. It carves out a space for local knowledge to flourish, challenging the harmful development policies that had reduced communities to passive recipients (Mohan and Stokke, 2000; Mohan, 2014).

The primary objective of participatory development, as stressed by Holland and Blackburn (1998), is to ensure that beneficiaries are actively involved in all stages of project execution, from start to finish, as well as to ensure long-term sustainability. Given its varied nature, participatory development has been interpreted in different ways. Kapoor (2001; 2005), for example, argues that participatory development involves a conscious shift away from neo-colonial tendencies, Western-centric values, and the top-down methodologies inherent in mainstream development. Participatory Development is 'a process by which people take an active and influential hand in shaping decisions that affect their lives' (OECD, 1993:11). The rise of participatory development was driven by the acknowledgement of significant flaws in neoliberal policies, leading to a reassessment of the role of local communities in the development process. Scholars like Chambers (1997), Hickey and Mohan (2005), and Kapoor (2005) have clarified how these community-led approaches to development became mainstream in the 1990s. This paradigm shift was sparked by an urgent need to help local groups evaluate their opportunities and envision a brighter future. Essentially, participatory development signifies a notable shift towards more inclusive and locally driven development practices, marking a substantial evolution in development studies.

Holland and Blackburn (1998) argue that the crux of participatory development involves equipping beneficiaries with essential skills acquired through active project involvement. This participation allows them to take on the management, maintenance, and control of development initiatives. Scholars like Chambers (1994, 1997) underscore a significant distinction from mainstream development, which frequently sidelines marginalised local populations. The participatory method stresses the inclusion of impoverished communities in shaping the concepts of poverty and development relevance. Its main goal is to enhance individuals' living conditions while giving them some agency in determining them. Connell (1997) asserts that this transformative process, anchored in grassroots participation, involves identifying and clarifying problems, needs, and opportunities. This method underscores the significance of active engagement and cooperation with local communities, where their perspectives and insights considerably shape the direction and results of development endeavours.

Despite its widespread recognition, participatory development has faced criticism from various perspectives, including postmodernist and post-development thinkers and advocates of mainstream development. A primary critique of participatory development is its potential to alter power dynamics, which can sometimes result in exclusionary or even oppressive outcomes, as pointed out by scholars like Cooke and Kothari (2001) and Kapoor (2001). It is crucial to understand that this shift in power does not happen in a vacuum but within the context of existing community relations. Cornwall (2002) supports this view by arguing that the spaces allocated for participation are not neutral but are influenced by existing power structures and often gender relations. In addition to power dynamics, Parpart et al. (2000) suggest that participatory development can unintentionally ignore and reinforce patriarchal structures, perpetuating gender biases and inequalities. Mohan and Stokke (2000) criticise participatory development for not adequately addressing class inequalities and the negative impacts of macro-socioeconomic systems. They argue that this shortcoming perpetuates disparities, poverty, and marginalisation, potentially undermining the transformative potential of the approach. Moreover, Connell (1997) highlights the dominance of specific individuals in the participatory process, typically those with traditional influence in the community, such as landowners, merchants, mayors, or village headmen. Power dynamics have been shown to determine the level of participation in the participatory process. This can lead to the marginalisation of less powerful community members, potentially undermining the principles of inclusivity that participatory development aims to uphold.

2.2.6 Alternative development: a different approach to mainstream development

The preceding neoliberal and participatory discourse underscores the pivotal role of the development concept in shaping the narrative and analysis of Global South communities within academic circles. Despite substantial efforts in the development sphere by the late 1980s, the situation in the Global South remained disheartening. The Global South's share of international trade was not increasing significantly, and access to novel agricultural technologies was limited. Escobar (1995:90) describes the 1980s as the 'lost decade' due to the continued ineffectiveness of prevailing development initiatives and strategies. The persistent inadequacies of mainstream development strategies led to an increasing demand for people-centric policies and localised agricultural practices (Stewart 1992). These demands aimed to foster alternative development models, often called 'development from below'. After recognising the neglect of local knowledge and the need for a comprehensive re-evaluation of pertinent issues, it became clear that new discourses, concepts, and practices were necessary to facilitate a paradigmatic shift away from the prevailing economic-centric focus of development. Castillo and Masullo-Jiménez et al. (2017) note this evolving discourse, advocating for a shift towards people-centred development. This paradigmatic shift led to the prominence of alternative development approaches, particularly those rooted in human development principles.

Alternative development provides a unique lens through which to view the development process. Friedmann (1992) stresses its focus on disempowered individuals, advocating for a grassroots approach to development. This perspective aligns with the notion that alternative development aims to empower marginalised communities and individuals, positioning their needs and aspirations at the forefront. Nederveen Pieterse (2010) characterises alternative development as a dynamic critique of mainstream development. This perspective underscores adaptability and the capacity to shift in response to changes in mainstream development paradigms. Essentially, alternative development is not a static set of solutions but an ongoing exploration of alternative proposals and methodologies that challenge the dominant development narratives. Sheth (1987) further enriches the discourse by highlighting a fundamental distinction between structuralist and normative approaches to development. The structuralist approach aligns with mainstream development, emphasising macroeconomic change and growth as conventional models define. In contrast, the normative approach, which resonates with alternative development, prioritises agency and the satisfaction of both material and non-material basic human needs. Rather than merely pursuing economic growth, it

emphasises people's capacity to effect social change and improve their overall well-being. Nederveen Pieterse (1998) expands on this distinction by emphasising how the structuralist approach questions the feasibility and desirability of the mainstream development model. In doing so, it underscores the critical role that alternative development plays in challenging and re-evaluating established development paradigms. Thus, alternative development emerges as a multifaceted concept encompassing grassroots empowerment, adaptability, a focus on human needs, and a critical stance toward prevailing development models.

The emergence of alternative development marked a pivotal shift in anthropology within the development context, as Ranta (2018) asserts, transforming the traditional perception of local communities as passive recipients of development projects. As highlighted above, initial development policies considered local people as passive recipients of development projects. Islam (2015) comments that the alternative development discourse focuses on micro-level initiatives of development and self-help practices. Alternative development not only emphasises the integration of development ethics and sustainability but also strives to foster community empowerment and ensure that the benefits of development reach the impoverished, as highlighted by Potter (2012:80). In this pursuit of community empowerment, alternative development places agency in the hands of local inhabitants, valuing and harnessing their traditional and indigenous knowledge systems. In the Global South, this approach resulted in a dynamic interplay between indigenous knowledge and Western sciences, reminiscent of Foucault's concept of resurrecting subjugated knowledges, as articulated by Ziai (2016). Scholars such as Hobart (1993) and Agrawal (1995) have underlined the significance of local knowledge within the development context, emphasising the need to harmonise it with Western knowledge systems to establish an alternative knowledge framework. Through this synergy, alternative development promotes a people-centric approach, advocating for the consultation and utilisation of indigenous knowledge to achieve a more inclusive and equitable development process.

Alternative development has been criticised by scholars for several reasons, with a significant critique being that it fails to distinguish itself from mainstream development adequately. Banuri (1990) divides critics of development into two groups: internal and external critics. Alternative development, he argues, fits within the former. Similarly, commentators like Ziai (2016: 45) highlight how alternative development presents an internal critique of development. Alternative development criticises existing development policies by demanding better results. Despite alternative development advocating for modifications to the idea of development, it

remains part of mainstream development from the same ‘discursive formation’. Gudynas (2021:50) posits that alternative development critiques primarily revolve around instrumental adjustments or diverse organisational approaches for each form of development without questioning its conceptual foundations. Latouche (1993) postulates that alternative development was more crafty than mainstream development because it exuded a more attractive approach compared to the former; however, it contained the same overall objectives. Sheth (1983) avers that grassroots movements assumed that alternative development would emerge from the concrete struggles of the people themselves; however, it became an extension of mainstream development.

2.3 Post-development theory

As explained earlier, this study takes a grassroots approach to shed light on the experiences of the Kanyemba community in the context of the CAMPFIRE initiative. It creates a nexus between the community’s engagement with development challenges and ongoing debates within the post-development theory. As such, the study moves away from conventional Western development paradigms and explores the indigenous, community-specific interpretations of development held by the Tembo Mvura and Chikunda communities in Kanyemba. In line with this, the study primarily aligns with post-development theory principles, a crucial framework in amplifying marginalised communities’ voices within the broader development discourse. Post-development recognises diverse, context-specific development approaches while respecting and acknowledging local perspectives and belief systems about development. In this section, I introduce post-development theory and overview key debates within post-development discourse, tracing its trajectory.

2.3.1 The emergence of post-development

The term ‘post-development theory’ may have only come into focus in the 1990s, but its core ideas emerged around the 1980s, with the work of scholars like Illich (1979) and Escobar (1984, 1995) setting the pace for the school of thought. Sachs (1992, 2010), Latouche (1993), Rahnema and Bawtree (1997), Rist (1997, 2019), and Esteva and Prakash (1998) contributed to popularising post-development thinking in the 1990s. In the 2000s, the post-development theory gained more attention through further writing by the scholars mentioned above as well as commentaries by Matthews (2004, 2017), Andreasson (2017) and Ziai (2004, 2007, 2016, 2017), McGregor (2009), Gudynas (2021) and others.

Post-development theory began principally as a critique of development. Escobar (1995:41) emphasises that the concept of development, especially post-1945, faced various challenges. These included issues such as poverty, technological and capital deficiencies, rapid population growth, inadequate public services, and outdated agricultural methods. These problems were openly recognised and addressed within the development discourse. However, it is essential to note that certain aspects, like cultural attitudes, values, and the impact of factors such as race, religion, geography, or ethnicity associated with underdevelopment, were introduced subtly and sometimes even covertly. These hidden dimensions significantly influenced the development paradigm and would later become critical points of debate in the emergence of post-development theory.

Sachs (2010) emphasises that during the early stages of development discourse, experts from various fields identified problems and created categories to describe those in need, such as the illiterate or malnourished. Unfortunately, efforts to alleviate material constraints eventually became tools of power and control. Over time, new issues were incorporated, each requiring careful categorisation and specificity. These refinements were less about solving problems identified by communities and more about making specific populations visible for targeted interventions. Similarly, the early development paradigm was heavily influenced by ethnocentrism. Indigenous communities were expected to undergo a process of modernisation, which essentially meant adopting values approved by Westerners (Sachs, 2010; Esteva, 1985). As a result, industrialisation and agricultural development programmes often overlooked women's roles as producers, perpetuating their subordination (Shiva, 1989). Such a perspective influenced the need to deconstruct traditional development approaches and the emergence of post-development thinking. Post-development thought challenges such hierarchical and ethnocentric notions, striving for more inclusive and equitable alternatives.

2.3.2 Features of post-development theory

Post-development theory encompassed various features, including questioning the fundamental assumptions of the traditional development paradigm and critiquing Westernisation. An overview of the key features of post-development theory is pertinent to establish a place of departure for this study. One key feature of post-development theory is that it argues that development, as traditionally practised, has failed to achieve its intended goals and even exacerbated existing problems. Sachs (2010) adopts a deconstructionist approach, dissecting the fundamental constructs within the development discourse, including concepts

like market, planning, population, environment, and equality. He scrutinises how these ideas have evolved within the development discourse, dating back to the 1950s. Rist (2019) argues that development has fostered dependence in many Global South nations instead of alleviating poverty. Its failures are obscured as it has reinvented itself in various forms. Sachs (2010) astutely observes that development has been marked by disillusionment, disappointments, failures, and even ethical transgressions, prompting the questioning of its efficacy. Despite more than six decades of development efforts, poverty persists, inequality remains pervasive, and marginalisation endures, prompting a re-evaluation of the development paradigm.

Another central feature of post-development thinking is its critique of development as an extension of Western influence. Post-development theory highlights that the modernisation approach to development, which promised economic growth, improved living standards, better healthcare, and equality, exuded a Westernised blueprint. Esteva and Prakash (1998) assert that development theories advocated economic globalisation by bringing goods, services, democracy, health, and infrastructure to the Global South, following a Eurocentric blueprint. Ziai (2016) emphasises that development conceptualises European societies as the epitome of development, expecting all others to follow their path toward modernity. Nevertheless, despite adherence to the European development model, the outcomes often diverged from expectations. Poverty persisted, unemployment rates soared, resources were exploited, and exclusion deepened (Frank, 1967; Sachs, 2010; Escobar, 1995; Esteva and Prakash, 1998; Peet and Hartwick, 2015). Development, originally intended to benefit the people, frequently exacerbated exclusion, as Escobar (1995) illuminates. Sachs (2010) likened development to a lighthouse meant to guide developing countries through the post-war period but found it abandoned due to its failure to provide practical guidance. In contrast to the mainstream development paradigm, post-development theorists champion localised grassroots movements, rejecting the notion that Western knowledge holds all the answers. They resist being co-opted into mainstream development discourse. Conventional development approaches often impose Western patterns, with development managers exerting influence over local cultures. At the same time, post-development sets out to empower grassroots societies to pursue their unique development paths free from the influences of global capital and modern choices (Olatunji, 2019). Notably, scholars like Escobar (1995), Esteva (2010), and Rahnema (2010) differentiate post-development from earlier critiques by rejecting the entire development paradigm and advocating for alternative approaches. Post-development thinkers endorse alternatives to development firmly rooted in grassroots movements, as we shall explore further in this section.

According to Castillo and Masullo-Jiménez (2017:108), a key feature of post-development is its challenge to the epistemological foundations of the knowledge and culture considered superior. By challenging these foundations, post-development theory enables thinking of development outside of dichotomies like the developed and underdeveloped, North and South, modernised and backward. Rist (2019) asserts that development is intrinsically destructive to social relations and non-Western cultures and should be rejected. Mainstream development considered local cultures inferior and sought to replace them with Western cultures. This disregard of the local knowledges and cultures meant Western knowledge systems were replacing the local expertise. Sachs (2010) and Chertkovskaya (2019) show that culture has a central role in development rather than the previously offered simplistic explanation of hindering growth. Esteva (2023) uses the word *culturicide* to mean the act of annihilating ‘inferior’ cultures by introducing a ‘superior’ (Western) culture. In contrast, post-development thinking views culture as a resource; it relies on indigenous knowledges and human capital to reinvent development and to provide alternatives to development.

Elaborating on this point, Ziai (2016:59) argues that development disregards local cultures and perpetuates the depiction of non-Western countries as inferior to their Western counterparts. This portrayal of inferiority spans social, economic, and political dimensions and has justified the ongoing subjugation of local knowledge systems and cultures. Escobar (1995:13) expands on this argument by emphasising that development heavily relies on a modern Western knowledge system, which marginalises and discredits non-Western knowledge systems. This marginalisation of local cultures and knowledge has contributed to the continued subjugation of the recipients of development. Ferguson’s (1994) study in Lesotho provides empirical support for these arguments, asserting that development initiatives often fail due to their inability to account for the complexities of the local context and realities. He further suggests that the failure of the Thaba-Tseka project was due to a lack of consideration for the political and economic conditions at the local level. Drawing from Foucault’s theory of discursive power, post-development theorists like Escobar (1995), Ziai (2016) and Nilsen (2016) advocate for a comprehensive understanding of how forms of knowledge and institutional power systems influence the success or failure of development initiatives. In this context, post-development thinkers agree on recognising the value of local knowledge in formulating alternatives to traditional development paradigms.

Post-development theory presents a significant challenge to traditional approaches to development by providing a critical perspective on the prevalent reliance on technocratic

solutions often imposed by Western ideologies. This shift in thinking highlights the consequences of identifying problems and formulating solutions without actively involving those who are intended to benefit from development initiatives. It emphasises the need to address underlying social inequalities and complexities within the context of the Global South. Escobar (1995) points out that Western-constructed development language has led to problem identification and solution formulation primarily within Western contexts, often leaving the supposed beneficiaries of development without a meaningful voice. This critique highlights a significant weakness of the traditional development paradigm, which places undue faith in technocratic solutions to remedy complex social problems encountered in the Global South (Ziai, 2016). Rist (2019) further explains how development ‘experts’ tend to categorise people and problems, prescribing solutions without considering these challenges’ diverse and context-specific nature. Rapley (2007) adds depth to this argument, arguing that solutions to Global South problems fail because they do not address underlying issues, such as social inequality, reverberating throughout the economic spectrum. As Ferguson (1994) observed, development thinkers often oversimplify issues like poverty as a mere technical problem and neglect non-technical factors like marginality and inequality by promising exclusively technical solutions. Rahnema (2010:174) suggests that poverty is a multifaceted concept, challenging the Western approach, which predominantly views poverty as a technical issue requiring technical expertise. Western development strategies have been criticised within the post-development paradigm for their overreliance on technocratic solutions that inadequately address the intricate and context-specific nature of social and political challenges in the Global South.

Post-development theory questions the underlying assumption that the Global South is burdened with inherent problems hindering modernisation, which can only be resolved through external intervention. Escobar (1995) and Mahmud (1999) argue that traditional development projects often identify perceived abnormalities within the Global South and seek to provide scientific and economic solutions. This approach often assumes that the targeted populations cannot solve these problems themselves, thus requiring Western assistance. This attitude, where the West positions itself as the sole arbiter of problems and solutions, inherently carries a sense of superiority among Western development thinkers. The underlying belief in the need for Western identification of problems and prescription of solutions implies a lack of recognition of the complexity and diversity of the Global South. As Esteva and Prakash (1998:10) argue, this approach dismisses local thinking as limited, parochial, and backwards, promoting the adoption of a global mindset. Post-development thinkers critique this method of

problem identification and solution prescription as a fundamental development weakness, highlighting its lack of nuance and disregard for cultural relativism. While it is true that many Global South countries face similar challenges, post-development thinkers like Ziai (2016) contend that mainstream development thinking fails to consider the heterogeneity and unique contexts of these nations. This critique underscores the importance of acknowledging the diversity of experiences and perspectives within the Global South rather than attempting to apply a one-size-fits-all approach to development.

Post-development thinking presents a significant challenge to the conventional developmental perspective, contesting the tendency to homogenise the Global South. Mahmud (1999) argues that development, historically operating within a knowledge framework predominantly oriented towards resolving issues through scientific methodologies, often neglects the rich tapestry of cultural diversity. In the post-development discourse, there is a call for acknowledging the inherently non-homogeneous nature of the Global South, underscoring that its multifaceted problems defy universal remedies and necessitate a departure from one-size-fits-all approaches. Matthews (2017) underscores the stance of post-development theorists, who reject the concept of development and underline the paramount significance of tailoring solutions to address the distinctive challenges confronting diverse societies. The post-development approach amplifies the idea that varied societies demand diverse strategies to grapple with their idiosyncratic predicaments.

In the same vein, post-development theory underlines that the targeted beneficiaries of development are far from a monolithic, universally applicable group. As elucidated by Matthews (2017), Ferguson (1994) and Rapley (2007), the supposed beneficiaries of development encompass a broad spectrum of individuals and communities, each characterised by its unique blend of attributes, requisites, and apprehensions. These disparities manifest across dimensions such as social strata, caste, landownership, tenancy, urban or rural residency, gender, wealth distribution, and the extent of marginalisation. Post-development thinking accentuates the pivotal need to comprehend and address these diversities within the Global South, urging a departure from the homogenising tendencies of the past.

The primary goal of development initiatives ostensibly revolved around the pursuit of societal welfare, and it was against this backdrop that projects persisted within the Global South. Development, as conventionally understood, was presumed to encompass aspects such as economic growth, improved livelihoods for the labour force, reduced maternal mortality rates, enhanced egalitarianism, and the promotion of sustainable resource utilisation (Ziai, 2016).

Post-development thinking has facilitated the emergence of questions such as ‘Who determines good interventions?’ (Chambers, 2004). Having asked such a question post-development thinking also makes it easier to ask, ‘What criteria are used to gauge what is considered beneficial intervention?’ The concept of development came under scrutiny for being perceived as an imposition of external control upon the lives of citizens under the guise of providing the presumed common good (Rist, 2019). Post-development thinking has highlighted that most development objectives were intricately tied to assimilating citizens into formal circulation networks, thereby subjecting them to the state’s authority. Thus, rejecting traditional development can be interpreted as celebrating individual or subaltern emancipation (Rapley, 2007:11).

One feature that some post-development thinking has been known for is its nuanced examination of the positives brought about by development. Defenders of development discourse have argued that these interventions have mitigated poverty, reduced fatalities related to malaria and HIV/AIDS, increased school enrolments, and improved life expectancy (Klein and Morreo, 2019). However, while these positive outcomes are observable, post-development thinkers approach these claims with scepticism, contending that development may not have ushered in unequivocally positive effects overall. Ziai (2016:74) presents a scenario in which a new agricultural technology to enhance productivity falls short of alleviating poverty due to affordability issues. The enumeration of positive outcomes does not necessarily translate into the unequivocal attainment of their intended goals. Moreover, post-development thinkers posit that the realisation of these positives has come at a considerable cost: indigenous populations have been subjected to violence, displacement from their ancestral lands, and incarcerated for resisting assimilation (Ferguson, 1994; Moore, 2005). Post-development theorists question the desirability of development if the losses incurred outweigh the benefits or if local communities are left with mere remnants despite enduring significant sacrifices. Post-development thinking tends to dismiss conventional development because, upon analysis, the benefits appear eclipsed by the losses borne by local populations, and they are not universally distributed. Latouche (1993) alludes to those who became the victims of development, initially told that they would emerge as winners, only to find themselves in dire circumstances. The post-development school of thought argues that development, as a strategy, is perceived to have faltered and, in some cases, reversed the trajectory of Global South nations in their pursuit of modernity. This argument brings us to the pivotal question of whether development can be regarded as a continuation of colonialism.

The latter half of the 20th century witnessed the emergence of autonomous Global South countries, marking the end of the colonial era. These newly independent nations were often viewed as requiring development to bridge the perceived gap with the ostensibly modern Global North. Sidaway (2014: 229-230) characterises development as a repository of Western knowledge that identifies and offers solutions for transforming impoverished communities in the Global South. Such a portrayal inherently carries connotations of colonialism and Western superiority. The proximity of development to colonial practices is among the key reasons post-development thinkers cite for their critical stance toward conventional development.

Post-development theorists view development projects as continuing historical colonial practices, arguing that these were neither benevolent nor innocent. Kothari (2006) states that development took over from where colonialism left off, echoing the idea that development is essentially a neo-colonial discourse. Post-development theory, similar to dependency theory, systematically unravels the embedded colonial constructs within the development framework. Rahnema (1997), for instance, sees development as a pretext for ongoing Western exploitation of the Global South and the use of their markets. Rist (2019) draws a parallel between development and colonialism, portraying the former as a supposed solution that, in reality, exacerbates suffering more than it alleviates. According to this perspective, development perpetuates various forms of neo-colonisation—epistemic, economic, and social—in the Global South. Escobar (1995) argues that the guiding principles of development discourse mirror colonial paradigms that once wielded knowledge and authority over the Global South. Similarly, dependency theorists like Frank (1967) and Rodney (1972) equate the exploitation embedded in the concept of ‘development’ with a continuation of colonial practices. Implementing Western-originated projects is seen as an imposition of ostensibly superior ideologies, representing a subtle extension of the colonial paradigm. As Berg (2007:553) aptly summarises, ‘Development is not a vessel of good news—its passengers are either well-intentioned yet ineffectual philanthropists and volunteers who sail under the banner of Western values or seemingly benevolent donors whose true intentions align more with those of the initial European arrivals in Africa’. In light of such sentiments, post-development thinkers centre their rejection of development due to its association with neo-colonial tendencies in relation to the economic, social, cultural, and political spheres.

2.3.3 Neo-populist and sceptical post-development

Post-development thinking is diverse, making it possible to identify different strands of thought within it. Ziai (2004) divides post-development thinking into two broad variants. On the one hand, the neo-populist or reactionary variant, and on the other, the sceptical post-development variant. The neo-populist/reactionary post-development group is associated with scholars such as Alvares (1992) and Rahnema and Bawtree (1997). Ziai (2004:1054-1056) argues that reactionary post-development thinking rejects modernity and development and advocates for a return to a premodern utopian, subsistence-based existence.

On the other hand, there is a sceptical post-development variant, which, according to Ziai (2017), does not reject all elements of modernity. This group has scholars such as Escobar (1995), Esteva and Prakash (1998), and Apffel-Marglin (1996), who refrain from wishing for a desirable model society but promote cultural hybridisation to come up with alternatives to development (Matthews, 2004). Ziai (2004) aligns sceptical post-development thinking with the idea of radical democracy, as laid out by Laclau and Mouffe (2001). Ziai (2017) shows how sceptical post-development attempts to extend the struggles for self-determination in the Global South by challenging the political system of representative democracy that is seen as development serving the interests of elites. Scholars such as Escobar (1995) and Laclau and Mouffe (2001) concur that radical and plural democracy is an extension of struggles for equality and liberty and stress other power relations and new forms of domination in areas such as housing, demography, ethnic oppression, and economic growth. Ziai (2004, 2017) avers that regardless of the difference in approach between neo-populist and radical democratic variants, the two share familiar texts in criticising development as a Eurocentric discourse and a meaningless concept. While post-development theory – especially the neo-populist variant – is distinctive because it rejects development, some of the thinkers – sceptical post-development – associated with post-development theory do not fully reject development. As shall be shown in Chapter Eight, this study is situated within the sceptical post-development thinking, which does not reject development entirely.

2.4 Critiques of post-development theory

Post-development theory has gained prominence and attracted proponents, yet it remains subject to extensive and multifaceted critique. Critics highlight its tendency to homogenise the concept of development, its perceived failure to recognise positive aspects of development endeavours adequately, and its apparent deficiency in offering actionable solutions to the

challenges it identifies. In response to these criticisms, scholars within the post-development paradigm have undertaken the task of articulating nuanced rebuttals and clarifications. In this section, I provide the criticism and the responses, where applicable.

Post-development theory has been accused of not being different from alternative development. Nederveen Pieterse (2010) argues that the primary difference between the two is that post-development allegedly rejects the idea of development outright. However, both alternative development and post-development stress the importance of viewing development from the perspective of the disempowered, promoting grassroots participation and bottom-up approaches. While the two approaches are indeed very similar, Banuri's (1990:35) classification of internal and external critiques offers a more detailed understanding of these two paradigms' differences. As an internal critique, alternative development can be understood as a critique that shares the analytical perspective with traditional development theories assumptions and does not go as far as questioning the entire paradigm. Alternative development as an internal critique aims to reform and refine existing development methods. In contrast, an external critique, like post-development theory, challenges the orthodox theory, which, in this case, is the whole development discourse. Post-development thinkers have argued that alternative development works within the development paradigm, while post-development theory rejects the paradigm. The distinction between alternative and post-development becomes clear when we consider that while the former does not entirely discard the notion of development, post-development's fundamental principle is to reject it. Post-development goes one step further by rejecting alternative development, clearly distinguishing between these two paradigms. The distinction between post-development and alternative development is not always clear, especially if one uses the distinctions made by Ziai (2004). Neo-populist post-development thinkers outright reject the concept of development, calling for a complete rethinking of its goals and dismissing it entirely. However, sceptical post-development thinkers blur this distinction by advancing ideas that overlap with those of alternative development advocates. For instance, Kothari et al.'s (2019) edited volume, *Pluriverse: A Post-Development Dictionary*, illustrates this ambiguity. Some chapters in the book align with alternative development's aim of reforming existing structures to serve marginalised populations better, making the boundary between post-development and alternative development's reformist approaches less distinct.

Another critique offered by critics of post-development theory is that post-development theory often neglects the potential positive impacts of development. Corbridge (1998:145) suggests

that post-development thinkers frequently overlook the many benefits of development, such as increased literacy rates, technological advancements in poverty reduction, and decreased infant mortality rates. Critics believe this leads post-development to justify its total rejection of modernity and development. Berg (2007:544) and Peet and Hartwick (2015) propose that development critics should differentiate between fundamental progress like modern medicine and the unfortunate misuse of scientific knowledge that has fuelled Western consumption. Curry (2003), Nederveen Pieterse (2000), and Corbridge (1998) further argue that post-development's ability to reject development relies on depicting development as a uniform and inherently negative force. Nederveen Pieterse (2000:183) states, 'apparently this kind of essentialising of "development" is necessary in order to arrive at the radical repudiation of development, and without this anti-development pathos, the post-development perspective loses its foundation'. These critiques suggest that while post-development thinking poses important questions about development paradigms, it should not disregard or dismiss the tangible benefits and potential improvements achieved through development efforts. Acknowledging the complexities within development can lead to a more balanced evaluation of its impacts and implications.

Critics of post-development thinking have consistently pointed out a significant issue: the apparent inability of post-development advocates to provide a concrete model or path for developing alternatives to the existing development paradigm. Corbridge (1998) argues that post-development theorists should do more than merely reject the development concept and claim that local, soil-based living can achieve a good life. He believes post-development thinkers should offer an alternative vision of a desirable life. Nederveen Pieterse (2010) echoes this criticism, stating that post-development has been characterised by negation and pessimism, yet it often fails to provide a clear way forward. Instead of offering substantive alternatives to development, it primarily focuses on critiquing development as a discourse of power. At the same time, some post-development theorists suggest the importance of social movements and grassroots organisations in addressing societal issues. However, such practical solutions are not the central concern of this school of thought. The most prominent criticism against post-development thinking, as highlighted by Nederveen Pieterse (2010:124), is that it declares the end of development and calls for alternatives but fails to deliver on them. Accordingly, this perceived inability to provide concrete alternative frameworks or pathways has been a persistent limitation of post-development theory. Critics argue that while post-development thinking is effective in critiquing the existing development paradigm, it often needs to provide

a viable roadmap or model for building alternative approaches to development. This leaves it open to criticism that it is more about 'critique but no construction' (Nederveen Pieterse, 2009: 343).

Closely aligned to this is the criticism that post-development theory does not provide solutions to the problems it raises. Kiely (1999) aptly calls this act 'Pontius Pilate politics'. Kiely (1999) and Storey (2000) use this term to describe how post-development distances itself from the political decisions associated with alternatives to development paradigms. The analogy is drawn from the biblical story of Pontius Pilate, the Roman governor who presided over Jesus' trial and symbolically washed his hands of the matter at a critical point, refusing to see the trial through to its end and leaving it for others to resolve. Similarly, Kiely (1999) argues that all claims to knowledge inherently contain elements of power, suggesting that the post-development stance attempts to absolve itself of the political dimensions inherent in these movements. The central argument underlying 'Pontius Pilate politics' is that post-development primarily functions as a rhetorical discourse, refraining from providing concrete solutions while avoiding accountability for the potential consequences of its positions. Nederveen Pieterse (2000) adds to this argument by saying that post-development thinkers criticise development without proffering solutions. Scholars like Kiely (1999) and Lummis (1996) assert that post-development theory's political commentary seems confined to endorsing social movements in the Global South while avoiding direct involvement in political decision-making. This essentially amounts to a form of 'Pontius Pilate politics' where post-development washes its hands of such critical decisions, leaving them for others to navigate.

Some scholars have criticised post-development theory for their tendency to idealise utopian visions while overlooking the underlying social challenges within local communities (Corbridge, 1998; Kiely, 1999; Kapoor, 2017). Critics like Storey (2000) and Kiely (1999) argue that post-development thinking romanticises alternatives to conventional development by presenting an idyllic portrayal of traditional subsistence communities. Kiely (1999) further criticises post-development for its uncritical view of local communities, knowledge systems, and cultural traditions, essentially depicting a utopian premodern society. Moreover, Kapoor (2017) suggests that post-development tends to ignore or downplay the existing power dynamics of domination and exploitation within these communities, largely assuming that these communities are not interested in material well-being. Scholars such as Kiely (1999) and Storey (2000) have further criticised post-development for quickly moving from a position of tolerance to total indifference based on an essentialist account of 'other' cultures. This

inconsistency leads to largely unsubstantiated assertions of an evil North/West and noble South, which forms the basis of the theory's politics. They argue that this perspective may overshadow the presence of internal conflicts within local communities by painting an overly optimistic picture of harmonious coexistence.

Another critique against post-development theory relates to its historical continuity with dependency theory. Dependency theory emerged in the mid-20th century and stressed how developed countries maintained control over less developed ones through economic and political mechanisms (Kiely, 1999). Post-development theory, which gained prominence in the late 20th century, shares some similarities in highlighting the persistence of Western influence and control over former colonies. This continuity suggests that post-development theory might be building upon the foundations laid by dependency theory rather than presenting a new perspective. Post-development theorists, like Rahnema (2010), argue that Western powers continue to exert control over ex-colonies in various ways, such as through economic dominance, cultural imperialism, and international institutions. This notion closely aligns with neocolonialism, which posits that former colonial powers indirectly retain influence over their former colonies. This raises questions about whether post-development theory is an updated version of dependency theory, merely focusing on new forms of domination. Critics like Kiely (1999) assert that post-development theory does not offer a genuinely innovative perspective but instead borrows heavily from dependency theory and other theories which critique neocolonialism. While post-development proponents argue for a radical departure from traditional development paradigms, this critique suggests that it is, in fact, a continuation of existing critical perspectives. Like dependency theory, post-development often identifies problems and critiques existing systems but may not provide concrete alternative solutions for achieving more equitable global development.

2.5 Post-development in Africa

Exploring post-development in the African context is a critical yet somewhat overlooked aspect of development studies. While post-development theory has gained substantial traction in various Global South regions, its presence and prominence in the African discourse have been comparatively limited. In contrast, dependency theory, which shares certain conceptual parallels with post-development, has received more attention in Africa (Rodney, 1972; Ake, 1996).

Ferguson's (1994) work on Lesotho notably propelled the deconstruction of the development discourse in Africa. It is worth noting that Ferguson himself did not explicitly align his work with post-development thinking. However, his scholarly endeavour provides a thoughtful and comprehensive analysis of development, with a central focus on the depoliticisation of rural development in Lesotho. Within Ferguson's work (1994:253), a vivid portrayal emerges wherein development enthusiasts habitually seek the proverbial silver lining. Additionally, his work illustrates instances of local people uprooting trees, symbolising a form of resistance and a rejection of imposed development (Ferguson, 1994: 243). These acts can be contextualised as everyday expressions of resistance, which this study will touch on many times. Despite Ferguson's disassociation from post-development thinkers, his work is a rich source of inspiration for post-development discourse in Africa. It draws parallels between initiatives like the Thaba Tseka projects, where developers arrived at the notion that wild and domestic animals, particularly cattle, could be commodified—a project which, as Ferguson shows, did not yield the anticipated outcomes. Ferguson's work also underscores a critique of the universalisation of ideas and a one-size-fits-all approach to development, which resonates strongly within the post-development discourse.

The recipients of development in Africa have realised what change can bring, which increases development projects' desirability. The desirability of development is multi-layered and must be approached in cognisance of the existing living standards. Colonial legacy can be cited as one of the reasons why development is still desired in Africa (Matthews, 2017; Andreasson, 2017). Apart from being diverse, the desirability of development is also class-defined. The residents of a peri-urban society desire electricity, running water and refuse collection. Matthews (2004, 2017), a prominent voice in the discourse on post-development in the African context, contends that this theoretical framework warrants more attention and investigation from African scholars. Matthews (2004, 2006) highlights the importance of post-development theory in Africa, shedding light on the deficiencies of conventional development efforts across the continent. Her research underscores the imperative need for alternative strategies, capitalising on Africa's rich cultural diversity as a fundamental asset in crafting these alternatives to development.

Matthews (2006, 2017) uses African contexts where local communities have consciously sidestepped traditional development initiatives, opting instead to combat poverty and inequality by drawing upon their cultural values and traditions. This African context substantiates the conclusions posited by post-development theorists, underscoring the

limitations of conventional development approaches within the region. However, Matthews (2004) also observes a conspicuous gap in the engagement of African academics with post-development theory. She posits that adopting a post-development perspective when examining Africa could yield valuable alternative insights, given the continent's diverse worldviews and ways of life. Additionally, her paper spotlights the flawed perception often associated with traditional development projects, which tend to generalise Western experiences and disregard the unique needs and aspirations of the communities they intend to support. In this context, Matthews (2004) proposes that post-development theory can serve as a potent tool to enhance critical assessments of initiatives like NEPAD (New Partnership for Africa's Development), which frequently align with the criticised Western-centric approach to development in Africa.

Andreasson (2005, 2007, 2010, 2017) is another participant in the discourse on post-development in Africa. His 2007 article explores the concept of post-development theory and its significance to development conversations in Southern Africa. Andreasson maintains that the traditional development framework, centred on economic growth and consumption, has been ineffective in fostering sustainable socio-economic progress in post-colonial societies. He further investigates how the Southern African principle of ubuntu could be an essential idea for overcoming the constraints of conventional development. Andreasson's work also contributes to ongoing debates on development and pursuing alternatives to the post-World War II development model. He argues that traditional development strategies' prioritisation of economic growth has not led to sustainable socio-economic improvement in post-colonial societies. He stresses the need to transition away from a development framework that relies on constant growth, accumulation, and consumption. Andreasson (2007) also addresses the issue of 'Afro-pessimism', a debilitating perspective of Africa's inability to achieve development and liberation. He proposes that post-development theory can offer innovative solutions for enhancing well-being and managing globalisation challenges within African societies. Additionally, Andreasson explores the potential of the Southern African principle of ubuntu as a pivotal element for surpassing the conventional development model. He advocates for a collective effort to reimagine and reshape goals and aspirations for a better future, focusing on addressing the disconnection between humanity and nature and among individuals. In his 2010 book, Andreasson analyses the failure of traditional strategies for socio-economic development in Southern Africa by exploring the potential for post-development alternatives. He examines the post-independence trajectories of Botswana, Zimbabwe, and South Africa, providing varied examples of this failure to overcome the debilitating colonial legacy.

Matthews (2004, 2017) and Andreasson (2007, 2010, 2017), through their scholarly work, provide a detailed blend of theoretical insights and empirical case studies to illuminate the ongoing disparity between Africa's socio-economic trajectories and the fundamental principles of the post-development theory (Andreasson 2017). Their 2017 commentaries highlight the centrality of a nuanced post-development approach in Africa. Matthews's (2017) commentary critically examines the limitations of post-development theory in understanding the complex African development context. She contends that post-development theory fails to capture the intricate nuances of development in Africa, often neglecting the persistent aspirations for development within the continent. Matthews's (2017) article underscores certain aspects of the post-development theory that may romanticise and idealise, potentially obscuring the harsh realities of poverty and destitution prevalent in many African regions. She further stresses that post-development theory inadequately addresses the desire for development among African populations and does not align with the perspectives and practices of some African organisations and individuals. Matthews (2017) contends that the shortcomings of post-development theory in understanding African development are rooted in its failure to fully comprehend the diverse African context and the multifaceted nature of development aspirations.

Andreasson (2017) also examines the legacy of post-development theory in Africa and its place in Africa. Despite critiques of conventional development paradigms, he maintains that Africa continues to actively pursue development goals and grapple with its political economy, particularly in sectors like energy. Andreasson's article suggests that post-development theory has had a limited impact on Africa's developmental endeavours. He critically examines the claims made by post-development theory, especially its declaration of the end of development, and evaluates its applicability to Africa's future development prospects. Andreasson's analysis highlights the persistent gap between Africa's development efforts and the core principles of post-development theory, emphasising the theory's limited influence on the continent's developmental trajectory.

Andrews and Bawa (2014) and Bassey (2019) also briefly explore the concept of post-development in the African context. Andrews and Bawa (2014) highlight the noticeable absence or neglect of post-development theory application in Africa, suggesting that its relevance within the broader field of development studies may be limited. On the other hand, Bassey (2019) argues that most African governments have not critically examined the very concept of development itself. Bassey (2019) further discusses the persistent exploitation in

Africa, including issues like mineral extraction (such as the infamous ‘blood diamonds’ in the Democratic Republic of the Congo). He also sheds light on the climate regime, where the burden of mitigation efforts disproportionately falls on the poor in both the global North and South, while the wealthy and influential exacerbate environmental problems. In his chapter, Bassey raises essential questions about the change that Africans desire and how to achieve it. He proposes that Africa might find solutions to its development challenges by drawing from its historical experiences. One avenue he suggests is collective communal organising, which resonates with the ubuntu philosophy—a concept emphasising interconnectedness and shared humanity.

2.6 The study’s position in relation to post-development theory

While many of the criticisms levelled at post-development theory arguably are justifiable, some post-development thinkers see them as unfair. In this section, I highlight some of the responses to the criticism discussed in Section 2.4.3. Post-development theorists have argued that social and grassroots movements and organisations should guide societal progress. They believe that offering a specific model or clear alternative to development could result in replicating the same issues found in mainstream development approaches (Matthews, 2017). Castillo and Masullo-Jiménez (2017:110) suggest that by refraining from presenting alternatives to development, the discourse challenges the idea that there should be a single, universally applicable development model. The concept of a one-size-fits-all approach to development undermines the diversity of local contexts and goals, which is central to the post-development argument for pursuing alternatives to development (Kothari et al., 2019). The rationale behind this position is that following a prescribed path or model would result in post-development thinkers replacing one knowledge and power matrix with another. It would suggest that a select group has superior knowledge and can determine what is best for diverse communities. Therefore, rather than being seen as a weakness, the decision not to offer specific alternatives to development could be considered one of the greatest strengths of the entire post-development discourse (Escobar, 1995; Peet and Hartwick, 2015; Ziai, 2004, 2017; Matthews, 2004).

In addition, post-development thinkers argue that Western advancements often come with a high price. Matthews (2004:378) argues that providing only a few crumbs to someone promised poverty alleviation cannot be considered an improvement. Development advocates made grand promises, but the results often need to catch up to expectations. What is delivered is frequently too little to be celebrated as a substantial positive change. Ziai (2016:66) exemplifies this with

the case of new agricultural technology that promises increased agricultural output but still needs to be made available to those it aims to help due to its high cost. When the poor cannot afford or access the machinery, they doubt the improvements resulting from development efforts. These instances underscore that development benefits often come at a significant cost to local communities, primarily since they are rooted in foreign-developed knowledge systems. In essence, post-development thinkers argue that the so-called improvements associated with development need to be critically examined in light of the significant challenges and negative impacts local populations face. They maintain that genuine development should not demand such high costs from those it claims to uplift.

Another criticism of the post-development theory is that its proponents often derive their perspectives from elitist 'ivory tower' theorising or 'armchair reflection,' as acknowledged by Latouche (1993:28), rather than from empirical research (McGregor, 2009:1693). The argument posits that grounded research holds more value than discourse studies. While post-development thinkers have not explicitly addressed this critique in their writings, there has been a notable increase in ground-level research across Latin America and Africa. Scholars have ventured beyond theoretical musings to engage directly with local communities, institutions, and practices. This shift toward empirical investigation represents a significant departure from the earlier tendency toward abstract theorising. Noteworthy examples of in-depth field-based research include Ferguson's work on Lesotho (1994), Matthews' exploration of an NGO in Senegal (2006), Ziai's book (2007), the recent contributions to Klein and Morreo's (2019) edited book, and Schoneberg et al.'s (2022) examination of contexts in Tanzania, Iran, and Haiti. These studies, rooted in post-development thinking, enrich our understanding of alternative pathways beyond conventional development paradigms. This thesis aligns itself with this tradition of in-depth field research, drawing on what Ziai (2004) calls a sceptical post-development perspective to examine prevailing attitudes and explore alternative trajectories for development critically.

Ziai (2004) argues that the criticisms of post-development theory mostly apply to the reactionary neo-populist variant, which is associated with rejecting development in toto and calling for a return to a supposedly idyllic past. The sceptical post-development variant is markedly different to the neo-populist variant. While it dismisses development, it does so without dismissing it in total, and it does not advocate for a return to a utopian past where life was rosy. Cognisant of the criticism levelled against neo-populist post-development thinking,

this study relies on the other variant: sceptical post-development theory. Section 8.2 of this thesis highlights and justifies the choice of the sceptical post-development variant.

2.7 Concepts Central to this Study

This section presents concepts that are central to this thesis. These concepts are not central to the post-development theory, the theory on which this study relies; however, these concepts are important in the analysis of the attitudes of the people and set the context from which the debates made in the thesis stem. The concepts discussed in this section include Community Based Natural Resource Management (CBNRM) which is discussed in Chapter Three ‘imposed attitudes’, which are used in Chapter Six, ‘human-wildlife conflict’ in Chapter Seven, ‘ambivalence’ and ‘radical democracy’, which are in Chapters Eight and Nine.

2.7.1 Community Based Natural Resources Management (CBNRM).

This thesis examines CAMPFIRE, a program that falls under the Community-Based Natural Resource Management (CBNRM) blueprint. CBNRM will be discussed in detail in Chapter Three, but is also discussed briefly here as it is one of the concepts used in this thesis. CBNRM emerged in the late 1970s to early 1980s as a response to the failures of the protectionist conservation approach, which excluded humans from protected areas and criminalised their traditional rights to natural resources (Neumann, 1995, 1997; Gibson and Marks, 1995; Marks, 2020; Matzke and Nabane, 1996). The protectionist strategy, often referred to as ‘fences and fines’ (Brandon and Wells, 1992:1), relied on a top-down, militaristic approach to conservation rooted in the belief that people and nature should remain separate. The protectionist strategies overlooked external factors critical to conservation outcomes, including land loss, identity conflicts, unregulated hunting, increased poaching, and property damage. These challenges undermined the success of protectionist approaches (Gandiwa et al., 2013; Marks, 2020; Andrade and Rhodes, 2012).

Hassler (1999) argues that the failure of the protectionist programs encouraged a paradigm shift toward collaborative resource management. By the 1990s, conservation efforts began emphasising the inclusion of local communities, both physically within protected areas and politically within conservation policy processes (Berkes, 2004; Adams and Hulme, 2001). CBNRM emerged as a viable alternative, supported by governments and non-governmental organisations alike (Marks, 1999). These programs aimed to improve community well-being

by generating income through conservation incentives, thereby reducing poverty and alleviating human pressures on the environment. CBNRM programs also sought to address human-wildlife conflict, decrease poaching, and enhance wildlife tolerance by fostering community participation in resource management. The transition to community-based strategies highlighted the reliance between communities and their environments, prioritising sustainable resource management and improved livelihoods.

The emergence of Community-Based Natural Resource Management (CBNRM) programs reflects a broader paradigm shift in both conservation and development thinking, aligning arguably – a connection this thesis attempts to make – with the principles of post-development theory. The failure of the ‘fences and fines’ approach, rooted in protectionist thinking, can be understood by the exclusion of local communities from conservation efforts. This exclusion not only alienated communities but also exacerbated challenges such as poaching, resource conflicts, and loss of livelihoods, ultimately undermining the effectiveness of conservation initiatives. The realisation that conservation efforts were falling short in conserving natural resources led to the establishment of CBNRM programs (CAMPFIRE included). By shifting the focus to community participation, CBNRM echoed the post-development emphasis on the agency of those excluded from mainstream development. Both approaches sought to redefine relationships of power, recognising that the marginalisation of local voices hindered not only conservation and development outcomes but also the goal of achieving social and environmental justice.

2.7.2 Imposed Attitudes

In Chapter Six, I coin the term ‘imposed attitudes’ to refer to perspectives or beliefs that are adopted or expressed due to external pressures rather than personal choice. These pressures, as explained in Chapter Six, often stem from authority figures or societal expectations, influencing people to internalise certain attitudes that may not align with their values. Imposed attitudes, as used in this study, refer to attitudes that have developed over time and are influenced by the need to survive. I use the term to refer to positive attitudes that are influenced by circumstances that are not only beyond the people’s control but also have been normalised. The concept of imposed attitudes is important in understanding the Chikunda people’s attitudes towards development in the area. I highlight how this concept came up, and include, in Chapter Four, a brief section which portrays how I realised that there is a need to differentiate between actual positive and imposed positive attitudes. The idea of imposed

attitudes can be related to Scott's (1990) discussion of public and hidden transcripts. Public transcripts are characterised by the behaviours, language, and performances that subordinates use to present themselves in ways considered acceptable or safe under the scrutiny of those in power. Scott argues that public transcripts are often marked by deference, compliance, and apparent agreement. However, these outward displays do not necessarily reflect the subordinates' true beliefs or emotions. I present imposed attitudes as relatable to Scott's public transcripts, where public positivity is a deliberate performance meant to avoid repercussions, maintain social harmony, or gain favour. The imposed attitude concept proves to be important as it provides a nuanced way to understand the Chikunda community's perspectives on development, especially where survival-driven adaptation (whether political, social or economic) influences the positive public attitudes observed.

2.7.3 Human-wildlife conflict

Another concept central to this thesis is human-wildlife conflict (HWC), discussed in Chapter Seven. HWC is an important concept for this thesis in two broad ways. Firstly, human-wildlife interaction is the major reason CAMPFIRE was established. Poaching was on the rise, leading indirectly to human-wildlife conflict, and there was a need to introduce a programme that incentivised people's efforts to conserve animals. The other way in which HWC is important for this study relates to the perceived increase in human-wildlife conflict in Kanyemba over the last decade, which has influenced people's perception of CAMPFIRE.

HWC as a discourse has received a lot of scholarly attention and has varied definitions. The term is widely used term in academic literature to describe a complex situation where human and wildlife actions and behaviours negatively affect each other's well-being and survival (Madden, 2004; Jani et al., 2020). HWC encompasses situations where wildlife threatens human safety and livelihoods through various mechanisms. For example, species such as elephants, pythons, lions, and crocodiles can inflict HWC by destroying crops, preying on livestock, injuring or killing humans, and damaging property (Mupangwa et al., 2006; Dube & Kavhu, 2021). The manifestations of HWC are diverse and include a range of interactions and incidents. One common manifestation involves carnivores attacking and killing livestock or humans, resulting in significant economic losses and casualties. Another form is animals raiding crops, leading to food insecurity and economic difficulties for communities reliant on agriculture (Graham et al., 2005; Madden, 2004). Moreover, competition for resources and games can generate conflicts between humans and wildlife, as both groups vie for scarce

resources in the same habitat. HWC also involves the transmission of diseases between wildlife and livestock, which can have severe implications for human and animal health (Jani et al., 2020). Furthermore, HWC incidents may cause injuries and fatalities, directly threatening human well-being.

The term HWC is mostly used to refer to acts in which animals have harmed human beings. However, the term can also refer to situations where people have killed or harmed animals. Injuring animals comes in many forms, and HWC can refer to things like trapping animals, hurting animals in the protection of people's fields and killing them for meat. People have been reported to poison carcasses to cope with wildlife threats. Retaliatory killings, where humans seek revenge against wildlife, and pre-emptive wildlife killings, aimed at avoiding potential conflicts, are additional manifestations of HWC (Dickman et al., 2014; Jani et al., 2020). People may attack animals, forcing them to relocate to different areas and make room for new settlements. HWC, nonetheless, has more typically been understood to mean the harm perpetrated by animals on human beings.

In this study, I frame HWC as both a cause and reflection of community positive and negative attitudes towards development (CAMPFIRE). Initially, HWC appeared as a background factor in local views on development. However, as I conducted more interviews and reviewed recordings, it emerged as central to understanding local responses to conservation. I came to see that HWC was a background issue affecting people's attitudes towards development. The more interviews I conducted and the more I listened to the recorded interviews, I realised that it was a focal point for understanding local community responses to conservation. HWC is a broader concept, and I briefly dissect it in this study. I focus on how recurring encounters with wildlife, especially the encounters that result in economic (destruction of people's sources of livelihood) or physical harm (rare instances of death), have contributed to negative sentiments toward CAMPFIRE. I position HWC as a conceptual lens through which I highlight how people's perceptions of CAMPFIRE have changed since its establishment to the time of the research.

2.7.4 Ambivalence

The assumption that everyone desires to be developed is one of the reasons that has underpinned development theory and practice. A growing post-structural discourse challenges this assumption by investigating the complex nature of development's desirability. Such debates raise a fundamental question: Do people genuinely desire development in its broader

sense, or is this desire itself a constructed narrative? If one is to use the definition of development by Peet and Hartwick (2015) as ‘making life better’, then the term development suggests an inherent desirability. However, as will be continuously highlighted in this thesis, the meaning of development is polysemic. The polysemic nature of development thus complicates the assumption of desirability. Post-development theorists advocate for the dismissal of development as a concept and practice, and this presents a theoretical quandary. Matthews (2017) problematises the dismissal of development by examining how people desire development. This opens avenues to ask how we reconcile this dismissal with observable desires for development among various populations. The complexity of this question becomes evident when examining evidence from Global South contexts, where Ferguson (1994, 1999) and Matthews (2017) demonstrate that rural residents often express clear desires for development markers. The people want nice houses (Ferguson, 1999), people want indoor toilets that flush (Matthews, 2017), and people want status associated with development (Ferguson 1994, 1999).

However, these desires should not be interpreted as universal or uncomplicated. Rather, they exist within a concept of ambivalence, where people simultaneously embrace and resist developmental changes. Ambivalence emerges as a crucial analytical tool for understanding Kanyemba’s complex attitudes towards development. In Kanyemba, as will be demonstrated in Chapters Eight and Nine, residents exhibit this ambivalence through their engagement with the CAMPFIRE. The attitudes of the residents of Kanyemba reveal how development desires coexist with development resistance. The concept of ambivalence allows this study analysis to understand how the community engage with CAMPFIRE. The concept allows me to go beyond just viewing the desire and dismissal of development as a simple binary and to establish the complexity associated with development in rural areas in Zimbabwe. The concept of ambivalence is central, as highlighted in chapters eight and nine. Drawing from and making a connection to post-development theory, I address how development (CAMPFIRE) in Kanyemba is both desired and resisted by individuals and communities.

2.7.5 Radical democracy

One of the concepts that is central to understanding people's attitudes, their dismissal of development and their alternatives to development is radical democracy. The concept has been widely used in political studies but not often commented on in post-development theory. However, Ziai (2004) links the concept to post-development theory, arguing that some post-

development thinking is compatible with the idea of radical democracy, as outlined by Laclau and Mouffe (2001). Radical democracy can be understood as the extension and deepening of democratic values (such as liberty, equality, and justice) into all areas of life, not just the formal political sphere (e.g., elections) (Laclau and Mouffe, 2001: 173). This involves challenging all forms of domination and inequality, whether based on class, gender, race, or other forms of identity. Another scholar who writes on this topic is Lummis (1996), who describes radical democracy as a return to the core philosophy of democracy: direct participation and empowerment of ordinary people. He claims that radical democracy is about the reclamation of democracy from elite control by creating a system where ordinary citizens are genuinely empowered to participate in decision-making. While these descriptions of radical democracy are not perfectly aligned, both Laclau and Mouffe (2001) and Lummis (1996) are critical of liberal democracy, which they see as overly focused on elections, political elites, and representative institutions. They argue that democracy must be radicalised and extended beyond liberal forms.

Lummis (1996) draws a comparison between liberal democracy, which he argues focuses on individual rights, representative institutions and the rule of law and radical democracy, which dwells on decentering power and the participation of citizens in all aspects of political power. Liberal democracy allows for limited forms of participation and, in most cases, results in the alienation of citizens from power and decision-making, which remain in the hands of elected officials and political elites. In Chapter 8, I relate my findings to post-development theory and, in so doing, I closely align with the argument that radical democracy expands the democratic circle beyond government and into the economic and social circles, where people can have more control over their own lives and communities.

Laclau and Mouffe (2001) posit that the key feature of radical democracy is its emphasis on pluralism. Plural radical democracy embraces the fact that societies are different and conflictual; struggles over power, identity, and resources will exist. Against this acknowledgement, the existence of radical democratic politics would not suppress these differences and conflicts but rather engage with them. They further argue that radical democracy is about forming alliances between different struggles (e.g., feminism, anti-racism, environmentalism, workers' rights) while also respecting their differences. Radical democracy seeks to create a political space where different identities and struggles can coexist and interact. Radical democracy is portrayed by Lummis (1996) in a utopian way, where the locals have more control, and everyone participates directly. Laclau and Mouffe (2001) take a different

route; while criticising state power, they view the state as a site of hegemonic contestation in which the state can act as a mediator in conflicts, but it still must be constantly contested. Cognisant of the different approaches towards radical democracy, I approach this study from a somewhat general perspective, which encourages a pluralist approach that accommodates multiple social identities, ethnicities, and sociopolitical groups. I concur with Laclau and Mouffe (2001) and Lummis (1996) that democracy is a continuously contested space where different groups articulate their demands and negotiate power (authority in this study). In this study, I deploy plural democracy to mean acknowledging that a society is made up of multiple, often different, identities and interests. Consequently, radical democracy must provide a space where these differences can be articulated and negotiated.

2.7.6 Everyday forms of resistance

In analysing the dynamics of human-wildlife conflict (HWC) in Kanyemba, this study examines how class and power influence the ways complaints about problem animals are addressed. The Tembo Mvura express dissatisfaction with how authorities handle HWC, noting that responses vary according to one's social standing or ethnic affiliations. This treatment has fuelled subtle forms of resistance. It is against such a background that I use the concept 'weapons of the weak' to highlight how the people have resisted not just the slow pace in which HWC is dealt with but also the failure of development (CAMPFIRE). To frame this resistance, I draw on Scott's *Weapons of the Weak* (1985) and *Domination and the Arts of Resistance* (1990), which emphasise how marginalised groups use everyday acts of defiance to assert agency.

As discussed in 2.7.1, Scott's concepts of 'public and hidden transcripts' are also important to my analysis. The public transcript represents the outward, compliant behaviours expected by those in power. This study is more interested in the hidden transcript, which can be understood as the discourse that takes place 'offstage'. Hidden transcripts encompass the genuine feelings, critiques, and resistance strategies that subordinates dare not express openly. Closely related is Scott's (1990) notion of *infrapolitics*, which encompasses subtle, low-risk acts of defiance, such as foot-dragging or minor sabotage. These acts may seem insignificant, but they serve as a powerful form of protest and assert local agency without confrontation. Scott (1990:19) coined the term to capture the 'infra' (or below-the-surface) tactics that people use in situations where open confrontation could lead to severe consequences, such as punishment, violence, or further marginalisation. I use *infrapolitics* to examine and analyse people's reactions to the

failure of CAMPFIRE in dealing with problem animals. As I highlight in Chapter Seven, everyday forms of resistance manifest in infrapolitics with low-profile resistance, acts of noncompliance and even jokes. These acts may seem trivial or unimportant to an outsider; however, they embody the community's critique of CAMPFIRE's failures while avoiding confrontation.

These acts are what he termed the everyday forms of subtle resistance. In this resistance, subordinate groups used coded language, folklore, and rituals to resist and avoid confrontation. The coded language included people using seemingly innocent phrases or stories that had hidden meanings understood only by their community. The songs sung and poems recited often contained veiled criticism of the powerful but could be explained away as harmless if confronted. Scott (1990) argues that these acts are not overt but subtle and challenging to detect. The concept of weapons of the weak has been used by some scholars, including Miyake and Kohsaka (2020), who highlight how Japanese farmers employed several strategies to resist the Multi-Product Management Stabilization Plan (MPP). The farmers employed various methods to resist the plan. One of the acts of resistance was the selling of rice outside government distribution channels (referred to as 'dark rice') (Miyake and Kohsaka 2020:3). The farmers also used storytelling as an act of resistance. Storytelling created a collective identity among the farmers and helped frame the farmers' resistance in a way that resonated with their cultural and historical values. In addition, Cardeñoso (2018) uses the concept of the weapons of the weak to highlight everyday resistance practices employed by the rural population in the Alentejo region (Portugal) during the early twentieth century. He highlights how the poorer classes engaged in stealing olives and acorns to supplement their food and income (2018:33.). He further discusses how the poor classes hunted animals clandestinely. The rural workers allowed their livestock to graze in areas where they were not allowed to do so (Cardeñoso, 2018). In my study, as will be discussed in Chapter 7, people's herding of wild animals into government-owned fields can be considered to be an everyday form of resistance. Weapons of the weak manifesting in hidden transcripts or infrapolitics are an important concept in this study as they allow me to nuance the attitudes and people's responses to the failures of CAMPFIRE.

2.8 Conclusion

In conclusion, this chapter embarked on an extensive exploration of the evolving landscape of development theories. It began with examining the historical journey of development theory, tracing its roots from the 1945 Truman Speech, which some believe marked the beginning of

contemporary development paradigms. The chapter traced the emergence of various approaches to development from the perspectives of both proponents and critics. The second section of this chapter examines how post-development theory challenges and critiques established development paradigms. Post-development thinking emerged as a response to the shortcomings and tragedies associated with conventional development approaches. Criticisms given of the post-development theory were engaged with, and responses from proponents of this perspective were discussed. In the African context, the literature review illuminated the limited attention given to post-development theory, thereby highlighting a significant gap in the discourse. This gap underscores the need for further research and exploration of post-development's applicability and relevance within Africa.

This chapter sets the foundation for comprehending the conceptual underpinnings of the CAMPFIRE initiative within the context of development discourse. The definitions and descriptions employed in this study draw parallels with established theories of development. By examining CAMPFIRE through alternative and participatory development frameworks, more profound insights into its nature emerge. The literature review conducted herein aids in elucidating community attitudes towards CAMPFIRE and offers insights into how these attitudes can be contextualised within broader theories of development. Consequently, a nuanced understanding of CAMPFIRE as a development initiative is fostered and informed by contemporary development theories.

CHAPTER THREE

MBIRE AND CAMPFIRE: A CONTEXT

3.1 Introduction

This chapter provides information about the Mbire district, the specific study area of Kanyemba, the residents of Kanyemba and the CAMPFIRE programme. The chapter is structured into sections that introduce the reader to the Kanyemba community. The chapter briefly introduces the Dande/Mbire district, providing insights into its political and economic landscape. The focus shifts to the Kanyemba ward, offering a nuanced understanding of its historical development, population and ethnic composition. The second part of the chapter traces the evolution of conservation in Southern Africa, emphasising the rise of community-based natural resource management as a response to colonial policies. This section also highlights the factors that paved the way for the establishment of CAMPFIRE, offering crucial background information. The final section acquaints the reader with CAMPFIRE by providing a comprehensive account of its emergence, implementation, and progress in Zimbabwe. This information is essential for the reader's engagement with the subsequent chapters. The chapter concisely outlines the organisational structure of CAMPFIRE, spanning from the village to the national level, and details the allocation of funds. This chapter contextualises the study and enhances the reader's comprehension of the arguments presented throughout the dissertation. It provides the reader with a broader understanding of the socio-political and historical dynamics shaping the Kanyemba community and establishes the groundwork for exploring local perspectives on CAMPFIRE.

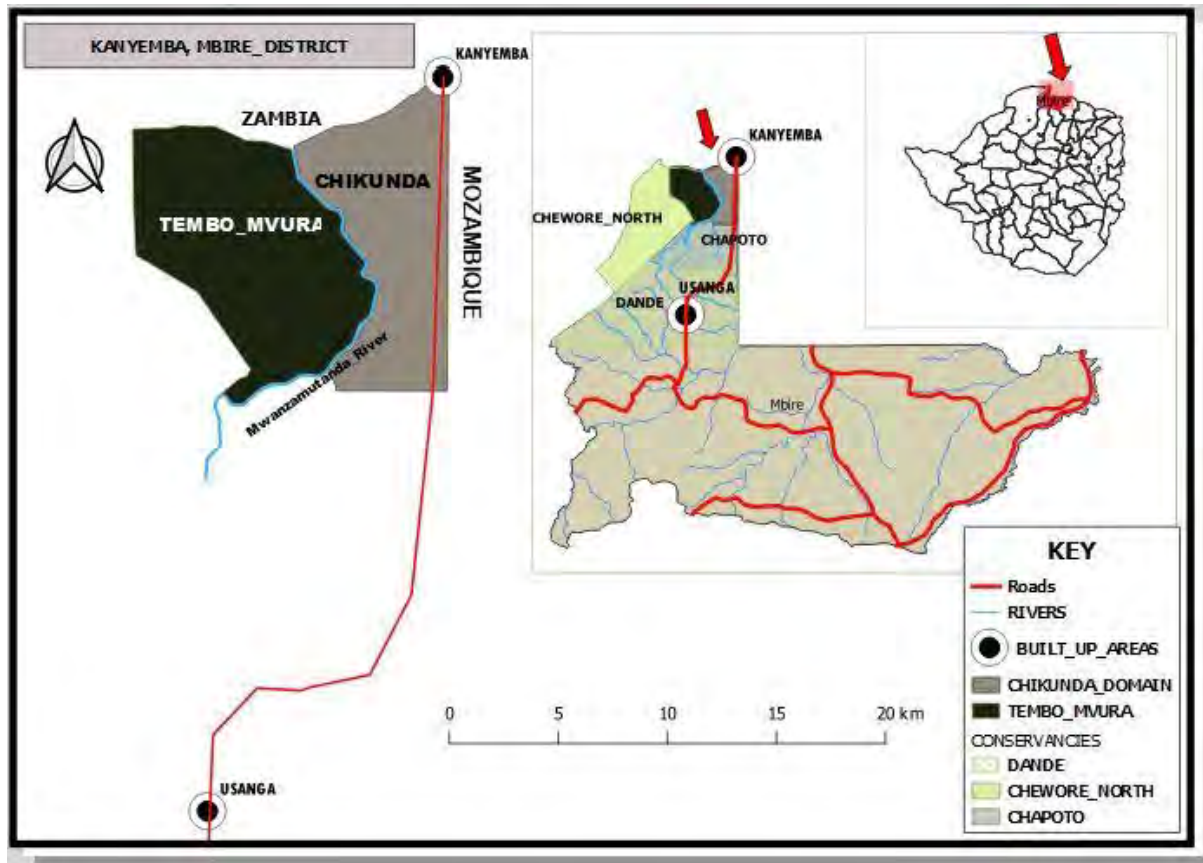


Figure 1: Map of the study area.

3.2 The Mbire Rural District Council (MRDC)

In 2013, Zimbabwe underwent a significant administrative restructuring with the enactment of Section 267 of the constitution, dividing the country into ten administrative provinces as part of a broader political, economic, and administrative devolution process. Subsequently, these provinces were further subdivided into districts. The demarcation process was guided by the Rural District Councils Act (Chapter 29:13). Enacted in 2012, this legislation facilitated the declaration of districts, leading to the creation of councils and the conferral of powers upon these councils, with the intent of addressing related matters (Rusinamhodzi, 202). The act defined the powers, functions, and jurisdiction of local authorities. As of 2022, Zimbabwe boasted 63 Rural District Councils, each overseen by a Chief Executive Officer (CEO) who reports to the Minister of Local Government. These CEOs are responsible for managing and administering their respective rural district councils, implementing policies, plans and programmes; providing leadership; coordinating council activities and projects; and representing the council to other stakeholders. Their primary role is to ensure the efficient and effective delivery of council services to their communities.

Mashonaland Central, one of Zimbabwe's ten provinces, encompasses eight administrative districts: Bindura, Mount Darwin, Shamva, Rushinga, Mazowe, Muzarabani, Guruve and Mbire. In 2007, Mbire attained the status of the eighth administrative district, having previously been under the jurisdiction of the Guruve Rural District Council. Mbire, also known as Dande, is situated in a semi-arid region in the Mid-Zambezi Valley, bordered by Mozambique to the north and east and Zambia to the north-west (Mupangwa et al., 2006:54). The establishment of the Mbire Rural District Council (MRDC, hereafter) in 2006 was motivated by the belief that, despite contributing a significant portion of financial resources, Mbire lagged in development. MRDC's economic foundation relies on the natural resources available in the region. The MRDC offices are located at Mushumbi Pools, 276 km from Harare and 115 km from Kanyemba. The district is further divided into 17 wards, each represented by councillors (Zimstats, 2022). Mbire shares its border with Mozambique in Ward 4 (Gonono) to the northeast and with Zambia in Ward 1 (Kanyemba) to the north.

3.2.1 Natural characteristics of Mbire and Kanyemba.

Vincent and Thomas's (1960) survey identified five natural regions in Rhodesia, now Zimbabwe. These demarcations were done according to inherent characteristics of climate, soil, and topography and to define the best possible land use in order to fully utilise and preserve the land's resource potential in producing goods for which the region is most appropriate. Mbire district falls under Agro-ecological Natural Region Five. This region experiences two seasons: a rainy season from November to April and a dry season from May to October, with an annual rainfall ranging between 350 mm and 450 mm (Baudron et al., 2011; Fritz et al., 2003; Derman, 1990). It is chiefly bushland with many species of Acacia and grasses, and its use was initially restricted to ranching based on veld alone (ZINGSA, 2020). Region Five is characterised by poor soils, exacerbating drought conditions (Chikodzi et al., 2013). In Kanyemba, three dominant soil types exist: *bandate*, *shapa*, and *mutapo*. *Bandate* refers to sandy loam soils found near fertile rivers that retain moisture well, promoting enhanced riverine agriculture. Passmore,¹ a Tembo Mvura community member interviewed for this study, differentiated the other two soil types, explaining that *shapa* refers to loamy sand soils, which are less fertile and often avoided by residents. At the same time, *mutapo* represents shallow sandy clay soils primarily used for upper terrace (*minda*) and lower terrace (*dimba*) agriculture. *Mutapo* soils are less effective for summer agriculture due to poor moisture

¹ Interview with Passmore, 19 April 2022, Mariga village.

retention and aeration, making them suitable mainly for grains, cotton, and sesame. Conflicts over fertile soils like *bandate* and *mutapo* have historically arisen. Riverine gardens with such soils produce winter vegetables, beans, mealies, and sweet potatoes, attracting elephants and buffaloes and leading to human-wildlife conflicts, a topic to be explored later in the dissertation.

Kanyemba has several small rivulets that only flow during the rainy season. One of the major rivers in Kanyemba is Mwanzamtanda, a non-perennial river whose origins are within the mountains that border Mashonaland Central and Mashonaland West and drain into the Zambezi River. Mwanzamtanda River is central to the livelihoods of Kanyemba residents. The river's floodplains provide fertile ground for gardens (*magova/goba*), where vegetables, maize, and other crops are grown for consumption and sale in Zambia and Mozambique. The river has some perennial pools that provide water for irrigation to the riverine gardens. In addition to providing a source of livelihood, the river marks the demarcation between the Chikunda and the Tembo Mvura villages. The river also serves as a border between the Chitsere Conservancy on the western side and the Dande Safaris Area, which is a hunting area run by the Charlton and MacCallum Safaris on the eastern side. Hunting on the western side of the river is prohibited, as will be discussed later in the thesis. The river has also been a cause of concern, especially regarding human-wildlife conflicts. Elephants, buffalos, and crocodiles attack many people as they guard or tend to their gardens on the riverbanks.

The Zambezi River, which forms the northern border between Zimbabwe and Zambia, is the fourth longest river in Africa. It was integral to people's livelihoods in Kanyemba until fishing using nets was banned. Residents interviewed for this study report that people from villages as far as Mariga and Chansato (18 kilometres away) used to go on fishing trips to the Zambezi River. They would sell part of the catch and keep some for consumption. However, the introduction of strict policies illegalised fishing without a permit. The creation of fishing camps along the Zambezi River shore further exacerbated the lack of access to the river. The fishing camps were given exclusive permits that forbade community members from fishing along the banks. Many respondents complained of having their fishing lines seized by personnel working for the Chitsere Conservancy and other fishing camps. Due to the strict policing of the no fishing rule, locals have resorted to fishing illegally in dangerous areas of the Zambezi. Consequently, there has been an increase in Human-Wildlife Conflicts (hereafter, HWC) as people fish in more dangerous parts of the river, sometimes losing their limbs and, in the worst-case scenario, lives. Chapters Five and Seven share narratives of crocodiles attacking people.

3.2.2 Vegetation and Wildlife

The vegetation in the Mid-Zambezi Valley, including the Kanyemba area, is predominantly savanna, characterised by deciduous trees, grass, and open woodland. The landscape is dominated by a combination of Miombo, the Combretum/Terminalia woodlands featuring abundant African ebony (*Diospyros mespiliformis*) and mopane (*Colophospermum*). Along the rivers, the vegetation is tall and predominantly consists of Acacia species (Pwiti, 1996; Timberlake et al., 1993). Several plant species in the region are vital in providing sustenance and supporting livelihoods. For instance, the *masawu* (*Ziziphus Mauritania*) produces fruits that are consumed locally and sold to visitors. The fruits are sometimes used to produce illicit beer. Baobab trees bear fruits which are consumed in raw form and are sometimes used to make porridge. The leaves of the tree sometimes serve as a relish, and the seeds are roasted and ground to make a drink similar to coffee. Surplus baobab fruits are sold to buyers in Harare and other areas, and the Dairiboard company now has a beverage made from the baobab fruit. Various plants, prepared and in their natural state, are consumed, particularly among the Tembo Mvura people. Notably, Kanyemba is home to a unique species in the Mid-Zambezi Valley, the *muchenarota* (*Stechulia Africana*), which locals often poach to make household furniture. Poaching has led to arrests, prompting NGOs like Carbon Green Africa to set out to educate the locals on the importance of preserving these trees, which are poached for timber. The Mid-Zambezi Valley is rich in plant biodiversity, boasting numerous species, with approximately 700 plant species identified in the region (Jani et al., 2019; Baudron et al., 2011). The significance of these plant species extends beyond ecological considerations, playing a crucial role in the daily lives, traditions, and economic activities of the local communities in Kanyemba.

Mbire Rural District Council's secession from Guruve Rural District Council (GRDC hereafter) was driven by the abundant wildlife in the area, which once included all the big five (elephant, rhinoceros, buffalo, lion, and leopard). A significant chunk of GRDC revenue (back then) was made up of funds from animal sales in lower Guruve (now Mbire). However, this region did not benefit sufficiently from animal sales; hence, they applied for a secession from the GRDC. Among Mbire's 17 wards, three wards stand out as the most wildlife-rich due to their proximity to animal sanctuaries. These are Kanyemba (Ward 1), Angwa (Ward 2), and Masoka (Ward 11). Kanyemba is renowned for its diverse wildlife population, encompassing large herbivores such as elephants, buffalos, hippopotamuses, sable antelopes, eland and various plains game. At some point in time, Mbire, whilst under Guruve, also had a rhinoceros

population. However, the population declined due to persistent poaching, and the remaining rhinoceros were relocated. Additionally, the area is inhabited by carnivores, including lions, leopards, cheetahs, and spotted hyenas. While these carnivores have, in rare instances, posed a threat to humans, they usually prey on livestock. Residents often express concerns about the high animal population, blaming them for damage to their livelihoods. However, safari operators and conservationists view the number of trophy animals as meagre, highlighting the challenges in balancing local needs with conservation efforts (Jani et al., 2019). The delicate interplay between wildlife conservation and the well-being of local communities is a critical aspect that will be further explored in Chapter Seven.

Elephants and buffalos, highly sought-after for sport and trophy hunting, have faced a notable decline in their numbers. An interview with Miles,² a partner member of Charlton and McCallum Safaris, estimated the presence of approximately 1,500 elephants and over 2,500 buffalos in Dande Safaris and Kanyemba. Due to financial constraints and the impact of the COVID-19 pandemic, there has not been an animal census since the last lion census in 2014. As a result, current wildlife statistics in Kanyemba are unknown, but safari operators suggest that the numbers have not increased significantly. The low animal population is considered one of the driving factors behind the establishment of the Chitsere Conservancy, which aims to restore and conserve animal numbers in the area. Both the conservationists and safari operators expressed scepticism about Kanyemba being a suitable case study for wildlife and development due to the perceived lack of animals to drive development initiatives. The decrease in animal populations has been attributed to the expansion of human settlements. Safari operators and conservationists share the view that the clearing of vast agricultural lands in Kanyemba has led to the destruction of animal habitats, forcing wildlife to relocate. This interchange between human development and wildlife conservation underscores the challenges faced in achieving a balance between the two in the Kanyemba region.

3.3 Ward 1/Kanyemba/Chapoto.

Ward 1, commonly called Kanyemba or Chapoto, stands out as one of Mbire's 17 wards, distinguished by its smaller population. The study area encompasses a 300-square-kilometre expanse in the mid-Zambezi Valley (Bola et al., 2014; Hasler, 1991; Jani et al., 2023). Kanyemba is situated along the Mwanzamtanda River and at the confluence of the Zambezi and Mwanzamtanda rivers. As a border community, Kanyemba shares boundaries with

² Interview with Miles, 5 July 2022, Harare

Mozambique to the east and Zambia to the north along the Zambezi River. There is no physical boundary with Mozambique; hence, cross-boundary trading is common, especially among individuals from the Bawa region in Mozambique. Kanyemba's agroecological system is suitable for game ranching and thus is positioned between two animal safaris: Chewore Safaris and Dande Safaris Area. Chewore Safaris, located in Mashonaland West Province to the west of Kanyemba, employs community members as game scouts, trackers, and general hands. On the southeastern side of Kanyemba lies the Dande Safari Area, which the National Parks controls, which provides hunting quotas to hunters and offers tourist camps for game viewing. The community finds itself sandwiched between these safaris, leading one interviewee, Netsai,³ to humorously remark that they were part of the jungle. The community's proximity to protected areas exposes them to challenges, including the risk of animal attacks, destruction of crops, and constant predation on livestock by wildlife predators.

Kanyemba derives its name from a Chikunda leader who led his people from Mozambique to the area they are settled in presently. The ward falls under the traditional authority of Chief Chapoto, a Kanyemba descendant. According to the latest available data from Zimstats (2022), the population of Kanyemba stands at 3773. The ward is organised into five Village Development Committees (VIDCOs): Chiruhwe, Chansato, Nyaruparo, Chiramba, and Mariga. These VIDCOs further consist of 40 villages, according to the 2022 census. In subsequent sections of the study, the role of village heads in development and conservation will be explored, shedding light on the intricate connections between governance structures, cultural heritage, and local development initiatives within the Kanyemba community.

3.3.1 The ethnic composition of Kanyemba

The Kanyemba community comprises two main groups: the Tembo Mvura, commonly known as the Doma/Dema, and the Chikunda. Oral traditions suggest the two groups' historical relationship dates back to the Portuguese Plantation era in present-day Mozambique. Scholars such as Isaacman (1972;2000) and Marizane (2016) have documented a history of Chikunda armies raiding weaker groups during this era, with the Tembo Mvura being among the raided groups. Debates arise regarding which group arrived first in the region, but oral traditions evidence suggests that the Tembo Mvura arrived first (Maheve, 2018). The historical rivalry between the Chikunda and Tembo Mvura persisted even after Zimbabwe's independence in 1980. Tensions escalated in 1989 when the ban on hunting was enforced and criminalised by

³ Interview with Netsai, 24 April 2022, Mariga village.

the Zimbabwean Government, leading to the arrests of many Tembo Mvura accused of poaching. The Tembo Mvura accused members of the Chikunda community of informing authorities. The relationship was further strained due to these arrests, but tensions eased when it became apparent that the poachers were from Zambia and Mozambique. The Mwanzamtanda River is a distinct boundary between the two groups, with crossing only occurring when necessary for trade or menial jobs on the eastern side. Interactions have increased due to intermarriages and tolerance fostered by various programmes that require the participation of both groups. When they arrived in Zimbabwe, the Chikunda settled on the eastern side of the Mwanzamtanda River, maintaining their homesteads, while the nomadic Tembo Mvura hunted and gathered in the mountains on the western side. Despite a government order to relocate to the eastern side, the Tembo Mvura chose to stay on the western side, asserting that it was close to their ancestral homes and resisting integration into the Chikunda community (Hasler, 1991; Maheve, 2018). This historical context is crucial for understanding the attitudes of the two groups towards CAMPFIRE, with the Tembo Mvura feeling marginalised due to perceived Chikunda domination, associating their suffering with the presence of the Chikunda community.

3.3.2 The Tembo Mvura

The Tembo Mvura claim they originally came from Mozambique, predating the Chikunda in Kanyemba according to their oral traditions. Migration narratives depict various patterns that led to their settlement in the Kanyemba area, which the dominant Chikunda later occupied (Maheve, 2018). The Tembo Mvura oral traditions often point to the Songo Mountains in present-day Mozambique as their origin. Contrasting accounts are found in Chikunda narratives, which describe the Tembo Mvura as arriving in Kanyemba alongside Chikunda leaders who were considered their masters. Claudio (2005) writes that Chief Chapoto claimed that the Chikunda came with the Tembo Mvura from Songo Mountain. While Tembo Mvura chronicles acknowledge their migration from Mozambique, they dispute the narrative that they arrived as slaves of the Chikunda. According to Prugia,⁴ one of the oldest members of the current Tembo Mvura community, her people did not come with any Chikunda leader but followed a diviner called Chiyambo from Tete in present-day Mozambique. According to oral traditions, between 1845 and 1870, the Tembo Mvura migrated from present-day Mozambique to Zimbabwe through Zambia. Their journey was marked by continuous fleeing from the

⁴ Interview with Prugia, 22 august 2017, Chiramba

Chikunda army involved in slave raiding, often led by Portuguese figures. Saini, in an interview, claimed that the people crossed into Zimbabwe using a narrow stretch in the Zambezi River, and the place is named *Kavharamanja* (Gate) in Tembo Mvura history.⁵

After crossing into Zimbabwe, the Tembo Mvura settled in Chirambakudomwa Mountain, a location that the elderly members of the community can still identify today. The Tembo Mvura were nomadic and consistently moved from one place to another. Their movements were influenced by various factors, including traditional beliefs, as evidenced by the significant role of a diviner in guiding their migrations. Another reason for their continuous migration was the availability of food. The group would move from one mountain to the next depending on the availability of fruits and tubers to be gathered. The group traversed several locations, including Karuwaya, Katsuuku, Karemwa, and Chirambakudomwa mountains, all situated in what is today the Chewore Game Reserve. These mountains provided different food resources such as honey and tubers like *mpama* (*Dioscorea bulbifera*), *manyanya* (*Boscia Angustifolia*), and *bepe* (*Tacca leontopetaloides*). Karemwa Mountain, now part of the Chitsere Conservancy, was favoured due to its proximity to the Tunsu Hot Springs (Marindo and Zaba, 1995:3). According to the Tembo Mvura oral traditions, the hot springs offered a wide variety of fish (Marindo and Zaba, 1995; Guvamombe, 2013). Although the Tembo Mvura primarily relied on hunting and gathering, they also barter-traded with neighbouring communities.

During the Zimbabwean liberation war, both the Tembo Mvura and Chikunda people played a crucial role in assisting freedom fighters in crossing into Zambia for training to combat the Rhodesian Government. According to Mberengwa (2000), when the District Administrator discovered these activities, he ordered the relocation of the Tembo Mvura people from the mountains to Chapoto, where the Chikunda resided under Chief Chapoto. However, the Tembo Mvura resisted this directive and remained settled on the western side of the Mwanzamtanda River. As the war intensified around 1979, the District Administrator of Sipolilo, present-day Guruve, ordered all residents of Kanyemba, including both the Tembo Mvura and Chikunda, to move into a security village known as 'Keep' in Mushumbi Pools, 115 km away (Jani, 2022). Interviews conducted with elderly Tembo Mvura members in 2017 revealed that some members were captured and taken to Keep but managed to escape. Marindo-Ranganai and Zaba (1995) show that the escapees joined their group and continued hunting and gathering with no disturbances. After the war, the Government of Zimbabwe (GoZ) implemented a villagisation

⁵ Interview with Saini Tapererenyi, 19 August 2017, Mariga village.

programme, likely inspired by Tanzanian villagisation schemes. The Tembo Mvura resisted villagisation as it took them away from their ancestral homes. They also resisted a project known as the Mid-Zambezi Project (MZP), which aimed to resettle people from areas with poor fertile soils that were deemed too wild for human settlement. In an interview with Saini,⁶ he highlighted that despite the pressure on the Tembo Mvura to relocate, they were not resettled by the MZP. Instead, they chose to move closer to the Mwanzamtanda River. Once again, the Tembo Mvura disregarded the directive to relocate to areas with better soils, which were deemed habitable compared to their ancestral areas. Their refusal to relocate underscores the people's resilience and determination to maintain their connection to their ancestral lands despite external pressures and interventions. Their refusal also sheds light on the adaptive strategies and resource utilisation patterns of the Tembo Mvura people in 'uninhabitable' ecological environments.

There is some controversy regarding the name used to refer to the Tembo Mvura people. The Tembo Mvura people are also known as Doma/Dema, two-toed people, or the ostrich tribe. There is more than one account of the origins and historical connotations of the name Doma/Dema. One version suggests that the name Doma/Dema originated from the dark complexion of the people. Saini, the oldest Tembo Mvura man in 2017, claimed that Basiyawo (a Chikunda official) named them Dema, later corrupted to Doma, because of their dark complexion. Dema is a root of the word *mutema* that can be loosely translated to mean the dark one. The Tembo Mvura people are relatively dark in complexion, contrasting with the light complexion of the Chikunda, who claim Portuguese ancestry. The neighbouring Chikunda mostly gives another version of the name. In a previous study, I interviewed Chikunda respondents who claimed that the name Doma refers to a simpleton (Maheve 2018). They alleged that the Tembo Mvura are quiet, shy, and slow in responding, traits that were mistaken for foolishness. Mberengwa (2000) also highlights how the Korekore groups associated the behaviour of the Tembo Mvura with daftness. Due to this perception, the people were described as '*Vadodoma*', meaning 'the foolish ones'. Over time, this adjectival noun was corrupted to 'vaDoma', which continues to mean the 'stupid ones'. However, this version of the name's origins has lost relevance as people no longer want to describe their neighbours as foolish or stupid. The Tembo Mvura people consider the name Dema/Doma derogatory, constantly reminding them of the historical tensions with their neighbours.

⁶ Interview with Saini Tapererenyi, 19 August 2017, Mariga village.

During my initial stay in 2017 with the Tembo Mvura, I observed their aversion to the term *vaDoma*, a designation often employed by NGOs delivering aid. Despite this discomfort, they would respond that this title was primarily associated with the organisations that provided food and clothing. When asked about what they would prefer to be called, the elder Saini recited *Detembo redzinza*, a clan praise poem that revealed the people's history and yielded a preferred name: Tembo Mvura (Maheve, 2018).

Marindo-Ranganayi and Zaba (1995) emphasised the significance of the *mutupo* system, wherein individuals could also be identified by their totem (*mutupo*), an integral source of ancestral history in rural Zimbabwe. The totemic system, prevalent in predominantly rural Zimbabwe, involves various clans and ethnic groups with distinct totems—animals, birds, fish, aquatic creatures, and, occasionally, body parts. It dictates that individuals refrain from consuming their totem and avoid marrying someone with the same totem. The predominant totem for the Tembo Mvura is the Zebra, prohibiting them from consuming zebra meat or marrying individuals with the same totem. Each totem possesses *chidawo*, or praise names, used for reference among community members. Notably, the Doma's praise name is Tembo Mvura. The word Tembo is a prefix for praise and is a name used by people whose totem is the Zebra. For example, an individual whose totem is the zebra is referred to as Tembo Mazvimbakupa. In the case of the Doma people, the full name is given as Tembo Mvura. While Doma is commonly used and recognised officially, this study adopts the name Tembo Mvura in alignment with the community's preference. This choice reflects the people's desire for accurate and respectful nomenclature. This study, focusing on attitudes, begins by employing the proper and accepted names of the Tembo Mvura people.

The Tembo Mvura people have also been historically referred to as the 'two-toed people' or ostrich people. This moniker stems from a unique trait observed in some Tembo Mvura individuals—a rare condition known as ectrodactyly. Ectrodactyly is a congenital malformation characterised by clefts in the feet, aplasia and hypoplasia of the phalanges and metatarsals (Campagnaro et al., 2014). Individuals with ectrodactyly exhibit a distinctive physical feature: two toes with a significant gap between them. The term 'two-toed' carries historical and cultural significance within the community. One explanation relates to societal taboos around marrying individuals who share the same totem. According to oral traditions, a man named Mabharani was involved in an incestuous relationship with his sister. This act angered the ancestors, and as punishment, they cursed his children and descendants with the two-toed (ectrodactyly) condition. While this account uses the word 'sister', it is important to

note that the term sister here could refer to a blood sister, cousin or a woman sharing the same totem with the accused man, essentially making her a symbolic sister. This explanation, rooted in Tembo Mvura community beliefs, suggests that individuals with ectrodactyly share ancestral ties with Mabharani.

Missionaries, colonial officials and visitors often offered diverse explanations for the two-toed phenomenon. These interpretations varied widely, with some asserting that individuals intentionally removed their middle toes for enhanced mobility, while others suggested toe removal for more agile tree climbing (Kirkland, 1979). Notably, in 1969, Goggie Olsson, a borehole engineer from Hartley (Chegutu), recounted an encounter with a group of around 50 people who fled at a remarkable speed. According to Olsson, they were climbing trees and running up them. He expressed confidence in their ability to outrun and outclimb baboons, emphasising their remarkable agility (Nicholas, 1969). In another account, it is claimed that the two-toed condition was an environmental adaptation, contending that individuals with ectrodactyly could outrun five-toed individuals due to a superior grip with their feet. However, subsequent research has validated only the hereditary nature of the condition, debunking the environmental assertion. The misnaming of the Tembo Mvura, as discussed above, along with accounts of their ectrodactyly, contributed to the marginalisation of this group.

3.3.3. The Chikunda

The dominant community in Kanyemba is the Chikunda people, who originally came from Mozambique. The name Chikunda loosely translates to ‘conquering’ and is rooted in a historical context of conquest. The term’s genesis can be traced back to the sixteenth century when the Portuguese crown introduced a land tenure system called *prazos da coroa* (Isaacman, 1972). Initially, this name was bestowed upon military slaves serving Mozambican Portuguese plantation owners known as *prazeiros*. Isaacman (2000:111) highlights that the Chikunda served as slaves on the *prazos* (large estates) in the lower Zambezi Valley for over 150 years. While they are described as being enslaved, they played a crucial role as the military force of the *prazeiros*, assisting the Portuguese in maintaining political and commercial control in the Zambezi interior. Their primary duties included collecting tribute and taxes from peasants, enforcing the commands of the *prazeiros*, suppressing peasant uprisings, preventing escape attempts by peasants, and defending the estates from external threats. The *prazo* system had a structured social hierarchy comprising Portuguese leaders, labourers, and military slaves, also referred to as *Achicunda*, from which the term ‘Chikunda’ is derived (Marizane, 2016). The

prazo system gained considerable popularity for over a century, but as the nineteenth century unfolded, it witnessed a decline (Isaacman, 1972). Plantations were no longer profitable (Marizane, 2016). The decline in production on Portuguese plantations saw a rising dominance of the gold, ivory, and slave trade. The eventual prohibition of human slavery precipitated disruptions in the *prazo* system, leading to the liberation of thousands of enslaved individuals. These newly freed individuals often aligned themselves with the Chikunda, joining their ranks as hunters. Loyalty to their leader, commonly known as *mucazambo*, took precedence among these free slaves (Isaacman, 1972). The liberated slaves-turned-hunters, renowned for their ruthless efficiency, came to be identified as the Chikunda. Selous (1970), in his autobiography, characterised the Shakundas (Chikundas) as individuals who had either been freed or had escaped from slavery, emphasising their status as liberated or runaway slaves.

The leadership lineage of the Chikunda in Kanyemba can be traced back to José Rosario de Andrade, a notable African warlord who commanded various *prazos* along the Zambezi River (Isaacman, 2000). José Rosario de Andrade, also known as Kanyemba, was born to Chowufumo, an African chief, and a Goan (mixed Indian and Portuguese) mother. Selous (1970:295) documented his encounter with the ‘Shakunda’ (Chikunda) on November 29, 1874, describing Kanyemba as a black man holding an official position under the Portuguese governor of Tete. According to Isaacman (2000), Kanyemba served as a *capitao* (captain of a Chikunda army) in Zumbo, a present-day town in Zambia.

In the late nineteenth century, escalating pressure from Portuguese and British forces to acquire colonies threatened the power of numerous African states. Facing insurrections from his lieutenants and pressure from colonial concessioners, Kanyemba and his clan decided to cross the Zambezi River and settle in Zimbabwe (Claudio, 2005). After settling down, he established himself between the Mwanzamtanda and Zambezi Rivers, naming the area after himself. The Chikunda contest the idea that the land was already occupied; they claim there were no other people in the area. The dismissal of the area being occupied justified the act by José Rosario de Andrade of naming the area after himself. Oral traditions indicate that before his death, Kanyemba undertook rituals involving *muti*, medicinal practices believed to transform him into a spirit of the land (*mhondoro*). Since their settlement in the region, the Chikunda and the Tembo Mvura have lived side by side, but there have been tensions between them.

3.3.4 Livelihoods in Kanyemba

The connection between the Chikunda people and agricultural practices can be traced back to their involvement with Portuguese plantations in Mozambique. Isaacman and Peterson (2003) discuss the formation of Chikunda armies, which they characterise as slave armies working for plantation owners. According to Claudio (2005), the Chikunda transitioned to slave hunting when the plantations ceased to be profitable. With the gradual prohibition of the slave trade, the Chikunda adapted once again, this time to elephant hunting. While the men served the Portuguese plantation owners, slave hunters, and ivory hunters, the Chikunda women, with the help of the captives, grew some crops (see Isaacman, 2000). Despite these changes in their livelihoods, the Chikunda consistently maintained an agrarian society, cultivating various crops. Upon their migration to Zimbabwe, the Chikunda had to intensify their agricultural practices and hunting for protein while preserving their communal living arrangements. With the introduction of numerous laws prohibiting hunting, the Chikunda gradually transitioned to full-time agriculture.

The Tembo Mvura, on the other hand, have a longstanding history of hunting and gathering, maintaining small nomadic groups. Their itinerant lifestyle was incompatible with agriculture, which required them to remain stationary for extended periods. The Tembo Mvura relied on hunting, gathering, and trading with neighbouring groups, including the Chikunda. This lifestyle persisted even amidst laws against hunting and gathering. It was only after the introduction of more stringent and enforceable laws like the Parks and Wildlife Act prohibiting hunting in the post-colonial period that they reduced these activities. Given their choice of habitat in mountainous regions, agriculture was not a viable option. However, with the advent of Zimbabwe's independence, this changed.

Today, Kanyemba exhibits diverse livelihoods, encompassing agriculture, horticulture, apiculture, donor aid, clandestine hunting, gathering, and fishing. However, most respondents agree that engaging in agriculture in Kanyemba involves a significant gamble due to various challenges. The soil type prevalent in the Kanyemba ward, Mbire district, and much of the mid-Zambezi Valley is calcimorphic and shallow, posing limitations for agricultural activities (Bola et al., 2014). Additionally, the erratic rainfall pattern in Kanyemba adversely impacts plant growth during most seasons. Agriculture in rural Zimbabwe often relies heavily on cattle for land tilling through ox-drawn ploughs. However, the presence of Tsetse flies has made cattle rearing challenging, leading to the adoption of manual cultivation.

Due to the lack of cattle to till the land, the tilled fields in Kanyemba are typically small. Crop cultivation in this region is seasonally divided into upper-terrace farming and riverbank cultivation. Upper terrace farming, conducted in small plots known as *minda*, occurs during the rainy season from December to February. Crops grown in upper terrace fields include maize, sorghum, cucumbers, watermelons, and, increasingly, sesame seeds (*runinga*) (Goredema et al., 2019). Sesame cultivation is gaining prominence and replacing cotton, which used to be produced in the area, for two main reasons: it has a readily available market in Mozambique that pays in United States dollars, and unlike cotton, sesame is not consumed by elephants or buffalos, eliminating the need for constant guarding. Upper terrace farming faces challenges from wildlife interference and unpredictable rainfall patterns. The Chikunda and Tembo Mvura people engage in upper terrace farming, and a significant portion of these groups also participate in riverbank cultivation.

The end of the rainy season heralds the initiation of riverbank cultivation (*Dimba/Goba/Dowe*), practised from March to October. Riverbank cultivation is the most practised because it does not require fertilisers; it uses the debris left behind by the receding waters (Mberengwa, 2000). The expansive Mwanzamtanda floodplain offers ample gardening space, presenting lower risks of crocodile or hippopotamus encounters than establishing gardens along the Zambezi River. These riverbank gardens hold immense significance for the residents of Kanyemba, constituting a vital source of livelihood. The floodplain gardens yield sugar cane, green beans, mealies, kale, tomatoes, and bananas. Figure 2 below shows a riverine garden along the Mwanzamtanda River. The produced items are sold locally in Kanyemba and small towns situated just across the borders of Mozambique and Zambia. The Chikunda people occupy the alluvium terraces on the eastern side of the Mwanzamtanda River. The most fertile cultivable land is on the river's western bank—the Tembo Mvura domain. Although the land on the western side is the most fertile, this side of the river faces a higher incidence of crop damage from wildlife. The Tembo Mvura people are settled closer to the Chitsere conservancy than the Chikunda, making them more susceptible to agricultural disruptions caused by wildlife. Mutandwa and Gadzirayi (2007) assert that communities residing near protected areas often contend with interference in their agricultural activities due to wild animals.



Figure 2: Riverine Garden (Gova) (Photo taken by author).

Hunting and gathering held a central role in the livelihoods of the Kanyemba people, especially the Tembo Mvura people. Hunting regulations introduced in 1924 did not affect their livelihoods because they were rarely enforced in this area (as in most remote rural areas).

However, the introduction of CAMPFIRE in 1989 significantly changed their daily lives because stringent measures against hunting were now enforced. According to Marindo-Ranganai and Zaba (1995), the Tembo Mvura community heavily depended on hunting and gathering for survival. A prevailing misconception suggested that their reliance was solely on these activities. Nicholas (1969), in a newspaper report, perpetuated this misunderstanding by describing the Tembo Mvura as a ‘strange tribe of two-toed people’ surviving on a diet of honey, corn, and mushrooms. In contrast, oral traditions reveal that the Tembo Mvura people also participated in barter trading with neighbouring Korekore and Chikunda communities.

The imposition of hunting and gathering bans prompted the Tembo Mvura to diversify their livelihoods, leading to a shift towards crop cultivation and apiculture (Hasler, 1991). Notably, the Lower Guruve Development Association (LGDA) and Adventist Relief Agency (ADRA) played pivotal roles in introducing apiculture in Kanyemba, particularly in the Mariga and Chiramba villages. Workshops conducted by these organisations aimed to educate residents about beekeeping and how to avoid legal issues related to trespassing into safari areas and conservancies. Despite some individuals in Kanyemba still engaging in ‘poaching’ honey from the forest, honey harvested from managed hives has found a ready market among visitors in Kanyemba and occasionally in Zambia. This diversification showcases the adaptive response of the Tembo Mvura people to changes in their environment and the regulatory landscape.

The Tembo Mvura people have expanded their sources of income by incorporating casual menial jobs (*maricho*) into their livelihood strategies. Upper terrace farming is notably more prominent on the eastern side of the Mwanzamtanda River, the Chikunda area than on the western side. However, some members of the Tembo Mvura engage in *maricho*, involving short stints of work such as sowing seeds, weeding fields, and harvesting. In return for their labour, they receive compensation in the form of money, maize, cooking oil, or other food items from the owners of the fields. A group interview⁷ with young married men in Mariga revealed that they often struggle to focus on their fields as they spend significant time working for food in Chikunda fields. However, complaints also arise from the recipients of this labour (the Chikunda), who assert that the Tembo Mvura sometimes fail to complete their tasks and tend to provide substandard work. These grievances and counter-complaints are a microcosm of the strained relationship between the two groups in Kanyemba. In addition to providing

⁷ Interview with Tony, Passmore, Benji and Mavhuto. Mariga primary school. 26 April 2022

labour, the Tembo Mvura also rely on government social welfare food and assistance from various NGOs.

While residing in the same community, the Chikunda people have pursued a slightly different livelihood compared to the Tembo Mvura. Historically, the Chikunda community engaged in hunting. Some members of the Chikunda hunted using homemade or modified guns, commonly known as *Gugudela* or *Gogodela* (Isaacman, 1998, 2000). After the country gained independence in 1980, these guns were surrendered, though a few remained. Some members of the Chikunda relied on fishing until it was banned as a form of livelihood. They used nets to catch fish until the responsible ministry banned nets. While fishing using rods is allowed, people are asked to pay USD10 to be able to fish using rods.

The Chikunda area witnessed the establishment of its first primary school in the late 1960s, marking a significant milestone. Many Chikunda individuals attend school and receive basic education that equips them for various job opportunities. By the 1980s, a secondary school was built, leading to increased educational opportunities for Chikunda children, with some pursuing tertiary education and professional training. As a result of this educational advancement, the Chikunda community has members gainfully employed in both the public and private sectors. These employed individuals contribute financially to their families and the broader community. The local primary and secondary schools in Kanyemba boast many Chikunda teachers. The Chikunda generally have access to more financial resources than the Tembo Mvura people, reflecting the impact of education on economic opportunities. At one point, the Community Areas Management Programme for Indigenous Resources (CAMPFIRE) played a crucial role in people's livelihoods in Kanyemba. However, as discussed in subsequent chapters, changes have occurred in the dynamics of CAMPFIRE and its influence on the community's way of life.

Both the Chikunda and Tembo Mvura communities have relied significantly on donor funding, which has become a substantial part of their livelihoods. Organisations such as the World Food Programme (WFP), Adventist Development and Relief Agency (ADRA), and Lower Gुरुve Development Association (LGDA), among others, have played a crucial role by donating food, clothes, and farming inputs to support the Kanyemba community. These external aids serve as essential resources, significantly sustaining the communities' various survival and livelihood endeavours. The support from donor organisations helps address the diverse challenges faced by the Chikunda and Tembo Mvura, contributing to the well-being of these communities in Kanyemba.

3.4 Community-Based Natural Resources Management (CBNRM)

The Kanyemba community stands as a testament to the varied influences of governance programmes targeting local ecosystems. Among these initiatives, the Wildlife Industries New Development for All (WINDFALL) project, originating from the colonial period when Zimbabwe was known as Southern Rhodesia, introduced pioneering measures to discourage animal hunting while incentivising conservation efforts. Furthermore, the subsequent implementation of the CAMPFIRE project provided direct engagement opportunities for the community, reshaping their interactions with natural resources. This section embarks on an exploration of these programmes, from their inception to their implications at both local and national levels, offering insights into the complex dynamics of natural resource governance.

3.4.1 From protectionism to CBNRM

This section provides an overview of the evolution of community-based natural resource management (CBNRM) in Southern Africa and its influence on establishing the Communal Areas Management Programme for Indigenous Resources (CAMPFIRE) in Zimbabwe. The concept of CBNRM emerged as an alternative to the failing protectionist resource management approach, which strictly excluded humans from protected areas and criminalised their traditional rights to natural resources (Neumann, 1995, 1997). In response to the escalating issue of illegal hunting in the 1970s and 1980s, conventional wildlife management practices were re-evaluated, leading to the adoption of CBNRM. This section briefly explores the historical development of CBNRM and its impact on conservation efforts in the region. The idea behind the creation of CAMPFIRE can be traced back to the principles and practices of Community-Based Natural Resource Management.

The concept of CBNRM emerged and gained popularity in the late 1970s to early 1980s as an alternative to the protectionist approach (Gibson and Marks, 1995; Marks, 2020; Matzke and Nabane, 1996). The protectionist approach employs a top-down conservation strategy that strictly protects designated areas, excluding humans from the landscape (Gibson and Marks, 1995; Marks, 2020; Barret and Arcese, 1995). Brandon and Wells (1992:1) label this approach a ‘fences and fines’ approach because it involves a predominantly militaristic defence strategy that casts local people in a negative light. The underlying belief of this approach is that people and nature should be kept separate from each other (Brandon and Wells, 1992). Hasler (1999) contends that the protectionist strategy treats the local people’s use of and access to natural

resources as encroachment and poaching, effectively criminalising traditional rights to use and benefit from natural resources (Neumann, 1997). The ‘fences and fines’ strategy dominated 20th-century conservation thinking, embodying the concept of a national park as a pristine wilderness area. This approach, often associated with fortress conservation, created areas that excluded human residents, prevented the consumptive use of resources and minimised various forms of human impact (Hutton et al., 2005; Brockington and Schmidt-Soltau, 2004). This narrative significantly influenced political leadership in sub-Saharan Africa, leading to the establishment of game parks and animal sanctuaries.

The protectionist approach, underpinned by conventional wildlife conservation policies, relied on enforcement to prevent illegal hunting. This policy hinged on the willingness of game scouts to enforce wildlife laws. However, the rapid increase in illegal hunting across Africa in the 1970s and 1980s had a detrimental impact on government attempts to preserve biodiversity. High poaching rates forced conservationists to re-evaluate the institutions of conventional wildlife management (Child, 1984; Child, 1995; Child et al., 2014; Gibson and Marks, 1995; Murphree, 1997; Demotts, 2019). Scholars like Brendon and Wells (1992) have demonstrated that traditional techniques of protected area management failed to preserve biological diversity effectively, necessitating a shift in approach. The protectionist strategy approach incurred political, cultural, and socio-economic costs, including the loss of access to livelihood resources and bans on resource use such as grazing. These strategies overlooked external factors beyond formal project objectives that strongly influenced conservation outcomes, including losing land and natural resources, identity conflicts, unregulated hunting, increased poaching activities, and property loss. These externalities contributed to challenges in enforcing conservation policies (Gandiwa et al., 2013; Marks, 2020; Andrade and Rhodes, 2012).

Hassler (1999) argues that the persistent failure of traditional resource-controlling programmes to achieve conservation goals prompted a paradigm shift. Conservationists and natural resource managers moved away from the ‘fences and fines’ approach towards a collaborative approach to resource conservation. Mashinya (2007) emphasises that conservationists recognised the need to engage local communities after realising that wildlife existed outside protected areas. This shift in perspective marked a departure from the exclusive protectionist strategy towards a more inclusive and collaborative conservation approach. By the 1990s, the narrative of fortress conservation was no longer dominant in Africa or globally. A new narrative emerged, underlining community participation in protected areas. This narrative stressed the importance

of not physically excluding locals from protected areas or politically excluding them from the conservation policy process but ensuring their active participation (Berkes, 2004; Adams and Hulme, 2001). In the early 1990s, CBNRM emerged as the most viable option for natural resource management in rural areas, garnering support from both governmental and non-governmental conservation and development agencies (Marks, 1999). Integrated Conservation and Development Projects (ICDPs), under which CAMPFIRE later fell, were promoted as the initial attempts to bridge the gap between conservation and development (Brandon and Wells, 1992). ICDPs operated on the premise that human and nonhuman systems are interdependent, challenging the assumption that humans and wildlife are incompatible (Gandiwa et al., 2013; Kiss, 1990; McNeely and Miller, 1984). Community conservation approaches were rooted in engaging and actively involving local communities in the preservation of biodiversity (Hutton et al., 2005; Brockington et al., 2008).

The development of CBNRM programmes was premised on the belief that communities are more efficient natural resource managers within their jurisdictions than other agencies. This argument, supported by scholars such as Murphree (1997), Child (1993), and Hasler (1996), posits that local people have an inherent connection with their environment. CBNRM programmes were also seen to enhance incomes for communities, presenting a substantial step in reducing poverty by providing incentives for conservation. Barret and Arcese (1995) contend that a community conservation approach could improve the well-being of local communities, thereby alleviating human pressures on the environment. The traditional conservation approach, with its stringent conditions, led to a surge in poaching and human-wildlife conflicts. CBNRM programmes operate under the premise that community management can reduce human-wildlife conflict. Addressing the conflicts would result in a decrease in poaching, improved tolerance of wildlife, and, ultimately, better outcomes for biodiversity. This shift towards community-based approaches was rooted in recognising the intricate relationship between local communities and their natural environment, aiming for sustainable resource management and improved livelihoods.

Community-based approaches drawing on indigenous knowledge found a voice as paradigmatic shifts from ‘top-down’ to ‘bottom-up’ models occurred (Turner and Hulme, 1997). The rise of the community conservation narrative coincided with an era of neoliberal thinking, where government influence in the market was minimal. During this period, the language of community conservation became crucial in garnering support from international development agencies and conservation groups. The emphasis on community-based initiatives

reflects a shift toward participatory models. Numerous conservation agencies actively pursued local support through the promotion of community-based conservation programmes (Prins, 2000). This reflects a broader recognition of the importance of involving local communities in conservation efforts, aligning with participatory development and empowerment principles. Due to the pivotal role of participation in CBNRM, projects frequently embraced terms like community-based conservation, community wildlife management, collaborative or co-management, and integrated conservation (Matenga, 2002; Adams and Hulme, 1999; Murphree, 1993). Recognising that participation was the mainstay, there was a growing emphasis on the local establishment of democratic, participatory institutions (Barret and Arcese, 1995; Murphree, 1997; Hassler, 1999).

3.4.2 The trajectory of wildlife conservation in Zimbabwe

Before Zimbabwe's independence in 1980, wildlife conservation, management, and control were primarily driven by colonial interests, focusing on hunting and commercial exploitation. This approach resulted in conflicts with local communities. Various colonial statutory instruments, such as the Game and Fish Preservation Act (No. 35 of 1929), were established to prohibit the killing of wildlife without a permit. However, the legal framework proved ineffective due to a lack of human resources for enforcement, allowing hunting to persist in marginal areas of the country. The Natural Resources Act of 1941 introduced conservation committees in conservation areas that were meant to protect resources, criminalising hunting and environmental destruction (Marindo-Ranganai and Zaba, 1995). Despite these efforts, human-wildlife conflicts, hunting outside national parks and environmental degradation continued to escalate.

The Parks and Wildlife Act 1975 was enacted in response to these challenges. This legislation granted property owners the 'appropriate authority' to develop and manage wildlife on their land. It established that land management should be structured as a form of wildlife use in landscapes outside formally protected areas. The policy allowed private landowners to commercialize wildlife without the state's input and promoted sustainable wildlife use (Balint and Mashinya, 2006; Matzke and Nabane, 1996). The 1975 Act effectively made owners of private land, predominantly white farmers at that time, the proprietors of the wildlife (Mashinya, 2007; Murphree, 2004). While it took some time for the policies to yield results, the wildlife industry eventually flourished within the private lands.

Despite the flourishing wildlife industry, there was a rise in human-wildlife conflicts, poaching, and consistent complaints from the black majority. Communities residing near private ranches and animal safaris experienced animal attacks, predation on livestock, and damage to crops. In 1978, the Rhodesian Government, through the Department of National Parks and Wildlife Management (DNPWM), introduced the Wildlife Industries New Development for All (WINDFALL) project. WINDFALL aimed to implement commercial wildlife ranching in communal areas, mitigate human-wildlife conflict in the buffer zones of protected areas, and restore environmental conditions in wildlife conservancies (Logan and Mosley, 2002).

WINDFALL facilitated the sale of wildlife products for people residing in surrounding protected areas. Additionally, elephant cull meat was distributed to the neighbouring communities (Maveneke, 1993; Murphree, 1990; Logan and Mosley, 2002; Chibisa, 2008; Ngwerume and Muchemwa, 2011). The logic behind the WINDFALL project was to foster a positive attitude among people living near wildlife by compensating them for conserving the animals coexisting with them (Mutandwa and Gadzirayi, 2007). Funds generated from wildlife were centralized and distributed to District Councils where the hunting occurred (Maveneke, 1993).

The WINDFALL achieved some success, but the project faced several critical weaknesses that made it unappealing to local communities. One major flaw was its failure to address the fundamental principle of democratic local participation and accountability, as it did not grant proprietorship of the wildlife to the producer communities (Maveneke, 1993, 1995; Murombedzi, 1992). The exclusion of local people and the unfair distribution of resources contributed to a negative perception of the project (Muboko and Murindagomo, 2014). Moreover, the system of distributing the money generated from animal sales created further unhappiness (Murphree, 1990). The inadequate revenue reaching the communities and insufficient meat distribution failed to garner support for the project. Child (1991:1) argues that despite achieving modest success, WINDFALL faced resistance because the local population perceived the cost of protecting wildlife to be considerably higher than its benefits. Additionally, the direct involvement of the Central Government in the project proved to be a detrimental factor.

After its independence in 1980, Zimbabwe made several legislative changes to promote communal land ownership and wildlife conservation. The Communal Land Act of 1983, amended in 1985, aimed to overturn the Tribal Trust Land Act, placing communal lands under the Ministry of Local Government, Rural and Urban Development (Thomas, 1991). The 1982

amendment of the 1975 Act sought to end discrimination between private and communal landowners and empower rural district councils for wildlife management (Murphree, 1993; Metcalfe, 1994; Muchapondwa, 2003). The 1980 District Councils Act amendment granted rural district councils the authority to manage wildlife, promoting community ownership in conservation efforts. In 1988, the District Councils Act was further amended, transferring some wildlife management responsibility from the central Government to local communities. The 1980 amendment of the 1941 Natural Resources Act established a conservation committee to promote resource conservation and control. These legislative changes were crucial in implementing the CAMPFIRE programme.

The 1988 Rural District Councils Act merged Rural Councils, which governed commercial farming areas and District Councils, which governed communal lands, to create Rural District Councils (RDCs). This structural change aimed to streamline local Government and enhance the management of rural areas, including wildlife conservation. According to Murphree (1999), the transfer of Appropriate Authority to the Rural District Councils made them the most locally accountable unit in the national government hierarchy. As a result, under the 1988 amendment, district councils, acting as representatives of local communities, were granted the authority to decide on safari operators' access to wildlife. This shift aimed to give local communities greater control over wildlife management and tourism, fostering more sustainable and community-based practices (Tchakatumba et al., 2019; Logan and Mosley, 2002; Cooney et al., 2017).

3.5 Communal Areas Management Programme for Indigenous Resources (CAMPFIRE)

The goal of eliminating discriminatory provisions drove the amendments made by the Government of Zimbabwe to colonial acts, granting locals access and control over resources and enhancing development prospects (Frost and Bond, 2008). Among these amendments, the 1982 amendment was pivotal in laying the groundwork for establishing the CAMPFIRE project. Murphree (1993) argues that this initiative was spearheaded by the Department of National Parks and Wildlife Management (DNPWLM), now known as Zimbabwe Parks and Wildlife Management Authority (ZimParks).

The establishment of CAMPFIRE was closely linked to the shortcomings of the WINDFALL project. The political context in Zimbabwe, coupled with conflicting conservation and development policies, prompted the introduction of CAMPFIRE as an alternative approach to rural development. This programme was seen as a response to the challenges faced by the

WINDFALL project in fostering effective and sustainable rural development. The failures of WINDFALL highlighted the significance of local participation and accountability in conservation, a key focus of CAMPFIRE (Murphree, 1997; Logan and Moseley, 2001; Frost and Bond, 2008). This new approach prioritises local communities' involvement in conservation efforts, a principle lacking in WINDFALL (Moore et al., 2007; Murombedzi, 1992; Murindagomo, 1990; Alexander and McGregor, 2000; Jani et al., 2019).

The DNPWLM proposed the CAMPFIRE programme following surveys, and the Government of Zimbabwe officially endorsed the project in 1988. In 1989, two rural districts, Guruve RDC and Nyaminyami RDC, were chosen as pilot projects for CAMPFIRE. These districts were selected due to their abundance of wildlife (Child et al., 1997). The CAMPFIRE initiative involves various stakeholders with specific roles, including the DNPWLM, which is responsible for resource conservation and game management. The World Wildlife Fund (WWF), which focuses on sponsorship; and local organisations such as the Zimbabwe Trust and the Centre for Applied Social Sciences (University of Zimbabwe) which conduct research and evaluation (Murphree, 1977; Logan and Moseley, 2002). The programme's success in the pilot districts led to its expansion to 12 additional districts, and as of 2021, CAMPFIRE has been implemented in 58 rural districts in Zimbabwe (CAMPFIRE Association, n.d.).

Many definitions and descriptions of CAMPFIRE have been proffered. Martin (1986, cited in Maveneke, 1993:14), one of the brains behind CAMPFIRE, describes it as a programme 'concerned with conserving and managing wildlife, grazing, forestry and water. It offers communities a legitimate means to obtain direct financial benefits from exploiting natural resources'. CAMPFIRE has also been described as a rural development programme that sought to bring equity to communal landowners by allowing them to benefit from the natural resources in their area to the same extent as their Rural Council counterparts. (Murphree, 1993). Child (1991:8) describes CAMPFIRE as a rural development programme centred mainly in dry and agriculturally marginal areas, which harnesses the high value of wildlife to catalyse improvement in managing indigenous resources. Kasere (1994) and Jonga (2021) describe CAMPFIRE as a rural development programme that sought to restore the management of natural resources to the local inhabitants. All these definitions stress that CAMPFIRE aims to empower local communities to manage their natural resources, thereby benefiting from them directly. Kasere (1994) further asserts that the programme is meant to change people's attitudes so that they view animals as economic resources to be protected, not as 'pests' to be eradicated. According to Alexander and McGregor (2000:605), CAMPFIRE has been presented as '...an

antidote to the colonial legacy of technocratic and authoritarian development that undermined people's control over their environment and criminalised their use of game'.

3.5.1 Institutional structure and organisation

The implementation of CAMPFIRE can be attributed to the influence and support of various actors at different levels—district, national, and international. The programme received funding from international organisations, such as the United States Agency for International Development (USAID), which was crucial in establishing and supporting CAMPFIRE for over a decade. Compliance with relevant international treaties, like the Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species (CITES), was necessary. At the national level, technocrats, politicians, and civil servants, including agronomists, ecologists, and wildlife management officials, played crucial roles in the development and implementation of CAMPFIRE (Murphree, 1998). These national actors contributed to the project's implementation. At the district and ward level, local officials from Rural District Councils, CAMPFIRE committees, chiefs, Ward Development Committees (WARDCOs), village development committees (VIDCOs), and members of the communities were instrumental in implementing the programme (Child, 1991).

CAMPFIRE decentralises wildlife management to local communities, functioning through an institutionalised hierarchy from the village, ward, district and national levels (Murombedzi 2001). At the village level, CAMPFIRE is represented by the Village Development Committees (VIDCOs), which are comprised of Village Wildlife Committees and are headed by the headmen. The Village Wildlife Committee (VWC) is comprised of six democratically elected members representing the village's concerns with wildlife management and even the distribution of benefits (Child, 1991). The VIDCO structure is replicated at the ward level through the Ward Development Committees (WARDCOs) (Matema and Anderson, 2015). The WARDCO include all village heads, chiefs, councillors, and the CAMPFIRE committee. Similarly, the WARDCO has a Ward Wildlife Committee (WWC), which is made up of the chairmen (village heads) of the VIDCO and headed by the ward councillor in order to link the community and the Rural District Councils (Child, 1995; Metcalfe, 1994).

The founding tenets of CAMPFIRE encouraged the existence of a chain of communication: VIDCOs are supposed to feed into WARDCOs, which should then feed into the RDC committees. The RDC is supposed to provide the link between the central Government, safari operators and the local people. In the Mbire district, CAMPFIRE falls under the district's

Department of Agriculture and Natural Resources. This department has a District Wildlife Committee (DWC) made up of councillors, who select the safari operators to be awarded hunting concessions in the district. Additionally, the committee receives, presents and submits ward budgets to the council board. The CEO of the Mbire RDC oversees the implementation of CAMPFIRE at the district level and is supposed to ensure that this implementation aligns with national and international conservation and development policies. Additionally, the CEO is responsible for managing resources, monitoring the progress of the CAMPFIRE project, and ensuring the equitable distribution of benefits to the local communities.

At the national level, CAMPFIRE is connected to various organisations with a mandate to conserve wildlife and benefit the producer community. Zimparks, headed by a director general, determines the quotas allocated to RDCs. A quota refers to the number of animals that a safari operator can hunt during a specific hunting season, encompassing both big (trophy) and small (sport hunting) animals. Each year, the producer ward (such as Kanyemba in this study) and the safari operator submit a quota application (Murombezi, 2001). The application goes from the safari operator to the RDC, which then submits it to Zimparks for approval. Safari operators have expressed concerns about reductions in quotas, with the department claiming that animal populations have deteriorated. Apart from Zimparks, the Ministry of Local Government provides budgets for RDCs, directly influencing CAMPFIRE and rural development (Taylor, 2009). The Ministry of Local Government expects development in various districts, and in the case of Mbire, hunting serves as a chief revenue source. This implies that even non-CAMPFIRE wards should benefit from the funds generated by animal hunts. Tauro,⁸ a member of the Mbire RDC, stated that there is contention among councillors from producer wards who feel that their areas are adversely affected by animals and lag in development. This dynamic reflects the complex interplay between conservation, community development, and the interests of various stakeholders at different levels.

3.5.2 CAMPFIRE revenues

Revenues from the CAMPFIRE programme come from selling access to hunting, observing, or photographing wildlife to clients (hunters and eco-tourists). These clients pay for a unique wilderness experience with quality services such as accommodation, food, and companionship. In exchange for these services, the CAMPFIRE Association receives payments based on the value of the ecosystem services they provide (Frost and Bond 2008). The agreement between

⁸ Interview with Tauro. 18 February 2022, Mbire Rural District Council offices, Mushumbi.

the RDC and safari operators for hunting services in communities under CAMPFIRE is designed to provide a framework for managing wildlife resources and their sustainable utilisation to benefit rural communities. Under this agreement, safari operators should pay an annual lease fee for the concession and a trophy fee for each animal hunted within an agreed annual quota (CAMPFIRE files 2022, Rusinamhodzi, 2023). The RDC, acting as the representative of the communities, receives a percentage of the gross income generated by the safari operators. Bond (1999) states that the details of these CAMPFIRE-related contracts are not the same in all districts and may vary depending on local conditions and agreements. While the contractual agreements vary, a common framework includes the safari operator being obligated to pay both an annual lease fee for the concession and a trophy fee for each animal hunted within a specified annual quota. According to Tauro, the annual lease fee typically grants the operator the right to operate within the designated concession area, while the trophy fee is determined based on the specific species hunted and is intended to contribute to wildlife conservation efforts.

The contracts between the RDCs and safari operators under CAMPFIRE have evolved since the programme's inception. According to Frost and Bond (2008), most districts have added an implied condition that the safari operators should plough back into the community by providing community services, such as employing locals or supporting infrastructure development. For example, in Mbire, safari operators are expected to contribute to infrastructure projects of their choice, such as building schools and roads or renovating clinics. Miles⁹ claimed that Charlton and MacCallum Safaris bought an all-terrain vehicle for use in case of emergencies. Shoko,¹⁰ a Mbire RDC employee, acknowledged that a safari operator bought roofing materials for a classroom block that had been damaged during the rainy season. While these actions are not written into the contracts, they are expected to be carried out. Indeed, Kachasu¹¹ described such actions as 'coerced bribes' in exchange for renewing the lease. It is important to note that these non-binding agreements and expectations may vary across districts and change over time, but they serve as an example of the evolving nature of contracts under CAMPFIRE.

There are four actors involved in the disbursement of CAMPFIRE funds: safari operators, the RDC, the producer ward (Kanyemba in this study), and the CAMPFIRE Association (representing all CAMPFIRE district councils). The term 'producer ward' refers to a ward

⁹ Interview with Miles McCallum, 5 July 2022, Harare.

¹⁰ Interview with Shoko, 1 August 2022, MRDC offices, Mushumbi.

¹¹ Interview with Councillor Kachasu, 28 April 2022, Majaya BC

engaged in activities such as hunting or ecotourism to generate income from wildlife resources. In the context of the CAMPFIRE programme, a producer ward is supposed to benefit from wildlife-based revenue, usually through hunting concessions sold to safari operators. The revenue generated from these hunting concessions is disbursed to different stakeholders. It is important to note that while the guideline for revenue distribution is accepted and non-binding, the specifics of how the revenue is disbursed may vary depending on the specific CAMPFIRE project and the agreements between stakeholders (RDC, producer ward and the safari operator). A Mbire RDC official provided the breakdown in Mbire: the safari operator gets 45%, the RDC gets 26% as levies, the producer ward (such as Kanyemba) gets 25%, and the CAMPFIRE Association gets 4% as administration fee. The ward has an account into which the CAMPFIRE committee manages the RDC and deposits the percentage and the funds. Before 2022, the money was paid in local currency, which means that it lost much of its value due to inflation. However, as of 2022, there was an agreement, with the green light from the central bank, that the safari operator should release the money in United States dollar currency.

In the formative years of CAMPFIRE, the money received from hunting was directly disbursed as dividends to the people through the ward CAMPFIRE committees. The money in Mbire, particularly Kanyemba, was referred to as *Mari yemakanda*, loosely translated to money from animal hides. However, this system was replaced by a project-based approach, which uses the money for infrastructural developments. This system change has been criticised significantly, with many claiming that it has resulted in corruption, favouritism, and exclusionary tendencies. During my research in 2022, the Kanyemba ward could not access the money from the previous hunting season, and the RDC blamed the delay on the COVID-19 pandemic.

3.6 Conclusion

This chapter lays the groundwork for understanding Kanyemba's geographical, socio-economic, and cultural landscape, forming the foundation for subsequent research on regional development and natural resource management. I provide a detailed analysis of Kanyemba's key features and geographical location. The chapter also provides the reader with an overview of the region's natural characteristics, encompassing soil types and weather patterns. This information is crucial for comprehending the environmental backdrop of Kanyemba and its impact on natural resource management in the area. The chapter unpacks the ethnic composition of Kanyemba, highlighting the differences between the Tembo Mvura and Chikunda communities. Understanding the social dynamics of the study area is underlined as

integral to designing effective natural resource management strategies. This chapter briefly discusses ethnicity and how it shapes attitudes towards resource management. This ethnic background sets the stage for exploring how differing attitudes across the Mwazamtanda River played a role in the shortcomings of the CAMPFIRE project, which overlooked these crucial factors.

Additionally, the socio-economic context of Kanyemba is explored to provide insight into beneficial natural resource management. The changes in livelihood discussed in this chapter offer essential insights into local people's use and dependence on natural resources. This understanding is pivotal for examining changes in people's lives before and during the CAMPFIRE era. The chapter also provides information on the political administration of Mbire, detailing the roles of village, ward, and district political stratification. This information is essential for comprehending the devolution of wildlife rights and the power dynamics in the area.

The chapter then traces the history of Community-Based Natural Resource Management (CBNRM) in Africa, illustrating how these initiatives aimed to promote sustainable resource use, strengthen local governance systems, and empower communities. Significantly, the chapter introduces CAMPFIRE, detailing its historical background, initiation, and the financial aspects of the project, outlining its impact on local communities. The chapter makes connections with the earlier discussion on participatory development discussed in Chapter Two. I highlight how CAMPFIRE can be contextualised as a development initiative leaning on participatory development and alternative development paradigms. This chapter lays the groundwork for further exploration of the project's evolution and impact on local attitudes, which will be discussed in later study sections. It serves as a crucial reference point, furnishing crucial background details to facilitate the reader's comprehension of Kanyemba's geography, environment, and ethnic composition. Subsequent chapters will expand on this base, further exploring the community's attitudes concerning CAMPFIRE and issues related to natural resource conservation, building upon the foundation established here. Not only does this chapter equip the reader with vital knowledge about Kanyemba, but it also establishes the context for understanding the next chapter, which discusses the methodology used in this study.

CHAPTER FOUR

NAVIGATING THE METHODOLOGICAL LANDSCAPE

‘To learn from Indigenous people, we need to learn to listen in a different way, as much of their wisdom is not written down’ (Escobar and Reiter, 2023: viii).

4.1 Introduction

This quote by Escobar and Reiter (2023) perfectly captures the essence of my research methodology. It underscores the importance of adopting diverse data collection methods, particularly those that value oral communication and experiential knowledge. Conventional research methods may fall short when investigating Indigenous societies, as their knowledge is frequently not recorded in text but orally passed down through generations. My methodology was chosen to allow a more thorough and subtle comprehension of the people’s attitudes towards development, paving the way for in-depth analyses in the following chapters. This chapter describes the research design and the rationale for choosing a qualitative approach. The chapter also discusses the issues of positionality and reflexivity that influenced the researcher’s role and perspective. I provide a detailed description of the data collection methods used in this study, including the selection criteria for participants, the type of interview questions, the process of observation, interview site and duration, and the sources and types of archival material collected. Finally, the data interpretation methods, such as the coding process, the narrative analysis, and the trustworthiness criteria, are discussed. By thoroughly explaining the methodology used, this chapter establishes the credibility and reliability of the research and helps readers understand how the data was collected and analysed.

4.2 Ethnography

This study uses an ethnographic approach to explore the attitudes of the Kanyemba residents towards CAMPFIRE, a development initiative that involves wildlife conservation and community participation. Ethnography is a research method that involves living with and learning from the people being studied, observing their daily activities, beliefs, and values in their natural setting, and understanding their meanings and complexities from their perspectives (Jerolmack and Khan, 2014; Burke and Kirk, 2001; Nassaji, 2015). Ethnography also investigates the gaps between what people say and what they do and how these relate to

broader social structures. Ethnography is a well-established method in the social sciences, especially in anthropology and sociology, and has been used to study various groups and settings worldwide. Ethnography is a descriptive account of a human group and a rigorous and systematic analysis guided by a theoretical framework (Reynes, 2006; Creswell, 2008). As an ethnographic researcher with a background in history, I spent time in the field. I wrote detailed descriptions of what Fetterman (2010: 1) characterises as ‘credible, rigorous, and authentic stories’. As I will explain below, although I am not originally from Kanyemba, I actively engaged with and applied both an insider (emic) and an outsider (etic) perspective to document the attitudes and perspectives of the Kanyemba community. I used qualitative research methods suitable for ethnography, such as interviews, participant observation, and the collection of archival material. Interviews enabled me to gather rich information about individuals’ attitudes, beliefs, and experiences. The Kanyemba community, particularly the Tembo Mvura community, has not received much academic attention; thus, most of their information is orally transmitted. Participant observation allowed me to observe and document social practices and behaviours in their context. Archival material, especially historical documents and newspaper articles, provided valuable insights into the cultural and historical factors that shape the local people’s attitudes towards development (Gill and Johnson, 2010; Creswell, 2012).

Qualitative research uses contextual and interpretive data to understand and interpret rather than explain and control (Creswell, 2012; Nassaji, 2015). This study explores the attitudes and experiences of the Kanyemba community towards the CAMPFIRE project, a development initiative involving wildlife conservation and community participation. To achieve this, the study adopted an interpretive approach, a qualitative research method that focuses on understanding individuals’ lived experiences and the meanings they attach to them (Bhattacharjee, 2019). This approach is suitable for the study’s goals, as it allows for making visible the voices of ordinary local people and examining the extent to which their marginalised knowledge is reflected in mainstream development literature. Moreover, an interpretive approach enables the study to relate the engagement with and contestation of development, particularly the CAMPFIRE project, to current debates in post-development theory. By shifting the focus of analysis from ‘Western’ to alternative understandings of development, the study endeavours to outline the intricate local attitudes towards development concerning CAMPFIRE. The data collection methods for this study included accessing archival material, observation, and in-depth interviews with Tembo Mvura and Chikunda community members who have been directly involved with or affected by the CAMPFIRE project. Through open-

ended questions and prompts, participants were encouraged to share their experiences, perceptions, and understandings of CAMPFIRE. This qualitative data collection method allowed for rich and detailed descriptions of participants' narratives, capturing their lived experiences and subjective interpretations. The interpretive approach comprehensively explored participants' lived experiences, attitudes, and interpretations of the CAMPFIRE project. By employing this approach, the study elevates the voices of the Kanyemba people, relates their engagement to relevant theoretical frameworks, and provides insights into the intricate local attitudes towards development within the context of CAMPFIRE.

4.3 Reflexivity and Positionality

Reflexivity, an integral characteristic of qualitative research, plays a crucial role in enhancing the rigour and depth of an inquiry. Reflexivity examines how knowledge is produced and influenced by various contexts and perspectives (Rose, 1997). It focuses on how different situations affect knowledge creation and how the knowledge creator participates in this process (Alvesson and Sköldbberg, 2009). By being reflexive, researchers can examine their own beliefs about reality and knowledge and learn how phenomena can have different meanings depending on the perspective or paradigm used (Alvesson et al., 2008). Researchers' relationship with the research setting, the participants, and the data is highlighted when researchers adopt a reflexive approach. In this process, researchers ask themselves what makes research 'valid and valuable' (Corlett and Mavin, 2017; Cassel et al., 2017). Researchers ponder their own anticipated roles in the research process (Cassell, 2005) and the implications of these roles for conducting the research (Cassell et al., 2017). Reflexivity compels researchers to critically examine various dimensions of the research endeavour, including its theoretical foundations, methodological approaches, the researcher's emotional and experiential involvement, and their positionalities and worldviews.

I used four types of reflexivity in this study: theoretical, methodological, ontological, and emotional. Firstly, I practised theoretical reflexivity, which Haynes (2012) asserts means knowing how the researcher's preconceptions and interpretations can affect the research outcome. I used the post-development theory as the main framework to critique the dominant development discourse. I also reflected on how this theory shaped my research design, data collection, and analysis and what its limitations were. This way, I avoided imposing my views or values on the participants or the data and increased the credibility of my findings. Secondly, methodological reflexivity involves critically examining and reflecting on the methods and

techniques used in the research (Alvesson et al., 2008). I did this by acknowledging the complex politics and power dynamics in the research setting, which led me to revise my methods and include participant observation and archival material. This critical evaluation enriched the study and gave me a deeper insight into the topic. Ontological reflexivity critically examines one's assumptions and beliefs about reality and the relationship between the researcher and the researched (Creswell, 2013). I applied this throughout the research process by considering different perspectives and trying to be aware of my biases and experiences. Ontological reflexivity influenced how I formulated research questions, designed methodology, collected data, analysed data, and presented findings (Lazard and McAvoy, 2020). It also enabled me to share the participants' knowledge, understanding, and perspectives on CAMPFIRE and development. Finally, emotional reflexivity means recognising the influence of emotions on my research. I reflected on how emotions such as sadness, disgust, and anger affected how I interacted with participants and analysed data. By applying emotional reflexivity and being aware of my own emotions, I made sure that the emotional impact was taken into account without compromising the validity and reliability of the results. This approach allowed me to understand participants' experiences better while maintaining the rigour of the research process. In line with Olmos-Vega et al.'s (2022) definition of reflexivity, I viewed it as a continuous, collaborative, and multifaceted practice to critique, appraise, and evaluate how my subjectivity and context influenced the research process.

Positionality is a critical concept in qualitative research that examines how researchers and participants construct and relate to each other in the field. One aspect of positionality is the insider-outsider distinction, which reflects how participants perceive the researcher's identity and cultural proximity to them (Sultana 2007). The researcher's position as an insider or an outsider affects the quality and validity of qualitative research. I briefly highlight the advantages and disadvantages of being an outsider and an insider.

Insider research is when researchers study their social group based on shared characteristics (Liu and Burnett, 2022). Insider researchers have direct experience and deep familiarity with the phenomena they study (Heath et al., 2009). This helps them to understand social dynamics and discover context-specific insights that outsiders may miss or not access (Dwyer and Buckle, 2009; LaSala, 2003). Insider researchers find it easy to build trust and rapport with the participants as they have a common language, culture, and experiences (Heath et al., 2009). The insider researcher's experiences and cultural knowledge allow for a nuanced and comprehensive data analysis. Insider researchers can collect data more effectively because of

their existing relationships and knowledge of suitable channels within the group (Dwyer and Buckle, 2009). Insider researchers are sensitive to nuances and cultural cues within the group that may affect the data collection and analysis (LaSala, 2003). This sensitivity helps them to capture subtle details and avoid misunderstanding or misrepresenting the data. Moreover, insider researchers know their positionality and potential biases within the group (Dwyer and Buckle, 2009). This awareness encourages reflexivity and critical self-examination throughout the research process. Nevertheless, being an insider also has disadvantages, such as bias, compromised professionalism, and role confusion, which may compromise objectivity (Saidin and Yaacob, 2016). Insider researchers may also compromise their professionalism because of their dual roles as researchers and group members (Chavez, 2008). Dual roles may cause ethical dilemmas or conflicts of interest.

Outsiders such as government officials, NGO workers and academic researchers go to a community to learn about their lives. Being an outsider can have benefits, such as bringing neutrality and a new outlook to research and observations, as outsiders may be less affected by prior beliefs or interests (Brannick and Coghlan, 2007). This neutrality allows them to approach the subject matter with openness and interest, without the biases and assumptions that insiders may have. Outsiders tend to conduct a more thorough and detailed investigation of a research topic as they do not know much about the participants' world (Al-Makhamreh and Lewando-Hundt, 2008). This careful exploration allows them to uncover hidden aspects, complexities, or nuances insiders may not notice. Outsiders are emotionally distant from the studied community, allowing them to observe patterns and draw conclusions without being swayed by personal relationships or biases (Hellawell, 2006). By asking 'mundane questions', outsiders can obtain valuable insights and gather important information that insiders mostly disregard. This outsider perspective allows them to notice details in the data that insiders may miss, leading to a complete understanding of the subject matter. Outsiders may have advantages regarding access and credibility in specific contexts (Dwyer and Buckle, 2009; LaSala, 2003). Outsiders can reach participants and research settings that insiders may not be able to due to ethical or political reasons. For instance, outsiders may be able to interview participants who may not feel comfortable or trust insiders seen as part of the dominant or oppressive group. However, outsider researchers also have disadvantages, such as the lack of insider insights. This limits their ability to understand and interpret the participants' experiences, behaviours, and perspectives accurately and respectfully. Outsider researchers need to put in extra effort and time to build trust and rapport, establish credibility, and demonstrate a genuine interest in

understanding the participants' perspectives (Dwyer and Buckle, 2009; Bridges, 2001). Outsiders may face challenges accessing sensitive or private information; participants may be less willing to share personal or intimate details with someone they perceive as an outsider, fearing potential misinterpretation or misuse of the information. Outsiders also bring their own biases and perspectives to the research process, which can influence how they collect, analyse, and interpret the data (Dwyer and Buckle, 2009).

Cognisant of the advantages and disadvantages of outsider and insider roles in qualitative research, I must explain my position. My initial encounter with Kanyemba occurred in 2014 when I worked as a part-time driver, delivering building materials for a clinic and a church on behalf of a missionary, Pavel Bartolo. Within the Mariga villages of the Kanyemba ward, I was recognised as either Bartolo's driver or as the sibling of 'Baba Kuku' (my more well-known brother). On one of our trips to Kanyemba, several young individuals approached us as we prepared our departure from Mariga, inquiring about potential employment opportunities. While we could not employ or guarantee jobs for all of them, we accommodated five young men: three worked at my father's plot, and my father's colleagues employed the other two. When the young men returned home for the Christmas holidays, they shared their experiences, and when they returned in January, they brought along friends seeking employment. My family has since hosted and employed many youths from Mariga, developing friendships with them and their families. Eventually, these families began to consider my family an extension of their own, addressing each other with familial terms such as aunts, uncles, and other relational names. However, the use of such terms for my family was not universal in the area. Upon embarking on my master's research in Kanyemba, which I conducted in 2017, I noticed that people perceived me in a range of different ways. Some regarded me as a stranger, others as the driver, some as Baba Kuku's brother, and some as an extended family member.

My position partially transformed when I volunteered to use my van to transport donated food hampers from Chapoto to Mariga. This act of goodwill opened doors and fostered greater willingness among individuals to share their stories. Nevertheless, I remained an outsider, albeit one with certain privileges, and was unable to transition fully into an insider. The decision to stay with the Tembo Mvura, the primary focus of my master's research, further positively impacted my positionality. I resided on the western side of Mwanzamtanda, the Tembo Mvura territory. Had I stayed on the eastern side (Chikunda area), I would have been associated with the Chikunda and obtained different insights. Understanding the complex socio-political dynamics in Kanyemba is vital for comprehending how one's status as an

outsider or insider is determined. The situation can be aptly described as *them* (Chikunda) vs *us* (Tembo Mvura), so an informed choice is always proper for one to be considered an insider or outsider.

Additionally, my insider position was facilitated by the increased attention directed towards the Tembo Mvura community following my research. Three significant events contributed to my social standing in Mariga and Chiramba, as perceived by the local population. Firstly, the founder of the Prophetic Healing and Deliverance (PHD) church, Walter Magaya, initiated a trip to Harare for the Tembo Mvura. He showed keen interest in the Tembo Mvura, vowing to ‘modernise’ their way of life. Commuter omnibuses were dispatched to transport people to his hotel in Waterfalls, Harare, where they resided temporarily, enjoying different cuisines, attending church services, and donning new clothes. Some even went to a radio station where they shared their experiences with wildlife, particularly lion attacks. After staying for a week, they returned to Kanyemba, sharing their experiences with those who had chosen not to participate or had shied away from the buses. Another factor that seemed to affect the way in which I was perceived relates to the Military Assisted Transition (MAT) that occurred in Zimbabwe in November 2017 and which resulted in the vice president’s elevation to the presidency. The country’s new first and second ladies (wives to the new president and vice president) were interested in the Tembo Mvura community, visiting its members and promising to act as guardians. The First Lady is credited with constructing a garden and presiding over the official opening of a school and the clinic. Additionally, the first lady donated supplies for newborn babies, while the second lady provided tractors to the Kanyemba community. Finally, between November and December 2017, some Miss Zimbabwe modelling contestants resided among the Tembo Mvura people. They imparted knowledge to women, including skills related to sanitary pad production.

The Tembo Mvura assumed that those affiliated with the PHD church, the President’s office, and the Zimbabwe Tourism Authority (responsible for the Miss Zimbabwe pageant) had read my dissertation and acknowledged the plight of the Tembo Mvura. It is important to note that these events occurred while I was still writing my dissertation, and I cannot take credit for the newfound interest in the community. Nonetheless, this misconception elevated my position within the community, with many regarding me as the author of a work that had garnered attention. While I am unsure about the exact reasons for the interest in the community from the PHD church, the first ladies and the Miss Zimbabwe contestants, I am confident that it was not my dissertation that sparked it. This case of mistaken credit further reinforced my ‘insider’

position within Mariga. Despite my repeated efforts to clarify that I was not responsible for the newfound attention, nobody trusted my words.

When I returned to Kanyemba in 2022 for my PhD research, I was offered accommodation at Mariga Primary School. Upon my arrival, I discovered that the local grinding mill had malfunctioned, and no vehicle was available to transport it for repairs. I offered to transport the mill, and so the mill resumed functioning. The miller told people I had provided the transport and repair money. I did not undertake this gesture to seek praise or favour but thought of it as a token of appreciation for the continued hospitality I had received from the Mariga community. I ensured my interviews ended before 4 pm and returned to the school no later than 4:30 pm to avoid running into wild animals, which typically began roaming around that time. The encounters at the grinding mill allowed me to reconnect with individuals who remembered me from previous visits, thus facilitating my position and acceptance within the community. Consequently, people regarded me as one of them (at least to some extent), enabling them to feel comfortable enough to share their stories, which often extended beyond the scope of my study. Despite being granted a quasi-insider position, there were limits: certain narratives and activities remained exclusive to the Tembo Mvura community, and I was not privy to such information.

While my master's dissertation initially focused solely on Tembo Mvura history, I chose to widen the scope to include the Chikunda as their attitudes and experiences formed a helpful contrast with the Tembo Mvura. During my stay in the Chikunda domain, I resided with a friend who was a police officer at the Kanyemba police station in 2017. However, I failed to recognise this arrangement's negative impact on my position within the community. The circumstances surrounding my stay at the police station in 2017 shaped how Chikunda participants perceived and interacted with me during my 2017 (Master's) and part of my 2022 (PhD) research. They associated me with state security and regarded me as an outsider who might encroach upon their privacy and autonomy and, therefore, initially displayed reluctance to share sensitive or personal information. I respected the boundaries they set for our communication, but eventually, I made some headway in winning the community's trust. Therefore, my outsider status, combined with the socio-political context of Kanyemba, limited my access to information, particularly within the Chikunda community.

Considering the various positions from which I was viewed within Kanyemba, I must now elucidate my own defined positionality. My position was not fixed or static; it fluctuated depending on the circumstances and the relationships I forged with the participants over time.

Reich (2021) argues that positionality is a dynamic and relational attribute contingent upon context and interaction. This is supported by Mason-Bish (2019), who suggests that insider/outsider statuses are situation-dependent and subject to change. Throughout my study, my positionality proved primarily situational, as I was considered *mwana wedu* (our child) in some Tembo Mvura villages but treated as an outsider in the Chikunda villages. Pitman (2002) also discusses the possibility of simultaneously occupying insider and outsider roles and the potential illusion of sameness that may result. Having lived with the Tembo Mvura and experienced their daily struggles, I may have sometimes fallen victim to the illusion of sameness, mistakenly assuming that I completely understood their experiences. However, I tried to counter this by practising emotional reflexivity and ensuring I maintained awareness of my place in different instances. Cognisant of my positionality in this study, I was aware of my feelings and attachments to the people. In this section, I have demonstrated how my position and identity oscillated between an outsider and an insider in different moments and aspects of my research. Furthermore, I reflect upon how my flexible positionality influenced the construction and understanding of meaning and realities in my research, considering the cultural and power dynamics at play, as suggested by Bourke (2014).

4.4 Interviews

Interviews were central in my study; they helped me understand people's attitudes towards CAMPFIRE. Interviews are purposeful conversations between two or more people (Bremborg, 2011; Saunders et al., 2007). The main goal of interviews is to collect reliable and meaningful data. Interviews can be divided into three types: structured, semi-structured and unstructured (Cresswell, 2014;2012). On the one hand, structured interviews use standardised questionnaires with the same questions and often with fixed response options. The questions are carefully crafted and arranged in the same order, and the interviewer consistently records the respondent's answers. This method ensures that each participant is asked the same questions, making it easy to compare responses and analyse data quantitatively (Saunders et al., 2007; Rapley, 2004). However, they also have some drawbacks, such as reducing the depth and richness of data, limiting the flexibility and spontaneity of the interaction, neglecting the context and meaning of the responses, and needing a large sample size to achieve generalisability. Structured interviews are also less effective for qualitative research that seeks to elicit participants' stories, narratives, or personal accounts (Rosenthal., 2004). For this reason, structured interviews were not used for this study.

On the other hand, semi-structured and unstructured interviews offer more flexibility and adaptability in questioning. Semi-structured interviews are exploratory interviews employed in qualitative research (Magaldi and Berler, 2020). Bernard (2018) posits that semi-structured interviews are open-ended but follow a generalised script covering lots of topics. Semi-structured and unstructured interviews enable researchers to investigate complex issues and the nuances of participants' perspectives. Unstructured interviews (also characterised by open-ended questions) allow respondents to provide answers in their own words (Bhattacharjee, 2019). Bernard (2018) highlights that unstructured interviewing can take place anywhere, in fields, bars, waiting for something, or walking to the shops. Unstructured interviews are more effective when the researcher has more time to conduct his interviews. He further states that unstructured interviews are excellent for building rapport with respondents. While the two are not the same and can be used separately, I made use of them both in this study for effective data collection. Both semi-structured and unstructured interview questions can be changed or adapted based on the direction and flow of the conversation, allowing for a more natural and open-ended exchange of information.

I deployed a semi-structured and unstructured interview system because it allowed a dialogue, enhancing clarity on some misunderstood questions. The interviews focused on specific topics, with questions varying across and within interviews. Moreover, follow-up questions, or probes, were formulated based on the information shared by the interviewees (Bremborg, 2011; Roulston and Choi, 2018). I created an interview guide that included the main questions and themes to be discussed. This guide accommodated new questions and themes that emerged during the interviews. Bremborg (2011) compared the interview guide to a tree with various branches, where the main questions served as strong limbs directing the interview along different paths to be explored. The follow-up questions acted as smaller branches and were used when relevant or needed for the conversation. Additionally, unexpected ideas, themes, and perspectives could emerge spontaneously during the interview, influencing its direction. I continuously revised the follow-up questions based on feedback from the respondents. As Bremborg (2011) suggests, semi-structured interviews often involve unexpected twists, diversions, and new questions. These interviews allowed for open-ended questions and informal conversations while incorporating probes based on participants' responses. The process required active engagement, conducting multiple interviews, and establishing a genuine relationship with the participants.

The interviews in this study followed both phenomenological and ethnographic approaches. A phenomenological interview approach is a qualitative research method that seeks to explore an individual's subjective experience. The interviewer asks open-ended questions to elicit an in-depth account of the individual's experience (Sholokhova et al., 2022; Hoffding and Martiny, 2015). An ethnographic interview approach allows the interviewer to ask descriptive questions, encouraging participants to share their social situations, perceptions, and experiences (Montgomery, 2012). This study's ethnographic and phenomenological interviews explored individuals' shared meanings and experiences related to CAMPFIRE. The goal was to capture participants' subjective experiences and understand the significance they derived from those experiences (Creswell, 2013; Roulston and Choi, 2018; Seidman, 2006). These interviews collected detailed descriptions of participants' feelings, perceptions, and comprehension of CAMPFIRE.

The primary language spoken in Kanyemba is Chikorekore, a Shona dialect. Additionally, elderly members of both the Tembo Mvura and Chikunda communities occasionally incorporate elements of Chikunda or Chinyungwe into their Shona conversations. The interviews with Kanyemba residents were conducted in Shona, a language both communities understood. However, it is essential to note that I often retained the English word 'development' in its original form, as its translation in the local language had two distinct meanings, as highlighted and explained in Chapter Five. It is essential to highlight here that while most of the quotes used in the thesis have been translated into English, there are some quotes (or parts of quotes) which are given in both Shona and English. This is deliberate. The meaning sometimes gets lost in translation and fails to capture the message; hence, Shona is sometimes provided for clarity.

The type of interviews conducted influenced the selection of participants for my study. I divided the interviews into two groups: expert and local interviews. The former represented the officials working for the Mbire Rural District Council, Zimbabwe National Parks, CAMPFIRE association, safari operators, and conservation owners. The questions sought to understand their 'expert' experiences with the programme. The latter group comprised individuals from Kanyemba, and since my research focused on people's attitudes towards CAMPFIRE, anyone who had direct or indirect interactions with the Programme was a potential respondent. The study aimed to amplify the voices of subaltern individuals, so the involvement with CAMPFIRE guided the recruitment of participants.

The location at which an interview takes place is important. The location should be conducive to make ‘the interviewee feel comfortable such that they can recount details of their experiences’ (Murray, 2018:26). In Kanyemba, I did not always conduct sit-down interviews with the respondents. Some preferred that I join them as they walked to the shops or did other chores. The interview settings varied depending on the respondents’ schedules. I sometimes interviewed individuals while they were engaged in agricultural activities such as weeding or planting crops. I tried not to disrupt people’s daily routines since I could not compensate them for their time talking to me. I would join in the weeding, ensuring that the work goes on while I get to have an untimed interview. It was during these moments that various interesting stories were shared. However, conducting interviews in this manner had its limitations, as it was difficult to follow my interview guide, resulting in some questions being omitted, and at times, the recordings were not as clear. At times, I conducted interviews at the gardens during the night vigils, at meeting places, bars, and even the site where an elephant had been killed.

The venue for my interviews differed depending on the respondent. As has been highlighted above, at times, I would have interviews in gardens, bars, and in areas where people were congregating. Some of these interviews ended up being group discussions, which yielded diverse information. The impromptu group discussions described in Chapters Five, Six and Seven provided diverse data. In every place I use such data, I enlighten the reader that the information was attained from a group discussion. The group interviews did not strictly follow a set guide; rather, they would take different directions of discussions, from politics, soccer, economy, and killing animals to the questions under discussion. While I allowed the discussions to flow in many directions, they always added to the broader discussion of people’s attitudes to development.

My interviews were unorthodox in various ways, allowing me to understand the respondents’ everyday lives. For example, some of the interviews took place during overnight vigils guarding gardens against elephants and buffalos. These instances provided interesting conversations that traversed the objectives of the study and allowed me to think with and alongside the respondents. Occasionally, one of those keeping vigil would shout ‘*iri kuno*’ (‘it is here’), referring to an elephant or buffalo. We would leave our comfortable and secure zone and run towards the animals making noises. These excursions went beyond the conventional interview and changed my position as a researcher and observer. My role went over, below, and under the typical researcher interpretation.

When I arrived in Mariga, I visited the headman's homestead to announce my presence and inform him about the purpose of my study. I conducted my first interview with him, seeking advice on individuals with direct experience working with CAMPFIRE. I visited people's homes and gardens with his permission to conduct interviews. During the interviews, I used snowball sampling, where participants referred me to others knowledgeable about specific aspects of interest. Since Mariga and Chiramba were small villages, snowball sampling was necessary to find individuals with in-depth knowledge about CAMPFIRE (Cresswell, 2014). However, snowball sampling may introduce bias if respondents are mainly sourced from a close-knit group of friends. To reduce this bias, I sometimes used purposive sampling to select respondents, ensuring a more comprehensive representation within the group. One strategy to minimise bias is diversifying community entry points (Bremborg, 2011).

I classified the interviews with individuals from different organisations involved in the programmes as expert interviews. These interviews aimed to gain insights into the research area and provide a general understanding. However, I acknowledge that the expert respondents often spoke on behalf of the people of Kanyemba, sharing their perspectives. When conducting interviews with officials, I had to make appointments through various means such as emails, physical visits to offices, telephone calls, and even using social media platforms like WhatsApp. The interviews took place in different settings, including offices and cafeterias, and one was in a car as the respondent travelled. Flexibility was crucial as I needed to be available when the respondents were available. Sometimes, meetings had to be rescheduled, requiring frequent reminders. To ensure effective communication, I had to quickly adapt to the language used by the respondents during each interview. Understanding the respondents' background and prior experiences was essential, particularly for those in influential positions, as highlighted by Bogner et al. (2018). Some respondents requested an introductory letter specifically addressed to them to confirm my institutional affiliation. However, I faced challenges in interviewing specific individuals I refer to as 'elusive respondents'. These individuals often perceived the focus of my study as political, leading to difficulties in obtaining interviews with political, economic, and conservation elites. I use the term 'elites' loosely here to include individuals ranging from middle-level management to directors of organisations. Some of these respondents requested to review my research proposal and queried why I wanted to 'rethink' a development approach that they believed was successful. I followed all ethical considerations before conducting any interviews with officials or locals. Before each

interview, regardless of its nature, I informed the respondents of their rights and asked their permission to record the conversation.

Prior to initiating an interview, researchers are expected to inform participants about what the research is about and attain their informed consent (Flick, 2018; Roulston and Choi, 2018). There are various ways to attain informed consent. I first obtained verbal consent through direct communication, which allowed for an interactive and personalised approach, ensuring that participants were well-informed and could freely decide whether to participate. I explained the nature and objectives of my research to help participants understand the study and their role. I communicated the purpose, procedures, and any foreseeable risks or benefits of the study and then explicitly asked the participants for their consent. This ensured that the participants could ask questions and seek clarification before deciding. When the participants agreed to participate in the interview, I asked their permission to record. The timing of obtaining consent before recording demonstrated transparency and respect for participants' autonomy. I obtained consent before initiating the recording. This ensured that the participants were fully aware that their responses would be recorded and used for research. By obtaining consent before recording, I ensured that the participants understood the data collection process and agreed to participate. I must highlight that some did not feel comfortable signing the informed consent forms, and I respected their decision. Some who could not write used their thumbs to sign the consent forms.

As part of my informed consent talk, I informed my respondents of their right to end an interview whenever it took too long. The 'expert' interviews ranged between twenty and thirty minutes, depending on the interviewees' programme. In Kanyemba, I adopted a semi-structured approach that did not have time limitations for my interviews. The interactions traversed beyond the usual tenets of interviews and sometimes included stories that took longer. The average length of the interactions with the Tembo Mvura was fifty minutes. I conducted interviews at various locations suitable for the interviewees, such as gardens, homesteads, and bars. As highlighted earlier, occasionally, what started as a one-on-one interview evolved into a group interview when additional participants joined the discussion halfway through. These unexpected interruptions briefly posed a challenge in terms of obtaining informed consent. However, I made it clear to those who interrupted that their participation was entirely voluntary, and they were free to exit the conversation at any point. It is worth noting that the interruptions typically came from individuals familiar with my study who were aware of the research process. Although this interruption affected the flow of the conversation, it also added

information that benefitted the study. For example, one of my interviews with a group of youths lasted more than two hours; we discussed economic, political, and social topics but always returned to the CAMPFIRE discussion. I also participated in the activities I found the people doing when I arrived without any appointments. For instance, I joined respondents in weeding or watering their gardens. This multitasking benefited both the respondents and me but also prolonged the interviews. I conducted the interviews in Kanyemba with cognisance of the time but without restriction because I was flexible.

4.5 Participants from Kanyemba

4.5.1 Tembo Mvura

In my research, I interviewed individuals with various marital statuses, including married couples and single individuals (unmarried or widowed). Throughout my thesis, I emphasise and clarify the specific marital status of the participants involved in each interview. I observed that the Tembo Mvura women are hesitant to converse with men, especially strangers, in the absence of their husbands. I believe the discomfort exhibited by the Tembo Mvura women around males extends beyond cultural norms. It is important to note that I cannot definitively attribute this practice to cultural or traditional reasons. During my master's research (2017), I engaged in discussions to investigate the significant prevalence of home births among the Tembo Mvura people. The participants frequently mentioned reasons for this practice, such as the remote distance to the clinic. However, the most prominent response was their discomfort with the idea of being exposed or naked in front of strangers. Both men and women commonly expressed this sentiment. This discomfort women feel around unfamiliar men also extends to situations where they would need to sit with men without their husbands. Upon reaching a homestead, I learned that the first person to inquire about would be the man of the house, and only if the children or wife confirmed his presence could I proceed to ask for an interview. If the husband were not at home, I would leave a message expressing my desire to converse with him. Once seated with the men, I would seek the husband's permission to include his wife and, in some rare cases, other adults who were present. In a few instances, entire family members participated in the interview. Sometimes, I arrived at the homestead to find everyone at home, and they would all agree to sit down with me. It is important to note that the perspectives shared during these interviews typically aligned with the viewpoint of the head of the household, occasionally with sons correcting their father's statements. I asked the husbands for their wives' participation. The wives often reiterated points made by the husband, occasionally

adding a few suggestions that the husband would then expand upon. However, I observed an interesting phenomenon: the women were often reluctant to challenge their husbands. While their presence provided equal gender representation, their ideas and perceptions were rarely heard.

Additionally, the single female respondents I interviewed were primarily widows, except when a group of married elderly women who wanted to share their perspectives on my study invited me to talk to them. These elderly ladies provided their unique perceptions of development, which will be further explored in Chapter Five. It is worth noting that when I conducted interviews with widows, I aimed to highlight the distinct experiences of women left with masculine and feminine responsibilities. This context is essential for readers to understand the nuances of the presented definitions, descriptions and attitudes. By emphasising the gender of my participants, I also aim to shed light on the marginalisation prevalent in the people's perceptions, particularly in Chapters Five and Six.

I took advantage of the face-to-face interviews to observe the behaviour and social cues of the interviewees, including their body language and voice intonation. For instance, when asked about the impact of CAMPFIRE on them as individuals and on their village, the interviewees exhibited various reactions such as smirks, squirming, facial expression contortion, or even laughter that could be interpreted as mockery. These social cues were taken into consideration in addition to the verbal responses. Whilst other interviewers may have ignored their reactions, I paid particular attention to them in this study, for they also relayed people's attitudes towards CAMPFIRE.

4.5.2 Chikunda

While some Tembo Mvura respondents were indifferent to being recorded, the Chikunda respondents differed. They often readily agreed to be recorded and wanted their names to be included in the study (even though my study uses pseudonyms). Their willingness to be recorded and have their names taken down extended beyond the scope of this current study. They wanted to ensure they said positive things about their community, which reflected their patriotism. While this was a commendable act, I soon realised that the people's responses to my questions seemed rehearsed because they followed the same script. I had to rethink how I conducted my interviews, thereby exercising reflexivity. In Chapter Six, I discuss a phenomenon I refer to as 'imposed attitudes', which emerged in many of my interviews with Chikunda respondents. During the recorded interview, people would praise and say positive

things about CAMPFIRE, highlighting that they supported the project and were grateful for what it had done for the community. Once the interview was concluded, the people would share their true sentiments towards CAMPFIRE. I picked up on this pattern during the first two days of my research in the Chikunda area, noticing that people were more comfortable having informal conversations about the same questions we had discussed. After this realisation, I decided to conduct two interviews: the formal one in which the respondents were recorded and an informal conversation in which people would be free to discuss anything. While these respondents were not willing to be recorded during these informal conversations, they did consent to have the information from the informal interview used in my study. The informal conversation elicited honest attitudes towards CAMPFIRE that people had. My choice of ethnographic approach was justified because it allowed me to investigate the gaps between what people say and what they do and how these relate to broader social structures. The interviews were usually conducted at the respondents' homesteads, with a few exceptions conducted at the shops and church. The period I conducted my research coincided with when people had finished harvesting their crops, and some were finalising the process. People were mostly at home, and they made time to sit with me and talk about CAMPFIRE. Due to the changes in the methodology, the interviews averaged 45 minutes.

4.5.3 Anonymity

Qualitative research often anonymises the identities of individuals to ensure confidentiality and protect them from potential harm. However, Jerolmack and Murphy (2017) argue that naming people in social science research enhances transparency and accountability. I decided to use pseudonyms for the interviewees in my study to provide identity protection and reduce the risk of repercussions. This conflicted with some respondents' wish to have their real names printed. The Chikunda participants, as discussed above, wanted their names included as a sign of patriotism during the formal interviews, during which they tended to be very optimistic about government programmes. The Tembo Mvura community voiced their frustrations openly but indicated that they did not mind their names being used in the dissertation. However, I decided to use pseudonyms because of the socio-political climate in Zimbabwe. I was concerned that politicians could misinterpret or punish the honest opinions people gave about government programmes. I did not want to endanger my respondents. Pseudonyms also offered plausible deniability for participants. If their identities were guessed, it would be easy for them to deny they had made the relevant statements (Reyes, 2018). This was a crucial safeguard for participants, allowing them to distance themselves from sensitive or controversial statements.

However, pseudonyms do not guarantee complete anonymity or protection for respondents. Reyes (2018) notes that information in small communities can be traced back to individuals, even with pseudonyms. Nevertheless, the evidence collected in Kanyemba was hard to attribute to specific individuals because many shared similar stories. The decision to pseudonymise the participants in my research was motivated by the desire to protect their privacy and minimise potential risks. In addition to safeguarding the anonymity of my interviewees, I have made a conscious effort to refrain from disclosing any identifying characteristics or descriptions of their present and past roles or activities.

In the context of my research conducted in Kanyemba, this study benefits from a total of 79 interviews. The bulk of my interviews (69) were with members from the Chikunda and Tembo Mvura communities. It is pertinent to note that many interviews did not rigidly adhere to a predetermined script. Instead, interviewees exhibited a propensity to share rich, extensive narratives. Consequently, during the transcription process, nuances and layers of meaning emerged, significantly enriching the understanding of the interviewees' perspectives. In addition to the community interviews, I conducted ten official interviews with representatives from various organisations. However, for this study, only eight interviews were ultimately utilised. This decision was informed by the explicit requests of two interviewees, who preferred that the information they provided remain unpublished. Out of respect for their privacy and confidentiality, I refrain from disclosing the specific reasons behind their decisions, as such revelations could potentially compromise their anonymity. Despite their non-inclusion in the final analysis, the insights gleaned from the interviews that were not utilised proved instrumental in shaping the trajectory of this thesis.

4.6 Participant observation.

Participant observation is a widely used qualitative research method that enables the researcher to gain a rich and nuanced understanding of the social phenomena under study. Participant observation can be structured and unstructured (Cresswell, 2014). Structured participant observation involves following a predetermined set of rules or criteria to observe and record the activities of a group. In contrast, unstructured participant observation entails joining the activities of a group without any predefined plan or focus (Harvey, 2011). Structured participant observation is suitable for research projects that have specific questions or objectives to answer or measure (Creswell, 2014). It is also a form of controlled observation, where the researcher determines the time, place, and people of the observation and randomly

assigns participants to different groups or situations (Bernard, 2018). Unstructured participant observation, on the other hand, is appropriate for research projects that aim to understand a phenomenon from the participants' perspective and within the context of their everyday lives (Kingsley, 2010). This approach allows for open-ended observations, facilitating exploration and the discovery of unforeseen findings. However, unstructured participant observation also has some limitations, such as being vulnerable to observer bias and requiring a reflexive approach from the researcher to critically evaluate their biases and preconceptions (Mulhall, 2003). Cognisant of participation observation limitations, I also used interviews to ensure the validity and reliability of the collected data, as demonstrated by Kingsley (2010).

I adopted unstructured participant observation because I did not want to establish empirical evidence but rather to understand and communicate the sentiments and attitudes of the Kanyemba residents towards development and CAMPFIRE. Given this context, my observation did not have a predetermined structure or specific items/behaviours to observe. I opted for participant observation to immerse myself naturally within the Kanyemba community and observe. Due to the small size of the Kanyemba community, it was possible to establish recognition within a short period of residing with the residents. By integrating myself into their activities, I assumed the role of a 'participant' in the community, facilitating a more acute observation than an external observer. I chose an unstructured observation approach due to its flexibility and open-ended nature, allowing for the natural and spontaneous observation and recording of events without imposing preconceived notions or expectations.

Participant observation has four types based on the researcher's involvement. Complete-participant observation involves fully joining the group's activities without revealing the research role, which gives an insider perspective but poses ethical challenges related to deception and confidentiality (DeWalt and DeWalt, 2010). Participant-as-observer observation involves participating in the group's activities while openly stating the research role, which builds rapport and trust with the participants and collects insider and outsider data but requires balancing the dual roles and avoiding role conflicts or biases (Creswell, 2013). Observer-as-participant observation involves mainly observing the group and occasionally interacting with the participants, who know the researcher's identity and purpose. This allows a more detached and objective stance but limits the depth and quality of data (Jorgensen, 2020). Complete-observer-observation involves observing the group from a distance without interacting or disclosing the research role, which collects unaffected data but raises ethical issues such as consent, privacy, and anonymity (Manolchev and Foley, 2021).

My study deployed a hybrid of participant observation types: participant-as-an-observer and non-participant observer. I used participant observation when I fully engaged with the people and their activities, such as guarding their crops at night, attending scenes of meat sharing, and attending meetings. These excursions proved to be central in both my interviews and observations. The people acted naturally because they were in their comfort zones, and I could use observation to check what had been said in interviews. For example, when asked how they drove animals out, some said they used stones and burning charcoal, but during the night vigils, I observed people throwing metal objects at the animals. The vigils were vital because they gave me an insight into the people's everyday lives; I better understood their frustrations with the animals. Spending sleepless nights guarding gardens opened avenues to understanding attitudes and how they have grown. The vigils offered me an insight into how and why people have seen development programmes like CAMPFIRE as destructive. Observing young school-going boys guarding gardens at night and thus failing to attend school the following day made me understand why the people view the animals and CAMPFIRE's protection of them as a hindrance to their lives. Participant observation allowed me to understand their frustrations and challenges with the animals and CAMPFIRE. I used participant-as-an-observer when I participated in some of their activities while focusing on their roles, such as farming. This helped me gain insider views and subjective data. I used non-participant observation when I could not participate in some activities due to being an outsider or lacking expertise, but I was allowed to observe. I used these approaches to understand how people's attitudes towards development emerged or were communicated in their everyday behaviour. Some of the key highlights from my observations include instances where people herded animals to the eastern side of the river as a form of resistance, as elaborated on in Chapter 7. These observations also encompassed incidents of individuals stealing meat intended for communal sharing, people declining to attend meetings, and the absence of applause after speeches delivered by RDC or CAMPFIRE officials. While these mundane acts are ordinary to the residents of Kanyemba, to me, they spoke of everyday forms of resistance to development. They portrayed an attitude of being tired of development initiatives.

My positionality influenced my observation throughout the research process. Liu and Burnett (2022:2) argue that each positionality has its advantages and disadvantages and that these affect the researcher's perspective and approach. As a partial 'insider' in the community under study, I enjoyed certain benefits, such as being accepted by the community members and having a more comprehensive and less distorted understanding of their social world (Heath et al., 2009).

Following Liu and Burnett's (2022) suggestion, I adopted an active role within the local culture rather than being a passive observer. This active engagement enabled me to understand the community's dynamics better and establish trust and rapport with the participants. Being familiar with the community's cultural nuances, traditions, and norms, I could navigate the social landscape more effectively and capture nuanced insights. However, my positionality, as explained earlier, was not fixed; I fluctuated between being an insider and an outsider during the research process. The Kanyemba community, as described in Chapter Three, comprises two groups: the Tembo Mvura and Chikunda. This diversity required me to be responsive to each community's needs and dynamics and adjust my observation techniques accordingly. I had to adapt my approach as I transitioned between communities to appreciate the 'mundane everyday activities' that revealed important social dynamics. In my observations, I encountered various challenges and adjusted. For example, while observing subtle acts of resistance and attitudes towards CAMPFIRE, I noticed that it was crucial to observe certain attitudes and behaviours in crowded places where respondents felt more comfortable being themselves. This allowed me to capture a more authentic representation of their attitudes and responses. Moreover, I observed that the Tembo Mvura community exhibited a more relaxed demeanour, with less guarded behaviour. In contrast, the Chikunda community demonstrated a more structured and rehearsed approach to daily routines and meeting participation. Recognising and understanding these differences required me to adapt my observation methods, ensuring I captured each group's unique characteristics and dynamics.

4.7 Field notes

Field notes are essential for capturing and documenting observations during the research process (Bond, 1990). I kept detailed notes to ensure the accuracy and comprehensiveness of the data. Emerson et al. (2011) state that ethnographers vary in how they write field notes. Some document observations, actions, questions, and reflections, while others separate field notes as data from their reactions and interpretations. I balanced these two approaches, documenting the observed phenomena and my reflections and interpretations when appropriate. I wrote notes down in my notebook. I also used audio reminders on my cell phone to avoid potential misunderstandings or incomplete descriptions. This approach allowed me to document the external behaviours and my insights and thought processes. I also ensured that my notes were descriptive, capturing even the most minor observations, such as smirks, scoffs, or other sounds made during conversations about CAMPFIRE. These details provided valuable insights into the participants' attitudes, emotions, and responses. I had planned to record acts

like *kuteya miteyo* (setting snares) and attend and record some traditional ceremonies and gatherings that would add voice to the study's goal. However, I faced ethical limitations regarding videography or audio recording as I did not want to record without the explicit permission of all present. Despite these constraints, I still captured the essence of these events through detailed descriptions and narratives in my field notes. In summary, producing detailed field notes was crucial to my observation process. These notes were reliable data documentation, allowing for a clear and accurate record of events, behaviours, and nuances.

4.8 Archives

Archival materials are a valuable source of data for qualitative ethnographic research, as they complement the primary data from participant observation, interviews, and fieldwork with historical context, narratives, and perspectives of the culture or community under study (DeWalt and DeWalt, 2010). Archives are repositories of cultural memory that offer glimpses into the past and allow researchers to trace the trajectories of social, economic, and political changes over time. This study used archival material to corroborate and challenge interview findings by cross-referencing primary data with archival sources (Nassaji, 2015). Archives also enable comparative analysis across different geographical locations or communities by examining similar records from multiple archives (Comaroff and Comaroff, 1992). However, archival research in ethnography also has some limitations and challenges. Accessing some archives was not easy during my research, as some government archives were restricted and required special permissions from the director or permanent secretary.

I accessed various archival materials from different institutions and authorities. These included files housed at the Guruve Rural District Council (GRDC), the District Administrator's office, the National Archives of Zimbabwe (NAZ), the Centre for Applied Social Sciences (CASS), The Herald and ZimParks. These archival materials helped me understand and analyse the CAMPFIRE programme in the Mbire district from multiple perspectives. The GRDC permitted me to access their records and documents on their operations, policies, and decision-making processes. However, some files dealing with financial issues in Kanyemba were restricted due to bureaucratic red tape. The NAZ had an extensive collection of historical records, government documents, and manuscripts. I used them to gather information on the broader historical context of the Mbire district, the evolution of CAMPFIRE policies, and the involvement of various stakeholders over time.

CASS was a vital source of materials on CAMPFIRE. It had a comprehensive range of reports, research papers, policy documents, and evaluations. These materials provided insights into the developmental frameworks, implementation strategies, and socio-economic impacts of CAMPFIRE initiatives. CASS archives facilitated a nuanced understanding of the programme's historical development and its implications for the local community. The Herald House library housed some important newspaper files to help understand people's perspectives on CAMPFIRE. Newspaper articles on the Tembo Mvura, the Chikunda, and CAMPFIRE were helpful. Lastly, files from ZimParks contained relevant data on wildlife management practices, conservation efforts, and the interaction between CAMPFIRE and wildlife-related policies. By examining these records, I gained insights into the dynamics between local communities, government agencies, and environmental conservation within the Mbire district. I analysed the archival materials using a systematic approach that involved a thorough examination, categorisation, and interpretation of the documents. The content analysis enabled me to extract specific information from the materials, such as demographic data, policy directives, and community and engagement strategies. The thematic analysis helped me identify broader themes related to governance, community participation, power dynamics, and socioeconomic impacts.

4.9 Data analysis

After concluding my research, I began translating and transcribing my recordings and some notes from non-recorded interviews. The transcribed data underwent a thorough data analysis process to derive meaningful insights and identify patterns within the attitudes of Kanyemba residents towards development. The analysis involved several steps, including coding the qualitative data from interviews and participant observation. Coding assigns labels or tags to data segments representing key concepts or themes (Saldaña, 2015). According to Bryman (2016:571), coding helps to organise and categorise the data into manageable units for further analysis. I carefully reviewed and labelled the qualitative data from interviews and participant observation and identified key concepts and recurring ideas. I organised the data into relevant categories or themes that captured various aspects such as cultural values, personal experiences, social networks, economic opportunities, and environmental concerns. These themes were derived from deductive and inductive approaches, meaning that some themes were based on existing literature and theoretical frameworks, while others emerged from the data (Flick, 2014).

Thematic analysis was then employed to explore and interpret these themes, allowing a deeper understanding of the nuances and variations in residents' attitudes. The thematic analysis involves identifying themes within data, analysing them, and reporting them (Braun and Clarke, 2006). It involves searching for connections and relationships among the themes and examining how they relate to the research questions and objectives. The thematic analysis also allows for reflexivity and criticality in interpreting the data and addressing potential biases or limitations (Nowell et al., 2017). I used thematic analysis to explore and interpret the themes I identified from coding, aiming to understand the nuances and variations in residents' attitudes. For example, I found that the residents' attitudes towards development were influenced by various factors, such as their cultural values, personal experiences, social networks, economic opportunities, and environmental concerns. These factors could be turned into themes or concepts by using labels or tags that capture the key ideas or patterns in the data. For instance, some of the themes are:

- Cultural identity and resistance: how the residents view development as a threat to their traditional culture and way of life and resist external influences or interventions. For example, Mutopo¹² said: 'We do not want outsiders to come and tell us what to do.'
- Personal agency and empowerment: how the residents seek to improve their lives and livelihoods through development initiatives. For example, Jeffrey¹³ said: 'We want to start our businesses. We want to be independent and self-reliant.'
- Dismissing development: how the residents have dismissed development because of lack of protection. For example, Texan¹⁴ asked, 'Why should I protect the animals when we do not get anything in return? We were better before CAMPFIRE.'
- Economic incentives and trade-offs: how the residents weigh the costs and benefits of development in terms of income, employment, resources, and environment. For example, Joseph¹⁵ said: 'We need development to improve our living standards. We need jobs and income. Nevertheless, we also need to protect our environment and resources.'
- Environmental awareness and stewardship: how the residents value and protect their natural environment and resources as part of their development goals and practices. For

¹² Interview with Mutopo, 23 April 2022, elephant kill site.

¹³ Interview with Jeffrey, 13 June 2022, Chiruhwe.

¹⁴ Interview with Texan, 21 April 2022, Chiramba village.

¹⁵ Interview with Joseph, 18 June 2022, Chiramba village.

example, Juwakinyu¹⁶ said: ‘We love our environment. It is our home. It provides us with everything we need. We take care of it as best as we can.’

As I coded the themes from the collected evidence, I took into consideration the theories and concepts I was using to guide my analysis, such as post-development theory, human-wildlife conflict, and ambivalence. As I analysed the data, I was guided by the themes established that were related to post-development critiques of mainstream development, local understanding of human-wildlife relationships and radical democracy, concepts that are central to this thesis. In the coding of the data, I also found that the residents’ attitudes towards development were not static or homogeneous but dynamic and diverse, reflecting their changing circumstances and preferences.

In addition to the ethnographic data analysis, I also undertook the analysis of archival data. The analysis of archival data was done with a dual analytical approach. First, I conducted a comparative analysis between my research findings and the historical records. Second, I examined how the archival materials, particularly those from CAMPFIRE’s early phases, reflected the programme’s evaluations and narratives that aligned with the context. As I analysed the archival documents, I sought to identify recurring patterns and themes, examining contradictions within and between sources and tracing historical trends and their evolution. Following Given et al. (2008), I paid attention to the fact that these documents were products of their time, reflecting the ideologies and perspectives of different institutions. With this in hindsight, I approached the archival files, knowing that they were written for a particular audience, and sought to tell the stories of certain people, which is thus bound to be subjective and biased. In my analysis, I was cognizant of the limitations and potential biases of the sources. Drawing on Trouillot’s (1995) insights about power dynamics in archival construction, I remained attentive to whose voices were privileged and whose were marginalised in these historical records. It is against this that I read, analysed and integrated the archive in three different ways. I read archival files ‘against the grain’ in a bid to identify counter-narratives to my collected evidence. In addition to that, I read the files ‘along’ the archival grain to understand institutional (CAMPFIRE, ZimParks, CASS) logic. Finally, I read the files ‘with’ the archive to construct a historically informed analysis of the people’s attitudes towards development (CAMPFIRE). My archival data analysis helped construct a coherent narrative. The coherence of the narrative was encouraged by supporting the data collected with

¹⁶ Interview with Juwakinyu, 18 April 2022, Majaya Business Centre.

evidence from the archival data. My analysis of secondary data, as highlighted in Chapter Two, also became part of the data analysis.

Data analysis was also eased by triangulation. Triangulation is a strategy to enhance the validity and reliability of research findings by cross-checking and corroborating them with different sources of data (Nassaji, 2015). Triangulation also revealed discrepancies or contradictions among the data sources and helped to explain them (Denzin and Lincoln, 2011). I integrated findings from interviews, participant observation, and archival material analysis to provide a comprehensive picture of the attitudes towards development in Kanyemba. This integration helped me to confirm or challenge my findings from different perspectives and sources.

4.10 Conclusion

This chapter presented the study's methodological framework, encompassing reflexivity, positionality, and research methods. The chapter has critically examined the role of emotional, methodological, and theoretical reflexivity in the research process, highlighting the dynamic interplay between the researcher's personal experiences, biases, and perspectives. This chapter has navigated the complex landscape of reflexivity, positionality, and research methods, showcasing a careful and thoughtful approach to understanding the research context. This self-reflection is essential for assessing the potential impact on data collection, interpretation, and analysis. I also explained my positionality within the community under study, demonstrating the complex and nuanced shifting relationship between an insider and an outsider. This recognition of dual perspectives enhances the research process by providing deeper insights into the dynamics of the community and ensuring a balanced representation of its diverse viewpoints.

Concerning the research methods employed, I adopted an unconventional approach to semi-structured interviews, emphasising flexibility and adaptability. By departing from traditional interview structures, I show how I elicited more authentic and meaningful dialogues with participants, enabling a deeper exploration of their experiences, beliefs, and perspectives. In addition to interviews, I discussed using observation as a valuable methodological tool. Employing a hybrid approach of complete participant observation, participant-as-an-observer, and observer-as-a-participant, I highlight how I immersed myself within the research context, allowing for a comprehensive understanding of the intricacies, subtleties, and social dynamics at play. Moreover, I acknowledge the significance of archival material from diverse organisations such as NAZ, CASS, MRDC, and CAMPFIRE in this chapter. By incorporating

this rich and varied source of information, the study benefits from historical context, institutional knowledge, and a broader understanding of the evolution of attitudes over time. Lastly, the chapter has illuminated the process of data analysis. This chapter shows how I organised and categorised data into meaningful themes, unveiling patterns, connections, and overarching narratives. This systematic approach ensures rigour, reliability, and validity in the analysis while capturing the complexity and diversity inherent in the dataset.

CHAPTER FIVE

WHOSE DEVELOPMENT? THE TEMBO MVURA'S PERSPECTIVES ON CAMPFIRE AND DEVELOPMENT IN KANYEMBA

Saka budiro yacho ndeyani? (So, whose development is it?)

5.1 Introduction

The title of this chapter was influenced by an interview with Benji,¹⁷ a Tembo Mvura man who has lived through the dividends and projects system of the CAMPFIRE. Benji's full statement was:

Hatina dzimba dzakanaka, hatina zvipatara, Mvura tinomwa yemufuku, mhuka dzacho dzinotiuraya asi tinonzi chengetedzai kuitira budiro. Saka budiro yacho ndeyani?

We do not have nice houses; we do not have clinics. We drink water from hand-dug wells, and animals attack and kill us, yet we are told to conserve them for development. So, whose development is it?

This sentiment shared by Benji summarises many of the stories in this chapter. The definitions and descriptions of development among the Tembo Mvura come from a place of disappointment. This chapter presents their varied perceptions of development and demonstrates how different meanings can be attached to development. This chapter sets its tone by distinguishing the local, grassroots definitions from those that dominate in scholarly and organisational spaces. In this chapter, I keep in mind one of the study's research goals of using a 'bottom-up' approach in understanding attitudes towards development. The chapter makes the local people's perception of development and CAMPFIRE visible. By so doing, the chapter contrasts mainstream conceptions of development with those of the Tembo Mvura people. Additionally, it provides a local conceptualisation of what development is (and is not) and why and to whom it matters.

This chapter examines the perceptions and attitudes of the Tembo Mvura community towards development (and specifically CAMPFIRE), while the next chapter will focus on the views of the Chikunda. The rationale for devoting separate chapters to the different ethnic groups in Kanyemba is based on several factors that influence their views and experiences of

¹⁷ Interview with Benji, 26 April 2022, Mariga Primary School.

development. Firstly, the Tembo Mvura people have limited access to education and are often regarded as less knowledgeable than the more vocal Chikunda community, whose voices tend to dominate the discourse on development. Secondly, as discussed in Chapter Three, the ethnic composition of Kanyemba has significant implications for the socio-economic and political dynamics of the area. The Tembo Mvura community, living close to wildlife, claims a primary stake in the natural resources of their environment; hence, their understanding of development is informed by factors different from those of the Chikunda community, which stays further from wildlife.

This chapter is structured into three sections, each addressing different aspects related to local perceptions of development, the understanding of CAMPFIRE at the local level, and the beneficiaries of CAMPFIRE's development initiatives. The first part explores the definitions and depictions of development articulated by the Tembo Mvura community while also drawing comparisons with established definitions. With a focus on amplifying marginalised voices, this section elucidates the attitudes and perspectives of local individuals towards development. The subsequent section explores the local comprehension of CAMPFIRE. When I was formulating the questions to be used, I was under the assumption that everyone understood what CAMPFIRE entailed and the benefits it was expected to bring to the community. However, the initial round of interviews revealed a limited understanding among the community members regarding CAMPFIRE's purpose and its role within their community. This section demonstrates that community members have acquired interpretations of development and CAMPFIRE despite lacking comprehension of the programme. The final section of this chapter addresses the question of whose development is advanced through CAMPFIRE. This inquiry emerged from the interviews, as the Tembo Mvura consistently raised concerns about which individuals or groups were meant to benefit from CAMPFIRE since they resided alongside wildlife but experienced significant poverty. Apart from the information gleaned from interviews that form the basis of this chapter, the chapter also relies on observation in capturing the dynamic nature of local attitudes towards development. Additionally, this section highlights how the Tembo Mvura community felt marginalised and excluded from the development agenda due to historical narratives that misrepresented their experiences, thus obscuring their voices.

5.2 Tembo Mvura definitions of development

As discussed in Chapter Two, the term ‘development’ is polysemic and has multiple meanings and interpretations. However, these definitions share a common assumption that development implies positive changes or improvements for society and individuals (Semasinghe, 2020). The concept of development is thus normative and associated with progress and advancement. Moreover, various definitions of ‘development’ emphasise that change or the process of change is intrinsic to its meaning and purpose. Chambers (2004: iii) defines development as ‘good change’, but determining what constitutes ‘good’ change and which types of change are most important remains a fundamental challenge. This perspective on development as a normative concept has been a starting point in the post-development discourse, which challenges the idea that development is positive and desirable.

The meaning of development also depends on the people’s viewpoints; the local people who have experienced a particular development project first-hand may have a different understanding than an outsider. Defining development is challenging, and the complexity deepens when we attempt to translate it into the vernacular Shona language. In Shona, despite its various dialects, has limited words that directly correspond to the concept of development. The two closest words are ‘*budiriro*’ and ‘*vandudzo*.’ ‘*Budiriro*,’ loosely translated, conveys the meaning of prosperity. In this study, I argue that ‘*budiriro*’ represents a state of success and thriving. It encompasses the well-being and flourishing of individuals, communities, and society, including economic prosperity, education, health, and social and political stability. To put the term ‘*budiriro*’ in context, one might say, ‘*Budiriro inoreva kuve nedzimba, zvipatara, nzira dzakanaka muward yedu*’ (‘Development means having houses, clinics and proper roads in our ward’). This chapter explores how ‘*budiriro*’ is linked to progress and how it can encompass a variety of success indicators depending on the interpretation.

Apart from ‘*budiriro*’, development is also translated as ‘*vandudzo*,’ which can be loosely interpreted as progress. Among the local Kanyemba people, ‘*vandudzo*’ signifies the presence of improvement. In this study, improvement refers to enhancing something more effective, efficient, or of higher quality. To illustrate, one might say, ‘*Vandudzo, inoreva kuvandudza dzimba dzatogara, hembe dzatopfeka nechikafu chatodya*’ (‘Development means the improvement of the houses we live in, the clothes we wear, and the food we eat’). The Tembo Mvura community employs both terms to define and understand development, incorporating diverse elements into their respective definitions and descriptions. Despite their contextual

nuances, these two words share a common phenomenon: development entails change. The evidence suggests that '*budiriro*' is synonymous with advancements, while '*vandudzo*' relates development with improvements. However, questions arise regarding who determines these advancements and improvements and what should be recognised as actual development. It is important to note that the Kanyemba community does not exist in isolation from the influences of the wider world. The Tembo Mvura members are aware of the term 'development,' and most use it to refer to either '*budiriro*' or '*vandudzo*'. While *budiriro* and *vandudzo* cannot be used as synonyms, they can all appeal to the same sense. To provide an example, one day, while in Lungwa, I met some young Tembo Mvura men who had come to sell their agro-produce. One of the three men jokingly said, 'This is development,' referring to the recently paved tarred road. The paved road can be seen as an improvement from a gravel road; at the same time, it can be seen as progress in having a road. The translation of the word development gives definitions and descriptions that match the people's everyday language. It emphasises the importance of matching the understanding of development with the local community's language and viewpoint.

As mentioned, this study employs extracts from interviews to tell stories that take us beyond the standard definition of development. In an interview with the Fosho family,¹⁸ a compelling story emerged that shed light on what development meant to them and how they were introduced to it. During the interview, the husband and wife alternated, often interrupting each other to provide additional details or corrections. Together, they narrated how development had arrived in their area:

We were born and raised in the mountains you see before you. Our way of life was simple, relying on hunting, gathering, and barter trading. Occasionally, my father and I would embark on hunting trips, setting snares and bringing back the meat to Chiruhwe, a village across the Mwazamtanda River, for trading. We never went hungry as we sustained ourselves through hunting, gathering, fishing, and trading, with a constant supply of abundant food. After the country gained independence, our chief instructed our people to leave the mountains because the government intended to allocate new land for us. Our leaders, distrustful of the Chikunda people, chose to remain close to the forest and continued our traditional way of life centred around hunting and gathering. Around the same time, we got married, and my responsibilities expanded to include my immediate and extended families. Thankfully, due to the plentiful presence of animals and the absence of hunting restrictions, I had no trouble providing food for everyone. I recall an occasion when our lives took a different turn. The year when our second child was born, a white man accompanied by council members visited us, along with the chief. They explained the significance of animals, not only for the country but particularly for our community. Through bioscope presentations, they showcased how animals could transform our lives. The films depicted the abundance of food we could afford, the improved houses we could

¹⁸ Interview with Mr and Mrs Fosho, 16 June 2022, Chagurika.

construct, and the clothing we could purchase with the money earned from selling animals.
To answer you, development means having enough to eat and staying in decent houses.

This narrative provides a thought-provoking commentary on development dynamics, shedding light on the perceived deficiencies of the Tembo Mvura community. Several key themes emerge from the narrative, contributing to a nuanced exploration of the development discourse. The narrative juxtaposes the traditional way of life with the trajectory of modernisation. This juxtaposition is illustrated by the stark contrast between the mountain existence characterised by hunting, gathering, and barter trading and the transformative efforts initiated after independence. The transition is notably marked by endeavours such as relocating the community and introducing novel practices. The resulting tension between tradition and modernity emerges as a central motif within the narrative, offering keen insights into the repercussions of such transformative interventions. Moreover, the narrative mentions the virtues of self-sustenance/sufficiency as exemplified by local practices.

One of the central points that emerged from the Fosho interview was the promises made to the community on the arrival of ‘development’ in Kanyemba. Respondents referred to the bioscope films presented by individuals advocating for Kanyemba’s development. Bioscope refers to a film shown on reels that were quite popular in the 1980s to 1990s. The films referred to were primarily used to highlight the importance of wildlife conservation. They showed how animals are important to people and killing them was a loss. The films were shown to spread awareness of the importance of wildlife conservation to the people. The films underscored the appeal of enhanced housing, improved dietary options, and better clothing, thus encouraging an aspiration for material progress and introducing people to the supposed potential benefits of economic opportunities in elevating their quality of life. Through these bioscope presentations, the people were given a tangible glimpse of the ‘developed’ life they could ostensibly lead if they embraced the CAMPFIRE programme.

5.2.1 Development and Food Security

The concept of food security is central to the definition of development among the Tembo Mvura. Sharon¹⁹ is a Tembo Mvura widow who stays in Mariga. She has a garden that she works on but cannot guard it properly because she is alone. She jokingly exclaimed that the animals knew she was a widow because they usually raided her garden. She articulated that:

¹⁹ Interview with Sharon, 25 April 2022, Mariga.

Development means having sufficient food. Having enough food allows us to tend to our fields and protect them from elephants and buffalos. When I have ample food, I can lend a helping hand to a friend or neighbour, which signifies development.

Sharon's development description resonates with Mainoti,²⁰ a Tembo Mvura man who was born and raised in Mariga and had only briefly left the area to work in Guruve. He described development as having three meals daily and not worrying about tomorrow. From his brief stint in Guruve, Mainoti claimed that people with access to sufficient food tend to be more productive and that being in that state can be understood as development (*budiriro*). In his description, he also snuck in the aspect of having meat as a marker of the state of development.

Their definition may not resonate with outsiders, as they might not fully grasp the hunger experienced within this small community. Beneath a certain nutrition threshold, a person not only lacks physical energy and good health but also loses interest in most matters beyond securing food and the ability to concentrate (Maslow, 1943). Given the circumstances of the Tembo Mvura, it is unsurprising that there is a pronounced emphasis on food security as a fundamental element of development. Sharon and Mainoti's perspectives underscore that an adequate food supply sustains individuals and families, enabling them to engage in productive endeavours and support their community members. This perspective underscores fulfilling food demands as a critical development indicator.

Resonating with the sentiment shared by Sharon, is the view of Fidelis,²¹ a Tembo Mvura man with four children who are all under ten years old and attend school. Fidelis emphasised that development equates to having a consistent food supply, regardless of season. He expressed this sentiment:

We want to enjoy an adequate diet throughout the year, not solely when the river flows abundantly and the crops flourish. During the dry season, we grapple with hunger until January, when we can harvest squash plants and pumpkins. When I talk about development on an empty stomach, I would be biased toward food because that is what I desire.

During the interview, Fidelis's wife Netsai²² reiterated her husband's description of development as having food. She recounted a disturbing experience when her family faced the threat of starvation, underscoring the critical importance of food security within their community.

During the Covid-19 pandemic, when movement was restricted, we faced significant challenges in accessing food. Due to the travel restrictions, we could not sell our garden produce in Zambia or receive food assistance from NGOs. As a result, we went without

²⁰ Interview with Mainoti, 11 May 2022, Mariga.

²¹ Interview with Fidelis, 24 April 2022, Chiramba village.

²² Interview with Netsai, 24 April 2022, Chiramba village.

food for three days, only managing to provide for our children. To sustain ourselves, we resorted to obtaining honey from restricted areas. If we had been caught foraging for honey in the forest, we would have faced arrest. If there is development in Kanyemba, why are we failing to escape our continued vicious cycle of hunger? I remember when Ravu [a local leader of Chikunda descent] served as the councillor, and we experienced a sense of development during his tenure. He took measures to ensure our well-being, including providing mealie meal and beans during drought or when animals damaged our fields. Development is when people have enough to eat and do not wait for a donor.

The couple's perspective on development is fundamentally anchored in food security and availability. The wife's account further unveiled how they resort to activities that have been declared unlawful to survive during times of scarcity. In this narrative, Netsai refers to Ravu, who was a councillor who served the Kanyemba ward from the 1990s to 2001, when he passed away. He is fondly remembered for his inclusive approach; he bought food in times of hunger, and most Tembo Mvura appreciated his leadership. Many Tembo Mvura respondents referred to Ravu.

To underline the association between development and access to food, it is worth noting that the elderly members of the Tembo Mvura community entertain thoughts of reverting to their traditional hunting and gathering practices. This inclination arises considering the current scarcity of protein sources. Kapara,²³ estimated to be between 70 and 80 years old, described the development as the liberty to hunt and gather. He elucidated that being considered developed implies having unrestricted access to meat and honey, which are integral to their daily diet.

We cannot claim that we have development when we find ourselves missing meat in our diets, especially considering that we used to hunt for sustenance. We were promised a consistent meat supply when the programme [CAMPFIRE] was introduced, but it has been years since we last had any meaningful meat. The restrictions on hunting and the presence of predators like hyenas and lions have made it impossible to keep goats. To us, development should entail having access to a diverse diet that includes meat. If the current initiatives cannot provide this, perhaps we should revisit the practices we used to rely on, such as hunting.

The desire for meat resonates as a prevalent sentiment, particularly among the elderly members of the Tembo Mvura community. Development entails having unlimited access to meat, fresh or dried. As this narrative highlights, people were promised meat as part of the promotion of CAMPFIRE, so they still hold on to that and the premise of their definition. While it was mostly the elderly who referred to the importance of meat, it is essential to emphasise that the aspiration to return to the hunting era is not limited to the elderly.

²³ Interview with Kapara, 20 May 2022, Chiramba village.

5.2.2 Development as employment, jobs, houses and well-equipped kitchens

The younger members of the Tembo Mvura community, who have no memory of the era of living from hunting, gathering and bartering, perceive development predominantly through the prism of employment and its subsequent benefits. For instance, Tony²⁴ explicitly underscored that development encompasses securing a job, ensuring access to food, and constructing a ‘proper house’. I use the term ‘proper’ because many Tembo Mvura have come to regard their traditional shelters (as depicted in Figure 3) as not qualifying to be ‘proper houses’. Tony’s aspirations revolve around obtaining employment that would allow him to build a home resembling those he has seen in the Chapoto area, Zambia, and Mozambique. These houses are built from brick and typically have asbestos or corrugated iron sheet roofs. To Tony, employment is also an integral component of development (*budiriro*), enabling him to provide his family with a secure home, free from the vulnerabilities of makeshift huts in the gardens.

²⁴ Interview with Tony, 19 April 2022, Mariga village.



Figure 3: A typical Tembo Mvura hut (Photo taken by author).

Many young family men in Mariga share a similar perspective to Tony's, defining development as attaining employment and financial stability that would allow them to construct a comfortable dwelling and ensure sufficient nourishment for the family. This viewpoint mirrors their collective belief that development hinges on addressing unemployment within the community, thereby fostering an overall improvement in living standards. While the central theme of their definition of development revolves around employment, it is crucial to explore

deeper into the underlying motivations for seeking employment, as they imply distinct aspects of development. By securing jobs, these young men aim to provide food for their families. Furthermore, their desire to build proper houses for their families underscores their comprehensive view of development as a multifaceted aspiration. It is important to note that the ‘modern’ houses on the western side of the river, particularly in Mariga village, are owned by employed individuals or those who were once employed. Therefore, the definitions presented by these individuals establish a ripple effect, portraying employment, food security, and suitable housing as interconnected elements that collectively define the notion of development within their community.

It is not just the community’s younger members who are attracted to these ‘modern’ houses. Even some elderly members have been drawn to homeownership, regarding it as a hallmark of development. Maiko²⁵ is an elderly Tembo Mvura man whose livelihood depends partly on weaving and selling winnowing baskets. He, for instance, fondly recollects how the bioscope offered them an alluring glimpse into what their communities might resemble. In light of this, he introduces his narrative with a thought-provoking question:

Who would say no to residing in a house with asbestos roofs and cement floors? To be considered developed, having a house with red oxide-coloured floors and asbestos roofs is a prerequisite. When CAMPFIRE was introduced, we were presented with a bioscope showcasing the houses we could construct and the schools our children could attend. The expectation was that we would generate income by selling animals, enabling us to build these desirable homes. However, we have been waiting for the funds, as the promised money has not materialised. For everyone here, development commences with the quality of the house you sleep in.

While connecting development to the construction of houses may appear complex in various contexts, it carries significant meaning within the Tembo Mvura community. Building houses are perceived as a vital component of the development journey as it entails creating new structures and improving living conditions for future inhabitants. Drawing upon Maiko’s recollections, this study contextualises house construction as embodying both ‘*budiriro*’ (progress) and ‘*vandudzo*’ (improvement) within the Tembo Mvura community.

In a rare encounter, I engaged in an intriguing discussion with a group of elderly women whose unique perspectives offered fresh insights into the development concept, particularly from a gendered perspective. As I passed through the gardens, they were engaged in pounding sorghum, and their inviting call prompted me to join them. They inquired about the focus and objectives of my research concerning the community, and their curiosity was stimulated upon

²⁵ Interview with Maiko, 19 April 2022, Mariga village.

learning that my study sought to understand people's attitudes towards development. When asked about their definition of development, one woman asserted that it encompassed having appropriate cooking utensils. The consensus among these women was that development should manifest in possessing a well-equipped kitchen, complete with quality Kango enamel pots, porcelain plates, and a fully furnished 'shelf'. In their perception, the kitchen serves as a tangible symbol of development. Particularly striking was Mbuya ake Givhi's²⁶ satirical question: 'How can my husband consider himself a man after being served a meal on a *sandak*?' Here, *sandak* is a mocking term referring to plastic plates. It is widely agreed that children are served using plastic plates, while elders typically use metal or porcelain plates. Mbuya ake Givhi's question not only underscores their attention to the choice of tableware but also highlights the complexities of shifting priorities. When a family grapples with ensuring food security, allocating funds for porcelain plates rather than using them to purchase essential foodstuff may appear illogical. I interpret their association of development with possessing adequate cooking utensils as an acknowledgement of life's necessities, to the extent that having proper plates is perceived as a marker of development.

The discussion with these elderly ladies shed light on gendered perspectives on development, a facet often overlooked in conventional discourse. Development is frequently assumed to be all-encompassing, mainly when assessed through metrics like GDP per capita, which often neglects everyday considerations, such as women's aspirations for a well-equipped kitchen. Zvanyadza,²⁷ a divorced woman, stated that development could be seen in one's kitchen with nice plates, pots and cups, which means there is enough food in the house. It is imperative to acknowledge that this description of development does not seamlessly align with the experiences of all of Kanyemba's residents.

5.2.3 Development as marginality and exclusion.

The Tembo Mvura community's reflections on development reveal that their experience of development is associated with entrenched inequality and marginalisation. Development has exacerbated existing inequalities and exclusions, affecting the community in multiple ways. This inequality has profoundly impacted individuals and communities, limiting access to education, healthcare, and other vital resources essential for well-being and prosperity. In Kanyemba, inequality has generated social conflicts and undermined the effectiveness of

²⁶ Interview with Mbuya ake Givhi, 27 April 2022, Mariga gardens. This was a group interview with elderly women.

²⁷ Interview with Zvanyadza, 6 May 2022, Chansato village.

development interventions, revealing a complex and dynamic relationship between inequality and development. The Tembo Mvura community's definition of development has been substantially shaped by the inequality they faced.

Jakobo,²⁸ a Tembo Mvura man who claims to have missed out on many initiatives and continuously struggled to secure employment, perceives development to result in the unequal treatment of individuals within the same geographic area. This viewpoint was echoed by many. Headmen, current and former members of the Village Development Committee (VIDCOs) expressed a shared belief that development should, but typically does not, signify equal treatment for all residents.²⁹ To provide clarity on how this conception of development has evolved, it is essential to contextualise it. Damani,³⁰ who is a headman in the area, shared numerous narratives illustrating how development has, over time, deepened existing inequalities.

Following the replacement of the dividend system with the project system, we continued to hold our Annual General Meetings (AGM), where we deliberated on the development we aspired to achieve in our area. These discussions primarily revolved around infrastructural development for the Tembo Mvura and Chikunda communities. Notably, our community lacked educational facilities, particularly in Mariga. During these meetings, we consistently asked to construct an Early Childhood Development (ECD) block to cater to young children who could not travel to Chapoto Primary School. However, we observed that construction consistently ended up on the other side of the river whenever infrastructure was constructed, which was disheartening. This included the construction of a classroom block and an additional house at the clinic. When we inquired about the needs of the Tembo Mvura community, the chairperson responded that we should make the journey to the Chapoto clinic. However, the road to that location presented significant challenges, especially during the rainy season. Given these circumstances, the Mariga community perceives development as exclusionary.

Damani used the term *rusarura* to describe this sense of exclusion. The word can be understood to mean segregation, discrimination and or exclusion. The description of development as involving segregation and discrimination arises from the unequal treatment of the people.

The headman refers to the Annual General Meetings (AGMs), which were held annually, serving as a platform for community members to discuss the future direction of their community. The CAMPFIRE committee would provide feedback on the funds received and their utilisation. The VIDCO and WARDCO would also present the agreements reached, and deliberations for the following year's plans would be made. However, the AGMs were eventually discontinued, partly due to a decline in community attendance. This decline in

²⁸ Interview with Jakobo, 2 May 2022, Chiramba village.

²⁹ Group interview with the headman from Kanyemba, 3 June 2022, who had congregated for a workshop at Majaya business centre.

³⁰ Interview with Damani, 3 June 2022, Majaya BC.

participation could be interpreted as an act of resistance by the community as a result of an increasingly top-down communication system.

In addition to the headman's account, Gift,³¹ a current member of the Village Development Committee (VIDCO), argued that:

Development should entail equal opportunities, irrespective of one's educational background or social status. However, in Kanyemba, there have been numerous instances where the Tembo Mvura community has experienced exclusion.

As previously illustrated, Kanyemba is situated in a semi-arid region, making access to water a critical concern, with boreholes being the most reliable source. Gift used the example of boreholes to illustrate how Kanyemba has been excluded from development. He pointed out that in Mariga, the number of boreholes was significantly lower compared to the neighbouring village across the river.

Tembo Mvura people have also understood development as being related to the ability to access education. Mupa³² asserted that 'Development means going to school, finishing and getting employment'. This description comes from seeing the educated Chikunda finish Form Four. Some get employed by the MRDC, and some go to tertiary institutions. Some Chikunda members are civil servants working in Kanyemba. While some Tembo Mvura associate education with development, most Tembo Mvura people have never attended school for several reasons, including the lack of school structures in their area, the distance to the closest school, and the inability to afford the fees.

As highlighted earlier, a missionary established the first school in the Tembo Mavura village of Mariga, which started operating officially in 2017, three years after its initial construction. Before that, students had to walk 14-18 kilometres from Chiramba and Mariga villages to Chapoto Primary School. Passmore, a Tembo Mvura with a limited education as he only reached Grade Three, described the development as being educated and getting jobs. He pointed out that development was not for them because no school facilities were nearby. In Zimbabwe, primary education lasts from Grades One to Seven for children aged six to 13. Secondary education covers Forms One to Four. After Form Four, students can elect to go to the advanced level (high school/A-levels) or can continue to some kinds of tertiary education or professional training that require only Form Four. Tembo Mvura children, like Passmore,³³ could only start attending primary school when they were at least 10, an age at which they

³¹ Interview with Gift, 16 June 2022, Chagurika village.

³² Interview with Mupa, 24 April 2022, Chiramba village.

³³ Interview with Passmore, 16 April 2022, Mariga village.

could walk to Chapoto. The Chikunda children mocked Passmore and other Tembo Mvura children due to their age, size, and, sometimes, their clothes. For these reasons, the Tembo Mvura children would often drop out of school.

While distance to school was one of the primary hindrances to the Tembo Mvura attending school, fees came second to that. Both in the past and present, the Tembo Mvura people typically have no constant money supply. Mawau³⁴ recalls.

We did not attend school because the Chikunda community did not want to share the same educational space with us. When CAMPFIRE was introduced, we were encouraged to send our children to school, and we could afford to pay the fees with the earnings from the '*mari yemakanda*' [dividends from CAMPFIRE]. When the dividends stopped coming [i.e., they stopped being paid directly to the people], the committee promised to cover the school fees for our children using the '*mari yemakanda*.' Unfortunately, this support did not materialise for the Tembo Mvura children. Consequently, we could not afford to send our children to school because nobody in our community could afford books and fees.

Masoka, the pilot ward for CAMPFIRE and a neighbouring ward to Kanyemba, introduced the practice of paying school fees for all children after the dividends system ended. There is a group of Tembo Mvura that live in the Masoka ward. Texan,³⁵ a former Masoka committee member, claimed that the Masoka CAMPFIRE committee allocated funds for school fees to ensure universal access to education. He explained that the Tembo Mvura community in Kanyemba faced educational barriers due to financial difficulties exacerbated by the local CAMPFIRE committee's neglect. The Tembo Mvura in Masoka often shared stories of CAMPFIRE's educational support and other development projects with their Kanyemba counterparts. Muyengwa and Child (2017) allude to the notion that CAMPFIRE in Masoka attested to community proprietorship of resources. These narratives made the Tembo Mvura in Kanyemba feel excluded and marginalised from development.

5.3 CAMPFIRE: Tembo Mvura perceptions

CAMPFIRE is the most prominent development programme in Kanyemba. Nevertheless, what is CAMPFIRE, and what role does it play? When I began my fieldwork, I assumed the answers to these questions would be relatively uniform. This assumption was based on the fact that Kanyemba had hosted numerous seminars and occasional workshops, which residents may have attended. However, I encountered a significant discrepancy as the locals provided definitions and descriptions of CAMPFIRE that diverged from what I assumed. This divergence in definitions and descriptions is not merely a linguistic issue; it carries more

³⁴ Interview with Mawau, 3 June 2022, Majaya BC.

³⁵ Interview with Texan, 21 April 2022, Chiramba village.

profound implications related to resistance to development, a central theme within this study. The locals' definition of CAMPFIRE might explain their reluctance to participate in workshops and meetings designed to educate them about the programme. Some people within the Tembo Mvura community see CAMPFIRE as simply referring to the people who work at the local CAMPFIRE office, including those who work from the Anti-Poaching Unit and the Mbire RDC. Others have some sense of the broader goals of CAMPFIRE and see it as a programme focused on protecting wildlife.

Many people in the Tembo Mvura community have little sense of the broader national goals of CAMPFIRE and regard the name as simply referring to local CAMPFIRE officials. In an interview, Shepherd³⁶ expressed that CAMPFIRE refers to the individuals at the Majaya office. Mavhuto³⁷ and Peter³⁸ corroborated this interpretation in a series of follow-up interviews conducted in 2023, which sought to address questions not sufficiently answered in the initial interview. They also described CAMPFIRE as the personnel at the Majaya office, which serves as the epicentre of the CAMPFIRE entity. These personnel include committee members and employees who regularly occupy the office or take on leadership roles during meetings.

This understanding of CAMPFIRE as synonymous with the office personnel is widely accepted among residents of Mariga, Chiramba, Chagurika, and Chansato villages. Respondents believed that key decisions related to village development, allocation of animal assistance, selection of animals for culling, and financial disbursement are made exclusively within the office. The CAMPFIRE office, located within the business centre, serves as a hub for receiving grievances, complaints, and incident reports and is responsible for financial disbursements. Committee members periodically perform duties at this office to assist community members and document incidents of garden destruction or human-wildlife conflicts. The individuals appointed as committee members act as liaisons and representatives of the CAMPFIRE Association. Given that their responsibilities align with CAMPFIRE, these individuals are tasked with animal management and equitable meat distribution from hunts and Problem Animal Control (PAC) operations. Considering these multifaceted duties, Mahadu³⁹ claimed that:

Canfire (sic) are the people who stay at the office across the river and are responsible for the herding of the animals; however, they are active when an animal is killed and get the meat corruptly. They are the same people responsible for giving victims of animal attacks

³⁶ Interview with Shepherd, 30 April 2022, Mariga village.

³⁷ Interview with Mavhuto, 20 April 2022, Mariga village.

³⁸ Interview with Peter 17 August 2023, Majaya BC.

³⁹ Interview with Mahadu, 28 April 2022, Mariga village.

money for medical attention. However, they always give it to their relatives, and we are left to fend for ourselves.

The perception of CAMPFIRE within the Tembo Mvura community has primarily evolved to associate the programme with its employees and committee members. Although CAMPFIRE is not inherently synonymous with its members, some individuals believe that there is a close correlation between the project and its personnel. This association of the programme and the people working for CAMPFIRE has consequently led to the attribution of the programme's failures to local offices and committee members.

In addition to being defined as people who work at the office, CAMPFIRE is widely regarded as the organisation that took away people's rights over animals. Prisca,⁴⁰ an elderly Tembo Mvura widow, explains this view:

When we started staying here [Chiramba], male community members used to hunt animals, and we ate meat whenever we wanted; we controlled the animals so that they did not kill or attack people as they do now. CAMPFIRE came, and in the early days, we were assured that we still had control over the animals and that they were ours. This situation did not continue for too long because we were told that safari operators now owned the animals, CAMPFIRE was responsible for the animals, and we would have to go through them to be able to deal with animals. Killing animals was banned and became a crime, even those that wreaked havoc in our communities. This was a direct contrast to our past. When we were growing up, there were no human-wildlife conflicts; whenever an animal killed someone, our elders would consult about such death, which was usually a sign of immorality. Since we lost our authority to CAMPFIRE, we have lost more relatives to animal attacks. So, to me, CAMPFIRE is the project that took away our control of the animals.

Prisca's narrative encompasses several salient themes that collectively convey a sense of disillusionment within the community, chiefly underscored by the erosion of traditional ecological knowledge, shifts in legal and cultural paradigms, and the diminishment of communal authority. Of particular significance is the prevailing belief that the CAMPFIRE initiative has curtailed the rights and authority of individuals over local wildlife. This sentiment is notably pronounced among the elderly members of the Tembo Mvura community, who recall a bygone era they remember as being characterised by harmonious coexistence with animals, unmarred by conflicts. It is noteworthy that scholars such as Child (1991), Maveneke (1993), Murphree (1993, 2004), and Murphree and Metcalfe (1997) have elucidated that the original intent of CAMPFIRE was to empower local communities by granting them a legitimate stake in readily accessible natural resources. However, the interviewees in my study do not feel empowered in this way.

⁴⁰ Interview with Prisca, 2 May 2022, Chiramba village

While CAMPFIRE has been linked to its personnel working within the Association, it is noteworthy that certain members of the Tembo Mvura community possess a different understanding of the programme. My participation in a conservancy and community engagement workshop, which convened WardCo members encompassing village headmen from Kanyemba, shed light on varied interpretations of CAMPFIRE. Although most of the headmen aligned their descriptions with the perspective articulated by the workshop convenor, two distinctive descriptions emerged, with one originating from a Chota,⁴¹ a headman of a small village in Kanyemba:

CAMPFIRE is a programme that enriches the community's elites, a project that has continuously pushed us, the 'Doma' [Tembo Mvura] people, down. CAMPFIRE has led to the arrest of many of our people for killing animals, cutting down trees and getting honey. CAMPFIRE has seen people in my village get attacked and, at times, killed by animals, and when we approach them, they say they were settled in the animal corridors and thus should be attacked by the animals. Our fathers stayed in these areas for a long time and never got attacked, so why is CAMPFIRE blaming us for the attacks?

Note that Chota uses 'them' to refer to the CAMPFIRE committee members. In addition to Chote's description, Mawau⁴², described CAMPFIRE as:

A programme that allows animals to attack and kill us without us fighting back. CAMPFIRE has allowed animals to do whatever they want in our fields and homes. We cannot defend gardens against an elephant, and when we complain, we are told that we have settled in animal places or corridors. CAMPFIRE is the programme that made us poorer than before its introduction.

These interpretations of CAMPFIRE, as provided by the two headmen, present a unique perspective on the programme that deviates from the depiction presented by the workshop convener. In their narratives, the headmen contextualise CAMPFIRE in a way that resonates with the prevailing sentiments within their respective villages. In this context, the programme is viewed as having legitimised instances of animal attacks and human fatalities without any corresponding repercussions for the animals involved. Moreover, it is perceived that CAMPFIRE has inadvertently facilitated the destruction of people's livelihoods by animals, a subject which will be extensively examined in Chapter Seven of this study. CAMPFIRE, as interpreted by these two village leaders, is also seen endorsing exclusionary practices, especially concerning the Tembo Mvura community. This interpretation of the programme highlights its role in perpetuating disparities in the treatment of individuals within the community. It is essential to underscore that both of these village leaders belong to a younger

⁴¹ Interview with Chota, 3 June 2022, Majaya BC.

⁴² Interview with Mawau.

generation and have been raised in an environment characterised by the negative aspects of the programme without any corresponding positive experiences to offset their perspectives.

During one of my nocturnal vigils at the communal gardens, I interviewed two brothers, John and Joseph, who cultivate adjacent gardens. It is worth noting that their educational background extended beyond Grade Seven, and they resided with a Chikunda family during their education. This contextual information holds significance as it may have influenced their perspectives on CAMPFIRE. The disparity in their views on CAMPFIRE was observed, although in a manner that demonstrated an awareness of the programme's functions and responsibilities. Specifically, John,⁴³ who worked for the Anti-Poaching Unit (APU) at some point, shared his interpretation of CAMPFIRE as follows:

A programme meant to help us conserve our resources and, in return, give us some money and benefits. CAMPFIRE protects us from animals and ensures that we lead better lives. CAMPFIRE brings money from selling animals and creates jobs for the local communities. At one point, I was employed by the safari operator for five years, which is how I managed to build my cottage.

John had a distinct understanding of how CAMPFIRE is supposed to work and its role within the community. However, a conversation with Joseph revealed a different viewpoint. During their dialogue, Joseph recalled several occasions when elephants and buffalos chased them while protecting the gardens. From Joseph's⁴⁴ perspective:

CAMPFIRE intended to introduce strategies that safeguard our livelihoods and ensure our safety. Introducing chilli blocks [to deter wildlife from coming close to gardens] was initially met with enthusiasm, as we were informed that they had proven effective in Hwange. However, the reality was starkly different. Upon inhaling the fumes [from the chilli blocks], the elephants became increasingly aggressive and charged at people. The elephants chased many individuals using the blocks, often resulting in them abandoning their efforts to guard the gardens. Consequently, the animals would consume all the crops. CAMPFIRE has failed to devise effective strategies to protect our gardens and us from their animals. The solutions proposed by CAMPFIRE seem to be more suited for tame animals. However, the animals in our region are not easily deterred by the methods introduced by CAMPFIRE.

The two brothers present an intriguing dichotomy in their perceptions of CAMPFIRE. They are aware of the 'official' descriptions of the programme, yet their day-to-day experiences have significantly influenced their viewpoints. Notably, John's employment through CAMPFIRE has fostered a bias that leans him towards supporting the programme to such an extent that his brother felt compelled to remind him of how CAMPFIRE had indifferently impacted their livelihoods. These divergent descriptions offered by the two brothers highlight a crucial point:

⁴³ Interview with John, 18 June 2022, Chiramba village.

⁴⁴ Interview with Joseph, 18 June 2022, Chiramba village.

despite being cognisant of CAMPFIRE's stated intentions, mission, and vision, the lived experiences of recipients, such as the members of the Tembo Mvura community, affect their perception and interpretation of the programme. This underscores the inherent complexity of community perspectives and the influential role of personal experiences in shaping them.

5.4 Whose development?

The interviews conducted with the Tembo Mvura community members had people querying whose development CAMPFIRE advances. The people question if development was meant for the people who interact with animals every day or if it was meant for the people who have access to those in positions of authority. Tembo Mvura's perspectives on CAMPFIRE are shaped mainly by the gains (or lack thereof) they have accrued from this programme. The people are convinced that the programme, apart from taking away their sources of livelihood, has excluded them from progress.

Tembo Mvura people used to hunt and trade meat in order to get maize meal and other foodstuffs. Some report that they used to have a constant supply of protein and enough food on their tables. The establishment of CAMPFIRE changed their livelihood sources: they were now expected to stop hunting and protect the animals, and in return, they were promised benefits. As Tchakatumba et al. (2019) explain, CAMPFIRE incentivised communities through direct benefits (cash dividends, employment opportunities and bushmeat provision) and indirect benefits (infrastructural facilities). The programme's formative years were characterised by dividends, which enabled the members to buy food, agriculture inputs and clothes. Mberengwa (2000) argues that the dividends from wildlife were expected to improve the households' livelihoods enough to deter them from poaching animals. However, the accounts of the Tembo Mvura suggest that the outcomes of CAMPFIRE in Kanyemba were very different. As stated at the beginning of the chapter, Benji,⁴⁵ after being asked if CAMPFIRE had brought any changes, answered:

We do not have nice houses, we do not have clinics, we drink water from hand-dug wells, and animals attack and kill us, yet we are told to conserve them for development. Whose development is it?

Jakobo's⁴⁶ narrative reiterated Benji's concerns about development. He claimed:

When we received dividends from the safari operator, we could buy food. The dividends were distributed per household, which was appreciated but did not fully compensate for our losses from wildlife encounters. The Chikunda community, with less crop predation

⁴⁵ Interview with Benji, 26 April 2022, Mariga Primary School.

⁴⁶ Interview with Jakobo, 2 May 2022, Chiramba village

but a larger population, received the same dividend amount. A proposal for a fairer distribution between the Tembo Mvura and the Chikunda was rejected. When dividends stopped, development initiatives funded by animal revenue emerged in Chikunda areas. Since then, we have not had any form of development from CAMPFIRE, so whose development is it?’

Jakobo and Benji’s sentiments highlight why Tembo Mvura people question CAMPFIRE and development in Kanyemba. Hunger is visible in nearly all the households in the Tembo Mvura domain. The unreliable weather, the lack of tools to use in agriculture, the prohibition on hunting and the damage wrought by animals on crops have made it nearly impossible to be food secure. Even during a season with good rainfall, a decent yield is only possible if people resolutely guard their gardens and if the animals are not too aggressive that season.

Development, as has been shown, is equated with having enough food and not having enough food has made Tembo Mvura question the essence of development. I interviewed Mr. and Mrs. Mafuti⁴⁷ to showcase these sentiments of doubt in development. The couple raised the issue of how food insecurity has made them doubt the value of development initiatives like CAMPFIRE:

In the initial years, we can affirm that our quality of life was notably improved. The years spanning from 1990 to 1993 were particularly favourable; during this period, we enjoyed a relatively high standard of living. There was a consistent meat supply, and our local councillor, Ravu, disbursed funds to every family in November [of every year]. In 1992, safari operators would come to our area and kill herds of elephants, requesting that the community skin the animals and provide them with hide and ivory. We preserved the meat by drying it and storing it in sacks, which sustained us throughout 1993. In 1992, we faced a drought, but the revenue from the sale of animal products enabled the councillor to purchase Kenya [a yellow maize variety commonly known as Kenya]. However, when Ravu retired from politics, the assistance ceased, and we now rely on social welfare handouts. The supply of meat and financial support has ceased, while the local animal population has expanded, resulting in increased competition for our food resources. For us, the essence of development lies in having access to food. If we are deprived of this fundamental requirement, asserting that we have experienced meaningful development becomes challenging.

This narrative captures various facets of development, governmental policies, and food insecurity. It is essential to explain the abundance of meat in 1992, a pivotal moment in the community’s experience. During that year, a severe drought led to a rapid depletion of food resources for wildlife, prompting ecologists to advocate for culling as a necessary intervention. The culling was characterised by killing an entire herd of elephants and buffalos, with the meat being distributed among the people in that area. Culling later affected the hunting safaris and,

⁴⁷ Interview with Mr and Mrs Mafuti, 10 May 2022, Chiramba village.

by extension, the producer wards, as there were no trophy animals to be hunted. This, in turn, meant that the producer ward got fewer dividends from the safari operators.

The Kanyemba residents have been experiencing reduced access to meat from safari operators since the turn of the millennium (Mberengwa, 2000). The reduction in access to meat has been met with different responses ranging from accusations of favouritism, exclusion, and association of CAMPFIRE with Chikunda people. I established that the distribution of meat in Kanyemba has been a contentious issue and is one of the issues that has made Tembo Mvura dismiss development. During my stay, I attended a scene where an elephant that had wreaked havoc in the community was killed through the Problem Animal Control (PAC), to be discussed in detail in Chapter Seven. I met the local leadership and the headmen from many villages at the scene, and they all had one complaint: the meat was not enough for everyone. I sat with two village heads⁴⁸ from the western side of the river:

You know, we never congregated for meat in the past. The animals were killed in numbers every week during the hunting season. Most of the hunting took place on our side of the river, so whenever an animal was killed, the headman and his people were the first to get the meat. At the rate the hunters killed the animals, we never had problems. We ate meat, and people did not complain about animals destroying their gardens. Things changed when Ravu left politics; the safari operators were no longer bringing the meat to the community. The new councillor, Zakaria, tried to help us, but the meat was now being disbursed at the CAMPFIRE office, and there was much corruption. The Chikunda stay closer to the office and always get the lion's share of the meat. Our people complain to us when they get tiny morsels of meat. Can we say CAMPFIRE is for us when the Chikunda consume the meat?

The allegations of favouritism levelled against the CAMPFIRE committee by the two headmen underscore a perception of favouritism towards the Chikunda community. The unequal distribution of meat resources is a salient illustration of this perceived bias. It reinforces the assertion that the overarching development initiatives were not directed towards the Tembo Mvura community. It is imperative to recognise that the dominance of the Chikunda community in various facets of CAMPFIRE operations has contributed significantly to the marginalised status of the Tembo Mvura. As an integral part of its mission, CAMPFIRE was designed through the committees to extend monetary and non-monetary benefits to communities near its operations. The Chikunda has dominated the CAMPFIRE committees in Kanyemba, and as a result, this has indirectly affected the Tembo Mvura. The current scepticism regarding whether the development was intended for the Tembo Mvura community emanates partly from such acts of meat distribution.

⁴⁸ Interview with Chote and Damani, 23 April 2022, Elephant kill site

The elimination of poverty requires the delivery of essential services, including access to healthcare and education. The project system implemented in the CAMPFIRE areas was supposed to promote infrastructure development. This included creating and improving essential elements such as clinics, roads, bridges, and safe water sources. These efforts were designed to stimulate economic growth and improve the overall living standards in the community. Crucially, the fair allocation of infrastructure development was meant to benefit all communities within the ward. In line with this development strategy, the government launched a ‘health for all’ campaign in the 1990s to build clinics that were readily accessible to the public. The government’s plan involved setting up clinics at the village level, staffed by community healthcare workers and supported by healthcare professionals from district hospitals (Ministry of Public Construction and National Housing MPCNH, 1991). In a conversation with Matambo,⁴⁹ a Tembo Mvura man in his early 30s, he highlighted the community’s long-standing lack of development.

I was born in my mother’s kitchen without formal registration or the issuance of a clinic card. This absence of documentation began a series of challenges in my life. The nearest clinic in Kanyemba was Chapoto, which posed insurmountable difficulties for our mothers. The distance of 18 kilometres to reach the clinic was formidable, compounded by the risks of animal attacks during the journey, leaving them vulnerable and unable to defend themselves. Tragically, maternal deaths occurred due to childbirth complications. In response, our VIDCO sought the establishment of a clinic on our side of the river. This request did not materialise as expected. Instead, improvements were made to the existing clinic in Chapoto, including the construction of a new house. The lack of a local clinic compelled our community to rely on traditional herbal remedies to address various ailments. Our recourse to traditional herbal remedies earned us derogatory labels and stereotypes from the Chikunda community, who referred to us as witch doctors, herbalists, and uncultured individuals due to our dependency on herbal treatments. The absence of a clinic or adequate medical facilities in our era raises a fundamental question: How can we claim to have experienced development when we lacked access to essential healthcare services?

The only clinic serving villages on the western side of the Mwanzamtanda River was constructed in 2014 and began operating in 2017. This was not built with funds from CAMPFIRE but was instead funded by Pavel Bartolo, a missionary who worked with the Seventh Day Adventist church and built both a clinic and a church in Mariga. Matambo’s narrative reveals that the allocation of CAMPFIRE funds in Kanyemba followed a distinct investment pattern. The argument made by the Tembo Mvura community is that the funds that were used to construct a classroom block at Chapoto Primary School, a nurse’s residence at the Chapoto clinic, a meeting shed, and various road improvements, could have been used to build

⁴⁹ Interview with Matambo, 28 April 2022, Mariga primary school.

a clinic in the area. The absence of infrastructure from CAMPFIRE funds compelled the Tembo Mvura community to raise concerns about CAMPFIRE.

The Tembo Mvura domain's underdevelopment can be traced back to the colonial era. Archival records on Chapoto offer scant references to the Tembo Mvura people or any developmental initiatives undertaken in their region. Mberengwa (2000) provides evidence that the colonial regime exhibited little interest in enhancing the living conditions of the Tembo Mvura people. The historical discord between the Chikunda and the Tembo Mvura further exacerbated this situation. As discussed in Chapter Three, tension between the groups has a long history (Maheve, 2018; Mberengwa, 2000; Marindo-Ranganai Zaba, 1995). Juwakinyu,⁵⁰ a Chikunda man, reported that the first primary school was established near the chief's homestead in Chapoto, a predominantly Chikunda area. Post-independence, this school was relocated closer to the business centre and expanded. The Tembo Mvura attribute their lack of access to education to their region's underdevelopment under the CAMPFIRE initiative.

Maria,⁵¹ a Tembo Mvura widow, remembered how the community members organised groups to mould and harden bricks in a kiln. These bricks were supposed to be used for the construction of a classroom. The kilns were eroded by rain over time, and no classroom was built. The safari operators had promised the construction of the classroom block. As explained in Chapter Three (3.6.2), sometimes a safari operator, as part of the lease agreement, is expected to do some development activities under the banner of CAMPFIRE. These activities may include but are not limited to road maintenance, and building and renovating schools and clinics. In this instance, the safari operator at the time had bought building materials and left them at Chapoto Primary School. Ironically, the material could not be delivered to Mariga because the trucks could not cross the sand-filled riverbank. With a grimace on her face, Maria recalled:

We are not developed because we are not educated, and the Chikunda do not want us to be educated. Chapoto Primary is far for the children to walk daily. The lack of a bridge over the Mwanzamtanda River further exacerbates the issue. The river floods every time it rains, and children cannot cross. In 1999 or 2001, a safari operator bought building materials for the Mariga infant block. The materials were left at Chapoto Primary School, and the councillor came to our side and asked people to mould bricks for the building. We organised groups to prepare bricks for construction. We moulded forty-five thousand bricks, later eroded by rains in the following years. The building materials were used at Chapoto School. When we asked the councillor, he claimed that the road to Mariga was impassable, especially at the riverbank; therefore, they could not deliver the materials. Who should build the bridge? The Tembo Mvura or the council? Development in Kanyemba is meant for the Chikunda, not us.

⁵⁰ Interview with Juwakinyu, 18 April 2022, Majaya Business centre.

⁵¹ Interview with Maria, 30 April 2022, Mariga village.

This account sheds light on the complex network of interrelated challenges that Tembo Mvura villages face, where inadequate infrastructure hinders daily life and obstructs efforts to improve living conditions. The lack of holistic development in Mariga presents a tangled web of hurdles, with the poor road network being a prime example, making transporting crucial building materials a problematic task. This narrative also brings up important issues about contractual agreements. As per the agreement, the safari operator had taken on the responsibility of constructing an educational block to cater to the learning needs of young students. The failure to carry out this construction project has typically been blamed on the safari operator, overshadowing the role of local leadership and the power dynamics inherent within the Kanyemba community.

In the early 1990s, the Zimbabwean government prioritised the provision of clean and safe water supplies. In Kanyemba, boreholes serve as the primary sources of clean water. Access to clean water is universally recognised as a critical indicator of development. Mberengwa (2000) noted that in the 1990s, Kanyemba had 12 boreholes, 11 of which were located in the Chikunda area and only one on the Tembo Mvura side. This study's findings indicate a positive shift in this regard. The western side of Kanyemba now has approximately seven boreholes, signifying an improvement in access to clean water sources on that side of the river compared to historical distribution. This increase in numbers is viewed by many as a positive step, but some still claim it has nothing to do with CAMPFIRE. Kajau⁵² explained:

CAMPFIRE only drilled the single borehole, producing rusty, smelly, undrinkable water. After the drought, CAMPFIRE promised to drill boreholes for the Tembo Mvura community. The RDC, safari operator, and CAMPFIRE hired a rig to drill boreholes in Kanyemba. Three boreholes were drilled, and all of them were on the eastern side of the river. The rig left, and upon enquiry, our headman was told that it had broken down and would return when fixed, and that was that.

I could not ascertain if this was during the 1992 or the 2002 drought. In concurrence with Kajau, Brighton⁵³ asserted that.

CAMPFIRE claims that they drilled boreholes in Mariga. However, the boreholes here were drilled by the Lower Gurove Development Association (LGDA), Adventist Development Relief Agency (ADRA), and Pavel Bartolo. The borehole where there is a garden was drilled using funds from Bartolo, the same as the one at the school. LGDA owns this one, and the boreholes are used in the community gardens. So where is the development CAMPFIRE claims?

Lastly, Muchei said:⁵⁴

⁵² Interview with Kajau, 10 July 2022, Chiramba village.

⁵³ Interview with Brighton, 16 May 2022, Chansato village

⁵⁴ Interview with Muchei, 6 May 2022, Chansato village.

CAMPFIRE has failed to provide clean water, so we continue drinking water from *mufuku*. The nearest borehole produces rusty water; it was sunk for watering gardens, and clean water is found in the next village, which is very far away. Drinking water from *mufuku* in this era is a sign of not being developed. The Chikunda mock us for drinking water from the riverbed. Does development mean drinking water from the river?

A *mufuku* is a rudimentary well that is manually dug in dry riverbeds. The name derives from the act of excavation to create a cavity from which water is drawn for various household activities. These *mufukus* play a critical role in providing drinking water for a significant portion of the population residing in the Tembo Mvura villages. The absence of accessible sources of clean water emerges as a key factor, prompting the Tembo Mvura community to question whether the development initiatives were also intended to benefit them. These narratives shed light on the consistent utilisation of the Chikunda community as a benchmark for gauging their expectations and aspirations.

Apart from infrastructural development and access to schools, clinics, and clean water, the Tembo Mvura use animal attacks and the response by the responsible authority as an example to show that development (CAMPFIRE) was not meant for them. Many people lost their limbs to crocodiles along the Mwanzamtanda River, and they have always blamed CAMPFIRE. The blame is twofold: firstly, CAMPFIRE is blamed for failing to provide safe water sources and not ridding people's gardens of crocodiles. Secondly, CAMPFIRE is blamed for its failure to disburse funds for medical attention expeditiously. Mavis⁵⁵ recalls the day she got bitten by a crocodile:

I had come to do my laundry when a crocodile lunged, grabbed my arm, and attempted to pull me into the pool. I screamed, and my uncle came rushing and started beating the reptile. It did let go, but it went with some parts of my arm. My uncle instructed the ladies to quickly bind up my arm whilst he was rushing to Majaya to CAMPFIRE [i.e. the CAMPFIRE office] to look for money so I could go to the clinic. He was told they had no money because they had recently paid their workers. I had to sleep while relatives were running around looking for money. The contributed money was enough for me to go to Zambia for treatment, but they had to amputate my arm. So why are we keeping the animals if we cannot use the money to seek help when attacked by the same animals?

Mavis's narrative is one of numerous accounts of individuals whom animals have attacked, only to encounter difficulties securing the necessary financial assistance for medical treatment. The Tembo Mvura expressed disappointment regarding the committee's inability to cover the incurred medical expenses and harboured a sense of disillusionment concerning the programme's incapacity to address incidents of wildlife attacks on individuals effectively. Mainoti asserted that proper development encompasses safeguarding residents from encounters

⁵⁵ Interview with Mavis, 10 May 2022, Chiramba village.

with wild animals and prioritising their well-being above that of the animals themselves on the scale of importance. A comprehensive exploration of this topic will be undertaken in Chapter Seven.

Tchakatumba et al. (2019) suggest that the initial aim of CAMPFIRE was to incentivise the local community by providing direct benefits, especially in terms of job opportunities. These opportunities were not limited to committee roles but encompassed a broader spectrum of positions, such as working with safari operators, game scouting, and tracking. Members of the Tembo Mvura community were known for their exceptional tracking and hunting skills (Nyahuma, 2020). Mainoti⁵⁶ remembered that at the inception of CAMPFIRE, the Tembo Mvura were promised animal tracking jobs due to their expertise in local wildlife. However, as the programme unfolded, the Tembo Mvura population felt sidelined as safari operators brought in their staff and showed a preference for Chikunda members. Job opportunities that were meant for the wider Kanyemba community seldom reached the Tembo Mvura, mainly due to perceptions of their limited educational abilities. However, in 2018, the CAMPFIRE committee did hire some Tembo Mvura men as game scouts and wardens. It is important to note that the number of Tembo Mvura individuals employed by the CAMPFIRE association, safari operators, and conservationists could be much more significant, considering the people's skills.

In 2017, the Dande Safari Areas renovated gravel roads predominantly utilised by hunters in the ward. Tony⁵⁷ indicated that many Tembo Mvura members could not secure employment opportunities related to the construction of the roads due to their lack of national identity cards. This absence of identity documentation was an outcome of other infrastructural deficits within the Tembo Mvura community. A substantial number of Tembo Mvura individuals were without national identity cards primarily because they needed birth certificates to get ID cards, and they did not have birth certificates because they were born at home rather than at local healthcare facilities. Traditional midwives, who played a pivotal role in the birthing process within the community, often faced illiteracy-related challenges when it came to documenting birth dates accurately. The absence of official identity documents had multifaceted implications, making the Tembo Mvura unable to engage in various economic activities, including opening bank accounts or purchasing SIM cards for mobile financial services, which were prerequisites for employment opportunities.

⁵⁶ Interview with Mainoti, 11 May 2022, Mariga village.

⁵⁷ Interview with Tony, 20 May 2022, Mariga

The perceived lack of ‘development’ on the western side of the Mwanzamtanda River can be attributed to bureaucratic decisions, with the justification being that this area was initially deemed unsuitable for human habitation, and thus, no development was planned. Documentation from the Gurube Rural District Council (RDC) indicates that the lack of infrastructural development in Mariga was not a deliberate act of exclusion aimed at the Tembo Mvura population (GRDC,1997). In the late 1980s and early 1990s, government planning intended to relocate all households to the eastern side of the Mwanzamtanda River, where the Chikunda community resides (Hasler, 1996). This governmental strategy planned to centralise infrastructural facilities on the river’s eastern bank, including schools, clinics, and business service centres (Mberengwa, 2000). As Nhira (1989) notes, the government officially designated the western bank of the river as a wildlife zone. However, the Tembo Mvura people resisted relocation to the eastern side, asserting that their settlement held cultural and ancestral significance. Interviews with officials at the Mbire Rural District Administrator’s office highlighted the view that people were residing in zones officially designated for wildlife, thus limiting opportunities for significant infrastructure development.⁵⁸ This rationale is also employed by the Department of Wildlife and Parks Management when addressing ongoing issues of human-wildlife conflicts. This topic will be explored further in Chapter Eight.

5.5 Conclusion

In this chapter, I presented the attitudes of the Tembo Mvura community towards development. The chapter is structured into three sections, each highlighting the voices of the Tembo Mvura people in Kanyemba. In the first section, I examined Tembo Mvura interviewees’ interpretation of development, dissecting this complex concept using their vernacular language. I revealed that, for the Tembo Mvura, development encompassed essential aspects such as access to food, adequate housing, employment, and access to clean water, which are the basics. The evidence gathered highlights the disconnect between how development, particularly CAMPFIRE, was conceived and introduced to the community and what the locals truly desired it to encompass.

Later in the chapter, I offered insights into how Tembo Mvura perceived the CAMPFIRE programme. Considering that the programme has been in place for three decades, one assumes that there would be a shared understanding of the programme. However, two community perspectives were evident. On the one hand, some people understand that CAMPFIRE refers to the personnel who work at the local office (Majaya business centre) and the people at the

⁵⁸ Interviews with Tauro and Mahuni, March 2022, Mushumbi.

MRDC office. On the other hand, CAMPFIRE is understood by others as a programme meant to encourage people to conserve their resources for some benefits. Despite which understanding one takes, I argue that CAMPFIRE is often viewed as an entity that exacerbated Tembo Mvura's hardships. The programme is criticised for its inability to adequately address issues such as problem animal encounters, provide financial assistance in cases of animal-related incidents, and its alleged manipulation by elites to marginalise the community further.

The final section examines the contentious issue of who benefits from CAMPFIRE in Kanyemba. I interact with the questions posed by the Tembo Mvura regarding who reaps the programme's rewards. The evidence presented revealed a stark disparity in infrastructural development in their region, with critical facilities such as a functional clinic only established in 2014 and limited access to education. This limited access to education had far-reaching consequences for the community's well-being and contributed to their scepticism toward CAMPFIRE as a development initiative meant to uplift them. This chapter has referred at times to Chikunda residents during the discussion of the Tembo Mvura's perception of the CAMPFIRE programme. The next chapter will focus in more detail on the Chikunda's views. The narratives in this chapter establish the foundation for understanding the relevance of post-development theory in interpreting people's attitudes (dismissal and desire) of development. While this chapter does not directly engage with post-development theory—addressed in detail in Chapters Eight and Nine—it presents evidence that will be analysed in those chapters.

CHAPTER SIX

AMBIVALENT ATTITUDES TOWARDS CAMPFIRE: CHIKUNDA NARRATIVES

6.1 Introduction

While Tembo Mvura interviewees mainly express negative attitudes towards CAMPFIRE and development more generally, the Chikunda community's position towards CAMPFIRE and development is complex and often ambivalent. This chapter centres on the intricate Chikunda attitudes to development concerning CAMPFIRE. Like the previous one, this chapter brings forth local perspectives and experiences about development and shifts the focus of analysis from a Western to a local understanding of development. Based on interviews and observations, I present the different attitudes of the Chikunda towards CAMPFIRE, including positive, negative, and what I will call imposed attitudes. The chapter is divided into two sections, outlining the local attitudes to CAMPFIRE in the Chikunda domain in Kanyemba. The first section deals with the Chikunda definitions and descriptions of development, focusing on their specific understanding of development. This uncovers the values that shape the Chikunda's approach to development, providing insight into their priorities and perceptions of various developmental aspects. The section highlights that the definitions and descriptions of development align with the translated meanings of development. The second section focuses on Chikunda interviewees' attitudes towards CAMPFIRE, examining both positive and negative perspectives. Positive attitudes include seeing CAMPFIRE as a source of pride, a symbol of community empowerment, and a catalyst for employment, infrastructural development, and other positive impacts. Negative attitudes emerge from issues like losing access to natural resources, heightened human-wildlife conflicts, and the perceived impact CAMPFIRE has had on traditional practices and customs. In this chapter, I introduce the concept of 'imposed attitudes' prevalent within the Chikunda community. As I will show below, in recorded interviews, people often exhibit positive attitudes that do not authentically reflect their feelings. I argue that the 'imposed attitudes' are influenced by political persecution, coercion, and indoctrination. In this chapter, I present nuanced perspectives on the understanding of development by navigating through the Chikunda community's complex and often ambivalent attitudes towards CAMPFIRE.

6.2 Chikunda definitions and descriptions of development

A brief recap of the Kanyemba community's ethnic composition is crucial to understanding the divergent definitions and descriptions of development in Kanyemba. Kanyemba is home to two main ethnic groups: the Tembo Mvura and the Chikunda, with the latter group typically being regarded as having greater exposure to the outside world. The Tembo Mvura have been characterised as reticent, shy, and withdrawn, mainly due to their limited interaction with outsiders. The first school established in Kanyemba was Chapoto Primary School, founded in the 1970s at the Chikunda chief's homestead and built by the Catholic Church (Guvamombe, 2019). According to Guvamombe (2019), the Chikunda community has had access to education since the 1970s and enrolment has increased over the years. The opening of the school in the 1970s provided an advantage to the Chikunda over the Tembo Mvura, whose first school was established in 2014 (and only officially opened in 2017). Despite the efforts made by the chief, the school headmaster, and councillors to enrol Tembo Mvura children, the distance from Mariga (where most of the Tembo Mvura reside) to Chapoto primary school (located mainly in the Chikunda area) posed a challenge for students to commute twice a day. The chief, councillors, and school head were all Chikunda, and their encouragement for Tembo Mvura children to attend school was met with scepticism. As previously mentioned in this study, the historically strained relationship between the Tembo Mvura and Chikunda explains why the former were not enthusiastic about attending school with the latter. In addition to these existing challenges, the Tembo Mvura children lacked the kind of clothing expected for school attendance. In interviews with Tembo Mvura residents Tony and Passmore, they shared their experience of wearing torn pants on the first day of school in the mid-1990s. This exposed their backsides and subjected them to ridicule and name-calling from the Chikunda children. Such experiences deterred the other Tembo Mvura parents from sending their children to school, resulting in an educational opportunity disparity. Apart from proper attire, the Tembo Mvura children required assistance to afford school fees. As highlighted in Chapter Five, at some point, CAMPFIRE offered to cover the fees for vulnerable children in the ward; however, the Tembo Mvura did not benefit from that. While some NGOs offered to pay school fees for Tembo Mvura learners, they remained in their village because these fees did not cover the essential requirements for attending school. I connect school attendance and its influence on the definition and descriptions of development.

Attending school on the eastern side of the Mwanzamtanda River (where the Chikunda live) was considered a regular activity, whereas it represented a significant step for the residents on

the western side (the Tembo Mvura). School attendance empowered the Chikunda community by broadening their perspectives and fostering diverse aspirations. For some Chikunda children, attending school paved the way for further education, leading to achievements in tertiary education, teaching diplomas, and nursing qualifications. For instance, the former head of Chapoto Primary School, a Chikunda, received teacher training in the early 1990s and later returned to head the school. Today, there are several local teachers. The majority of Chikunda respondents received an education up to at least the seventh grade, with a few instances of grade seven dropouts who struggled with reading and writing. A nuanced analysis reveals that the education system has, to some extent, influenced people's thinking along certain lines. However, it is essential to note that this analysis is not universally applicable. This chapter must not be interpreted as comparing the Tembo Mvura and Chikunda attitudes. Instead, it should be viewed as a chapter that brings attention to the diversity within Kanyemba.

The definition of development varies depending on the respondents' vernacular. When translated into the local language, both the Chikunda and the Tembo Mvura use the terms *budiriro* and *vandudzo* to convey the concept of development. It is important to note that within the Chikunda community, descriptions and definitions of development also exhibit variations, primarily influenced by one's proximity to the ruling elites in the area. Some respondents discussed development in the context of tangible improvements in their lives. One such individual is Maitira,⁵⁹ a knowledgeable Chikunda man with a strong understanding of the area's history. Although he occasionally digressed into unrelated stories during his interview, he skilfully connected them to the ongoing discussion. His insights and stories, including local gossip, enriched the conversation. Maitira has a close relationship with the chief's family, granting him access to various programmes introduced in the area. For him, development equates to substantially enhancing an individual's quality of life. Development, to him, signifies a transition from the impoverished circumstances of his upbringing to his current, more desirable situation. He narrated how his parents struggled to provide enough food for their large family of eight, making three daily meals a luxury they could not afford. In Maitira's view, development should encompass the ability to afford three meals a day, access to quality clothing, and the means to pay for children's school fees. Furthermore, he asserted that children attending school should be seen as an indicator of development, as educated individuals would bring about positive change in Kanyemba. Maitira and many other Chikunda residents believe that basic education opens up better job opportunities in cities like Harare. To Maitira,

⁵⁹ Interview with Maitira, 2 June 2022, Chapoto village.

development (*vandudzo*) is reflected in his capacity to provide three meals daily, ensure his children receive an education, and purchase the clothing he desires. However, when asked to relate his personal development to that of the community, he emphasised that such progress was not universally applicable.

My research among the Chikunda revealed that the concept of development can be subject to different interpretations and definitions based on individual experiences and circumstances, even among residents of the same area. In an interview, Moses⁶⁰ defined development as the presence of electricity, commercial agriculture, and irrigation schemes within the community. However, this definition diverges from the views of most Kanyemba residents, who associate development with meeting basic needs such as access to sufficient food and the ability to send their children to school. While necessities like food and shelter are vital for survival, individuals who have these needs met can shift their focus towards higher-level needs, such as self-fulfilment, reaching their full potential, and pursuing personal growth and development. Therefore, for Moses, development is characterised by the availability of electricity, commercial agriculture, and irrigation systems. Moses' homestead has a three-bedroom asbestos-roofed house, a neatly thatched hut, a well-constructed fowl run, and a cattle kraal. This description may appear ordinary to those unfamiliar with Kanyemba. However, for many people, especially the Tembo Mvura, this homestead symbolises what they perceive as development. The variance in these definitions of development is linked to the level of education individuals have received. Moses completed Form Two, the Zimbabwe Junior Certificate (ZJC), and spent several years working in Chinhoyi. This experience exposed him to the outside world and expanded his perspective. His definition of development has been shaped by his time outside Kanyemba, where he achieved the basics that many in the community aspire to attain.

Jeffrey,⁶¹ an outspoken Chikunda man, defines development as the presence of income-generating projects, such as fisheries, soap-making, and other crafts. He considers himself well-travelled, having visited most towns in Zimbabwe, Zambia, and Mozambique. These experiences beyond Kanyemba have broadened his perspective and influenced his understanding of development. Nyarai,⁶² a single Chikunda woman who sustains herself by buying and reselling clothes from Mozambique and Zambia, shares Jeffrey's perspective on

⁶⁰ Interview with Moses, 27 June 2022, Chapoto primary school.

⁶¹ Interview with Jeffrey, 13 June 2022, Chiruhwe village.

⁶² Interview with Nyarai, 11 July 2022, Canoe to Zambia

development. She also believes that development revolves around having projects that can improve people's lives. However, a critical distinction between the two respondents is that Nyarai focuses on women's empowerment, as women are marginalised within the community. Among the Chikunda, development is also often associated with gardening, poultry farming, aquaculture, and apiculture programmes. Suda⁶³ expressed that development means having projects that keep people busy without thinking of poaching. He gave the MRDC and Environmental Management Agency (EMA) funded fishpond scheme in the next village as an example of what he considers development.

Some of the Chikunda community members view development as access to irrigation schemes, horticulture projects, and a readily available market for produce. Moses,⁶⁴ a community member, highlighted the importance of these elements for achieving food security at both the community and national levels. He recalls how, in the 1980s, the Ministry of Land and Agricultural Development established an irrigation system in Kanyemba. Despite clearing vast areas and installing irrigation equipment, the project faced challenges and was eventually abandoned. A similar attempt to revive the project in the early 2000s by a member of parliament also failed due to resistance to distributing the cleared land among community members. Post-2017, the government cleared large areas of land, which indirectly impacted the CAMPFIRE funds in Kanyemba due to changes in animal habitats. The impact of land clearing will be discussed in Chapter Seven. However, the irrigation project remains a focal point for Moses. He argues that development starts by having the ability to grow crops, secure food supplies, and contribute to the national food stock. Despite providing this development description, Moses stated that the efforts to expand agricultural land met resistance due to issues regarding community ownership of the irrigation fields. Today, the fields, equipped with irrigation systems, are overgrown with grasslands and fast-growing *Mauritania Ziziphus* and acacia trees.

In alignment with Moses' perspective on development, Carl⁶⁵ described the development as the presence of brick houses with roofs of asbestos or corrugated iron sheets, similar to those found in Luangwa, a Zambian town located just across the Zambezi River from Kanyemba. Carl's perspective on development strongly resonates with the Tembo Mvura youths. To Nhamo,⁶⁶ development means having a community similar to the neighbouring communities in Mozambique, characterised by amenities like electricity, running water, and 'proper' (i.e.,

⁶³ Interview with Suda, 18 April 2022, Majaya BC

⁶⁴ Interview with Moses, 27 June 2022, Chapoto Primary School.

⁶⁵ Interview with Carl, 14 June 2022, Chapoto.

⁶⁶ Interview with Nhamo, 6 June 2022, Nyaruparu village.

tarred) roads. As previously mentioned, Kanyemba is situated in the far northeast of Zimbabwe, bordering both Zambia and Mozambique, which explains the use of these neighbouring areas for comparison. Furthermore, as discussed earlier, CAMPFIRE programme coordinators used bioscopes and pictures to illustrate what developed places looked like, providing the residents with a visual representation of what their area could become. As argued in Chapter Five, the bioscopes created a blueprint for development in Kanyemba that, in turn, influenced the direction and standards of development initiatives in the area.

6.3 CAMPFIRE: Chikunda perspectives

Scholarly attention has been devoted to the reactions of people living in various areas to CAMPFIRE, as evidenced in studies by Balint and Mashinya (2008, 2006), Child (1993), and Dzingirai (1996, 1998, 2003). These studies have primarily concentrated on people's experiences with CAMPFIRE, not their attitudes towards the programme. The attitudes of the Chikunda community are examined through a historical lens, juxtaposing their past and current perspectives. Interviews revealed that people's views on CAMPFIRE directly shape their understanding and definition of development in Kanyemba. The Chikunda community's attitudes towards CAMPFIRE discussed in this section were communicated directly through verbal expressions and indirectly through non-verbal cues. I divided the Chikunda attitudes towards development into three types: positive, negative and imposed.

6.3.1 Positive attitudes

Some Chikunda members have positive attitudes towards CAMPFIRE. During an interview, Maruka⁶⁷ recounted how life had transformed due to CAMPFIRE. He recalled a time before the introduction of CAMPFIRE:

In those days, we were cautious about walking alone or venturing out before 9 a.m. or after 4 p.m. in certain areas. Wild animals, including elephants, buffalos, and lions, tend to rest under the shade of trees during the hottest parts of the day, making it safe for people to move around as there were fewer chances of encounters with these animals. Poachers were on the prowl during the late 1980s; the poachers had easy access to guns because of the Matsangaissa War in Mozambique. The attacks on people increased during this time because the animals sought refuge within the villages. My uncle was attacked and killed by a wounded elephant. The situation changed when CAMPFIRE came. We were educated about the well-being of the animals and that protecting them would lead to financial benefits. CAMPFIRE brought peace and happiness into our lives because it significantly reduced incidents of animal attacks. When we got our first payment of *mari yemakanda* (dividends), everyone realised the importance of reporting activities that resembled

⁶⁷ Interview with Maruka, 21 June 2022, Chapoto

poaching. Animals were no longer a problem; we got money from keeping them safe. Our lives changed with CAMPFIRE.

This narrative conveys a positive perspective on CAMPFIRE and a deep appreciation for the beneficial changes it introduced to the community. Among the various themes, Maruka's narrative highlights that CAMPFIRE motivated local communities to protect against poaching and to reward individuals for their efforts. In his narrative, Maruka refers to the Matsangaisse War (Renamo-led civil war), which occurred from 1977 to 1992 and was named after its commander, Andre Matsangaisse, who passed away in 1979 (Matonse, 1992).

In addition to mitigating human-wildlife conflicts, some Chikunda respondents reported that CAMPFIRE significantly improved their overall quality of life. The programme led to higher living standards within the Chikunda community, facilitating improved access to education, healthcare, and better infrastructure. Mabvura,⁶⁸ a resident of Chiruhwe, a village within the Chikunda domain, vividly described how the introduction of CAMPFIRE positively transformed her life and the lives of many other women. She underscored how funds were allocated to construct, renovate, and expand school infrastructure, ultimately accommodating more students. Maitei⁶⁹ corroborated Mabvura's statements by asserting that the clinic's maternity section, popularly known as the 'mothers's shelter' at Chapoto clinic, had saved the lives of numerous women. However, Daniel⁷⁰ highlighted that CAMPFIRE funds were not used to finance the construction of these maternity facilities; instead, they were funded through private donations. Mabvura and Maitei, among many Kanyemba residents, are unaware of this and believe that CAMPFIRE played a role in their establishment and held the programme in high regard.

CAMPFIRE, among the Chikunda, garnered recognition for its role in creating employment opportunities and, in turn, fostering economic growth in Kanyemba. Marita,⁷¹ a Chapoto resident and once an employee of the CAMPFIRE Association, asserted that the programme catalysed economic growth. To substantiate her claim, she highlighted the construction of the local business centre, which was made possible through dividends received from CAMPFIRE. This business centre boasts two blocks of buildings from the 1990s, with new shops currently under construction. Notably, the CAMPFIRE offices are also situated within this business centre. Marita further asserted that CAMPFIRE has consistently provided employment

⁶⁸ Interview with Mabvura, 12 June 2022, Chiruhwe.

⁶⁹ Interview with Maitei, 21 May 2022, CAMPFIRE shed, Majaya BC

⁷⁰ Interview with Daniel, 7 July 2022, Mushumbi BC.

⁷¹ Interview with Marita, 3 June 2022, Chapoto.

opportunities for local unemployed youths, temporarily alleviating poverty and elevating their standard of living.

Similarly, Freddy⁷² pointed out that many individuals who found employment through CAMPFIRE have managed to build proper houses, resulting in significant life improvements. He casually listed numerous homesteads constructed by those employed directly or indirectly by CAMPFIRE. Addressing the prevailing misunderstanding regarding CAMPFIRE's role in these employment opportunities is essential. While CAMPFIRE, in collaboration with the MRDC, employs people to be part of Anti-Poaching Units (APUs), there is a common misconception that CAMPFIRE also employs wardens and other personnel in safari camps and the conservancy. However, these employees have contractual arrangements with the safari operators, not CAMPFIRE. Nevertheless, the general perception persists that CAMPFIRE employs everyone associated with safari operators or conservancies.

In addition to driving economic growth and boosting employment, interviewees reported that CAMPFIRE has played a vital role in fostering social cohesion within the Kanyemba community. Social cohesion was brought up during an interview with James, a prominent ruling party member with an influential position. According to James,⁷³ CAMPFIRE has successfully united the residents of Kanyemba, effectively reducing pre-existing social inequalities. In alignment with James' perspective, Paul, a ruling party youth wing member, also praised CAMPFIRE. Paul⁷⁴ pointed out the programme's positive impacts, such as establishing a clinic, school, and community shed and improving local roads. Notably, one of the most intriguing aspects discussed during our interview was the sense of empowerment that CAMPFIRE brings to the community. Paul stated:

CAMPFIRE empowered the Kanyemba community by devolving authority to manage our resources and benefit from them economically. Through the devolution of the authority, we had the power to control both the animals and use the money from animal sales. I recall my parents reporting that they used the dividends to build houses and buy household properties. CAMPFIRE has brought joy and happiness to the people of Kanyemba, and I believe it was a positive initiative that has helped generate income through hunting, tourism, and other activities.

Paul refers to the devolution of authority, a subject extensively discussed by scholars such as Child et al. (2003) and Taylor (2009). These scholars argue that the core principle of CAMPFIRE is the devolution of authority to manage, utilise, and derive benefits from the natural resources within the community. It is worth noting that none of my elderly respondents

⁷² Interview with Freddy, 14 May 2022, Chansato.

⁷³ Interview with James, 27 June 2022, CAMPFIRE shed, Majaya BC

⁷⁴ Interview with Paul, 27 June 2022, CAMPFIRE shed, Majaya BC

mentioned purchasing household property or constructing houses as claimed. Those who received dividends shared stories of using the money to buy kitchen utensils and groceries, but none reported using it to build a house.

Marita and Paul's accounts highlight how the respondents' positionality influenced their perspectives, with those in more privileged positions showing greater enthusiasm for CAMPFIRE. Marita, for instance, spoke from a position of privilege as a close member of the chief's family, making it relatively easier for her to secure employment than other Chikunda community members. Her brother's employment at the safari enabled him to build a house and establish a family, leading to an enhanced standard of living. In light of these circumstances, Marita held a positive view of CAMPFIRE because she witnessed tangible improvements in her family's quality of life through employment opportunities. Being a ruling party member, Paul enjoys certain benefits associated with CAMPFIRE and is generally expected to express support for government-related initiatives. However, Paul's sentiments can be viewed from two perspectives. He may genuinely believe in the programme's positive aspects, or his viewpoint may align with what this study refers to as 'imposed attitudes', which will be discussed later.

6.3.2 Negative attitudes

The narratives discussed in the previous section reflected positive attitudes towards CAMPFIRE, but it is important to note that other community members hold negative views on the programme. The following accounts shed light on these negative perspectives. On a scorching day, I interviewed three gentlemen repairing a broken-down tractor in a field. They shared intriguing viewpoints on CAMPFIRE, considering it a government-imposed programme that neglects the needs and interests of local communities. The eldest among them, who once worked as a driver, argued that CAMPFIRE had been imposed on the community. He supported his claim by highlighting that before CAMPFIRE's introduction, local people coexisted harmoniously with the wildlife, and animals caused few recorded deaths. They believed CAMPFIRE was connected to the erosion of their cultural beliefs, particularly the ban on hunting and, as a result, the loss of their primary protein source—meat from traditional hunts. According to them, CAMPFIRE disrupted traditional ways of life and culture, leading to a decline in the respect for their totems. This, in turn, resulted in people no longer following the traditional beliefs that prohibited them from consuming their totem animals.

To clarify, before CAMPFIRE's implementation, the local community hunted and trapped small game like duikers, antelopes, and gazelles, avoiding their totems. The residents of Kanyemba's totems include pigeons, elephants, zebras, buffalos and other animals, but not the small game they used to hunt. The people hunted other animals which were not their totems. However, these activities were restricted with the CAMPFIRE's introduction, which entrenched the ban on hunting and fishing. The locals were no longer permitted to hunt the smaller game that had previously been a part of their diet due to the CAMPFIRE programme. As discussed in Chapter Three, through CAMPFIRE, the community has received meat from animals killed by tourists who paid for hunting permits. Unfortunately, very few tourists opt to hunt small animals, focusing instead on larger species like elephants, buffalos, and zebras. Notably, these larger animals are totemic symbols for some local people. While the majority of the Chikunda has one totem of the Marunga clan (a pigeon is their totem), marriages to outsiders have introduced people to other totems. In the past, they would not have eaten their totemic animals; however, due to the scarcity of protein sources, people no longer have varied options; therefore, they now consume their totems. This is considered a taboo. The three gentlemen strongly believed that CAMPFIRE had been detrimental and had eroded their culture, asserting that the government's imposition had led to these adverse consequences.

Some respondents expressed their appreciation for aspects of the CAMPFIRE programme while communicating their disgruntlement with others. One of the thorny issues about CAMPFIRE was employment. Simon⁷⁵ highlighted that when the programme was introduced in the community, the people were promised employment within safaris and other sectors. During our interview, Simon kept clicking his tongue, in what I assumed was disappointment in CAMPFIRE. There was no employment in Kanyemba, and when the wildlife conservation programme promised jobs, there was high apprehension about who would get employed by the programme. One of the headmen in the Chikunda area shared that, in its founding years, the locals were told that the workforce would be from the local area because they had geographical knowledge. However, the first local people to be employed as scouts was in 2002, when the lease agreement had a new section. The older generation was never employed because the safari operators imported personnel from outside the area. In an interview with one of the safari operators,⁷⁶ he claimed they resorted to importing labour because the locals aided the poachers

⁷⁵ Interview with Simon, 18 April 2022, Majaya BC.

⁷⁶ Interview with Miles, 5 July 2022, Harare.

in killing animals. However, I must highlight that both the Tembo Mvura and Chikunda vehemently denied this accusation.

Chapter Seven of this study explores the issue of human-wildlife conflict. However, it is essential to briefly show here how human-wildlife conflict has contributed to negative attitudes towards the CAMPFIRE programme. Interviewees report that since around 2000 the area has seen a noticeable increase in human-wildlife conflict. Unfortunately, due to bureaucratic red tape, statistics on animal attacks and human casualties are not readily accessible from the Rural District Council. However, during my research, Moses⁷⁷ estimated that at least fifteen human fatalities can be attributed to animal attacks on the Tembo Mvura side and seven on the Chikunda side since 2000. During my four-month stay in Kanyemba alone, I documented a series of animal attacks, with at least four cases occurring – three on the western side and one on the eastern side of the area. The injuries and sometimes deaths have been associated with CAMPFIRE's perceived inability to protect people. In a conversation with Jova,⁷⁸ who tragically lost his uncle to a crocodile attack while fishing along the Zambezi River, he expressed that there had been no significant human-wildlife conflict in the area prior to the introduction of the CAMPFIRE programme in Kanyemba. According to Jova, before CAMPFIRE, animals did not pose a serious threat to people or their agricultural fields because there were no legal restrictions against killing them. However, he believes that while CAMPFIRE encouraged people to protect animals and prohibited their killing, this also caused animals to lose their fear of humans. It is worth noting that the illegal killing of animals had been banned before the introduction of CAMPFIRE. However, this regulation was not widely known or enforced among the residents of Kanyemba before CAMPFIRE's arrival. As a result, people in the community associated CAMPFIRE with the ban on hunting and a subsequent increase in human-wildlife conflict.

To amplify people's negative perceptions of CAMPFIRE, I present the tragic story of Rita, who lost her life in a crocodile attack. Runesu,⁷⁹ a young lady, shared the heart-wrenching account of how she lost her mother (Rita) to a crocodile and attributed blame to CAMPFIRE on two distinct fronts. It is crucial to distinguish between CAMPFIRE as a programme and CAMPFIRE as a local committee, as these distinctions are significant in respondents' perceptions. As highlighted previously, most of my interviewees, particularly from the Tembo

⁷⁷ Interview with Moses

⁷⁸ Interview with Jova, 2 July 2022, Gondo village.

⁷⁹ Interview with Runesu, 12 June 2022, Chiruhwe village.

Mvura community, primarily associate CAMPFIRE with the local committee, comprising the personnel working at the local office. On the Chikunda side, CAMPFIRE is more often seen as an association that governs human-animal interactions beyond just the Kanyemba area. When Runesu mentioned CAMPFIRE, she referred to both the local committee and the broader CAMPFIRE association.

Rita's incident occurred while she was fishing along the Zambezi River. A crocodile suddenly attacked her, pulling her underwater. She clung to reeds and called out for help. Her friend, Mary, used her fishing rod to beat the crocodile on the head to rescue Rita. Despite Mary's efforts, the crocodile did not release Rita until it tore off her arm and part of her chest. After freeing Rita from the crocodile's grip, Mary hired a motor-propelled canoe to transport them across the river to a better-equipped hospital in Zambia. The canoe operator provided transportation on credit. Despite Rita's dire situation, medical assistance was withheld because they were unable to pay for it. In a desperate bid to secure funds, Mary travelled back to Zimbabwe to seek financial aid from CAMPFIRE to cover Rita's medical expenses. However, the local committee informed her that no funds were available to assist. Mary and some of Rita's relatives gathered enough funds to get Rita the medical attention she urgently needed. Unfortunately, the severity of Rita's injuries and the delay in receiving treatment led to her untimely death. Rita's daughter, her family members, and the local community directed their frustration and blame toward CAMPFIRE and the MRDC for not expediting the financial assistance Rita urgently required. Further investigation revealed that the local CAMPFIRE committee possessed the necessary funds; however, the funds were earmarked for salaries. It was also alleged that the committee elected not to assist Rita because she had been fishing in an area that was not officially designated for fishing. Incidents of human-wildlife conflict like Rita's have deeply entrenched resentment toward CAMPFIRE among residents who have lost loved ones to animal attacks.

In an interview with Freddy,⁸⁰ a survivor of a buffalo attack, he shared his perspective on why he and his family hold negative views towards CAMPFIRE. He recounted the incident:

I heard a grunt when I was on my way from Majaya [the local Business Centre] to my garden along a bush path. Initially, I did not suspect it could be a buffalo. However, after the next grunt, I realised it was a buffalo when I felt a sharp pain in my buttocks. I was momentarily shocked and in pain. When I realised the animal was charging at me again, I quickly ran to the nearest tree and climbed up for safety. I began shouting to alert some ladies and men I had seen walking behind me. I informed them that a buffalo had attacked me. The men instructed the women to return to the shops and took action by making noise

⁸⁰ Interview with Freddy.

and driving the animal away from under the tree. The buffalo fled, and they helped me climb down. We then went to the CAMPFIRE office to report the incident and seek financial assistance to go to the clinic for treatment. We suspected the animal might have been injured by lions and sought refuge in the human settlement. We met the treasurer at the office, who regretfully informed us that their funds were depleted. He suggested that we borrow the money from those who had it, with the promise that CAMPFIRE would reimburse them once they received the necessary funds from the council (MRDC). I was deeply disappointed by this response because the animals belong to CAMPFIRE, and I believed CAMPFIRE should bear responsibility for such incidents. Ultimately, I had to sell some goats to finance my medical trip to Zambia.

Freddy's account highlights the notion that people's negative attitudes towards CAMPFIRE often stem from a perceived failure of the programme or association to adequately protect them from animal attacks. It is worth noting that the issue of animal ownership will be discussed in more detail in the upcoming chapter. Nevertheless, it is vital to point out that residents generally believe that the animals belong to CAMPFIRE and that the safari operator should, therefore, take responsibility for the animals' actions. Freddy's narrative reveals that part of the negative attitudes towards CAMPFIRE arises from the fact that only a few people receive meaningful assistance after an animal attack. The Rural District Council (RDC) exacerbates these negative sentiments by how they handle such cases. When an animal attacks a person, the RDC is responsible for deciding whether to help, and this decision-making process can be slow. In cases of death caused by an animal, the RDC has been known to provide groceries and a coffin, along with a monetary donation of fifty United States dollars to the bereaved family. One of the reasons people are dissatisfied is that the amount of compensation does not align with the value of the animal involved. As will be highlighted in Chapter Eight, there were no legal obligations (until 2023) that compelled the RDC, CAMPFIRE, or ZimParks to compensate for a person's death. At the time of writing this thesis, no one had been compensated for being attacked or having their fields destroyed. The financial aspect is just one part of the blame. Residents in Kanyemba know that the safari operator purchased a truck on their behalf. During the negotiations for a lease extension, the safari operator, cognisant of the ongoing conflicts between people and animals, pledged a Toyota Landcruiser to serve the area. However, during my entire stay, the truck was not present in Kanyemba, even though the safari operator acknowledged that the truck had been bought. The local community accuses the MRDC of withholding a truck that could significantly improve emergency response times and transport. As Jova mentioned during an interview, the truck seems operational only when an animal gets killed by people, and the reverse is untrue.

Some respondents believe CAMPFIRE disregarded and disrespected people's systems of protecting their resources. This topic came up during an interview with Mutopo⁸¹ at the elephant kill scene. He was born in Kanyemba and now works as a civil servant. He asserted that CAMPFIRE had failed to protect some animals as the people did before its introduction. As our conversation progressed, a group of individuals joined in, echoing Mutopo's sentiment, asserting that CAMPFIRE had not adequately protected the rhinoceros population that once roamed Kanyemba. This group shared *Chipembere chamdhara Mambure* (Mambure's Rhinoceros) story. They recounted the well-known tale and sometimes corrected each other's versions. The story unfolds as follows:

There was a man named Mambure, born to parents of the Tembo Mvura community. He grew up to become one of the group's most skilled trackers. During the peak of rhino poaching in the area between 1980 and 1995, there was one rhino that remained unharmed. This particular rhino was understood to belong to Mambure, who was, at this time, an old man. He claimed ownership of the rhinoceros in the mountains, stating that he had discovered its territory when he was young. Despite losing his eyesight due to old age, the elderly Mambure retained the knowledge of the rhino's habitat, occasionally sending his grandchildren to check on the animal. Poachers did not harm the rhino. The rhino was later relocated to a sanctuary in Hwange National Park. The group members I was chatting with were divided as to the reasons why poachers did not target the animal. Some reported that poachers would always find the rhino's habitat empty whenever they attempted to approach it. Other group members claimed that a pride of lions protected the animal, making it inaccessible to poachers. Both explanations are grounded in the belief that the elderly Mambure possessed mystical protection (*muti*) for the rhino.

While it is impossible to definitively determine why even non-Zimbabwean poachers refrained from targeting the rhino, this story illustrates how people believe that CAMPFIRE has effectively disregarded pre-existing conservation systems and replaced them with its own, which have not proven as successful. Mutopo, for instance, sees CAMPFIRE's disregard for existing conservation systems as the reason why the children of Kanyemba must now travel to Hwange National Park to see a live rhino.

⁸¹ Interview with Mutopo, 23 April 2022, elephant kill site

6.3.2 Imposed attitudes on development among Chikunda.

Prior to discussing this section, it is crucial to elucidate the distinction between actual positive attitudes and imposed positive attitudes. The actual positive attitudes, as previously highlighted, are derived from direct interviews and are quoted verbatim in most cases. Conversely, the imposed positive attitudes are illustrated through shared narratives that demonstrate how these attitudes have been shaped or enforced. This section uses various stories, activities, and punitive measures (against voices of dissent) to elucidate the formation of imposed positive attitudes.

During my research in the Chikunda community, I ended up mostly employing an unstructured interview approach and participant observation to gather data. Initially, when I conducted more formal interviews with Chikunda respondents, their responses appeared predominantly positive, leading me to assume an overall positive outlook. However, I soon identified a dual-response pattern: respondents would give overtly positive views during recorded interviews, but more critical and negative opinions would emerge during informal conversations. As detailed in the methodological chapter, I sought permission to record our conversations before each interview, and very few Chikunda participants expressed discomfort with this. In addition to recording, I also took notes during our discussions. Most Chikunda respondents utilised this opportunity to express positive sentiments regarding development initiatives. However, upon reviewing some of the recorded interviews at the end of each day, I observed that the responses often appeared rehearsed and overly optimistic. Upon closer examination, I found a disconnect between the ‘official’ recorded interviews and the informal conversations.

During informal exchanges, people freely shared negative attitudes towards development that they were hesitant to express in recorded interviews. To address this discrepancy and encourage more candid responses, I adjusted my interview approach to create an environment where participants felt comfortable sharing their honest thoughts and experiences. However, even with these adjustments, participants continued to express overwhelmingly positive views about CAMPFIRE if the interview was recorded. This experience led to identifying a phenomenon I refer to as ‘imposed attitudes’ in this study. Imposed attitudes pertain to attitudes and beliefs imposed on individuals or communities by external sources, such as authoritative figures or political circumstances. These imposed attitudes often portray development as desirable and successful but restrict the diversity of thoughts and opinions valued and accepted. It is important to note that imposed attitudes are not quite the same as ambivalent attitudes towards

development. Moore (1998) reports on ambivalent attitudes in his study of the Kaerezi community in eastern Zimbabwe. Some people wanted to maintain their hold on tradition, while others admired and wanted to participate fully in development programmes. In this study, I examine ambivalence from an intrapersonal perspective, where individuals express positive and negative aspects of the same initiative. The concept of imposed attitudes has received limited scholarly attention as it is not the same as other forms of apparent ambivalence.

Individuals' attitudes can be formed through various means, and one unique approach involves direct instruction from authoritative figures. These influential figures, such as parents, teachers, religious leaders, and community headmen, hold significant sway over the attitudes of individuals, especially in rural communities where their words and actions carry substantial weight. For example, when a teacher informs students that their classroom was constructed with funds from CAMPFIRE, and without the programme, they would have had to study outdoors under a tree, this information can leave a lasting impact on their perception of the initiative. Such actions instil positive attitudes in learners, and these attitudes can be challenging to change. When former students are asked about the benefits of CAMPFIRE, they often recall the authoritative figure who conveyed to them how the programme facilitated the construction of their classroom. This demonstrates the influential role that authoritative figures play in shaping attitudes, particularly in rural settings where their guidance is highly regarded.

Another potent means of imposing attitudes is direct instruction from authoritative figures, which can be particularly effective in rural communities where these figures wield significant influence. For example, in 2019, a shed at the Majaya business centre, reportedly using CAMPFIRE funds, was constructed, providing a notable illustration. During an interview, Carl⁸² mentioned that community meetings consistently included reminders of the programme's positive impact, particularly emphasising the shed's construction. The conveners of these meetings stressed the shed as a positive development; over time, community members internalised this idea. When asked about CAMPFIRE's contributions, they quickly pointed to the constructed shed. This example underscores how the words and actions of authoritative figures can shape the attitudes of individuals, especially in rural communities. While this may not be blatant indoctrination, it can still profoundly impact individuals' attitudes and beliefs. Additionally, this phenomenon reflects how people tend to accept and embrace the attitudes they have been taught, particularly when authoritative figures reinforce them.

⁸² Interview with Carl, 14 June 2022, Chapoto.

While words and instructions play a vital role in shaping and expressing attitudes, social norms, expectations, and implicit rules also significantly influence them. These subtle guides often shape individuals' attitudes and behaviour without conscious awareness or intent. In contexts of power and authority, the impact of these implicit guides is particularly pronounced. In Zimbabwe, the ruling party, Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front (ZANU PF), has been in power since 1980. During this time, the government has employed various strategies to ensure the rural population's compliance with its rules. In Kanyemba, one such strategy is using the CAMPFIRE programme, which showcases government development initiatives. The CAMPFIRE Committee is chaired by local councillors who are politicians, and respondents often mention these councillors' names when discussing what they have received (recall in a previous chapter when people continually mentioned councillor Ravu as being influential in disbursing the benefits). This association between ZANU PF, local councillors, and CAMPFIRE suggests that the programme is used for political purposes, highlighting the impact of power and authority in shaping attitudes. In this political context, unwritten rules have been established, including refraining from criticising the government's achievements. Politicians and party supporters like Paul⁸³ and James⁸⁴ highlight the positive aspects of their programmes while downplaying any negative consequences. This creates a perception that the programme is universally beneficial, and anyone opposing it is seen as unpatriotic or ungrateful. These implicit rules and expectations have influenced the formation of imposed attitudes among the local population. Despite the lack of explicit communication of these expectations, they shape respondents' attitudes. During recorded conversations, respondents often express positive attitudes toward development and the CAMPFIRE programme, which may not accurately reflect their true feelings. This disconnect between public expressions and private sentiments highlights the impact of social norms and expectations on attitudes.

The carrot-and-stick approach, involving the use of rewards and punishments, has played a significant role in the perpetuation of imposed attitudes. As described in Chapter Three, Kanyemba is located in agroecological Region Five with minimal precipitation and susceptibility to droughts. The communities heavily rely on food aid from Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) and the Zimbabwean government through the Social Welfare Ministry. In this context, conforming to societal expectations and expressing favourable opinions about development initiatives is essential. Failure to comply with this mandate carries the risk of

⁸³ Interview with Paul, 27 June 2022, CAMPFIRE shed, Majaya BC.

⁸⁴ Interview with James, 27 June 2022, CAMPFIRE shed, Majaya BC.

being deprived of vital benefits, including food, clothing, and employment opportunities. Seeking recognition from local leaders, even to the extent of requesting to be mentioned by name in newspapers and blogs, can enhance one's chances during food distribution. Notably, members of opposition political parties face challenges accessing aid from NGOs or the government. Sadly, aid distribution has been politicised to the point where deviating from the mainstream opinion can lead to severe consequences, such as exclusion from potential food aid or job opportunities. For instance, Jessica⁸⁵ shared a story of how a lady whose husband was injured by a buffalo lost her place on the food aid list due to her critical stance on how CAMPFIRE allocated funds to assist animal attack victims. The victim's wife criticised the system at a community meeting, accusing the authorities and the committee of favouritism. Although meeting attendees applauded her bravery for speaking out about daily issues, local leaders did not appreciate the challenge. As a result, when social welfare food aid arrived, the lady's name was initially missing from the list and had to be added after a delay. Her removal from the list can be seen as a punitive measure to deter her and others from challenging the status quo. This pressure to conform to inhibitive norms has compelled individuals to express positive attitudes, even if they contradict their personal experiences and beliefs.

Political influence and intimidation are pivotal in imposing positive attitudes, notably suppressing dissent. CAMPFIRE, introduced to devolve natural resource authority to local villages, has faced challenges in realising complete devolution despite being implemented decades ago (Child, 1991; Maveneke, 1993; Gandiwa et al., 2013). Attempts by individuals to voice concerns about fund allocation and hunting concession awards have been met with intimidation. In an interview with Carl,⁸⁶ it was revealed that political intimidation and stifling dissenting voices have created an environment where only those supporting the government's development agenda are heard. Carl shared an incident from 2012 when a CAMPFIRE committee member faced significant political intimidation for protesting the misappropriation of funds. Accused of affiliation with the opposition party, the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC), the committee member was threatened with unspecified actions. In another instance, a group of young farmers brought their grievances about the continuous destruction of their gardens by marauding animals to the RDC officials. Initially gaining momentum, their demands abruptly ceased after they were summoned before local politicians. Rumours circulated, suggesting the group might have been intimidated, with claims of nocturnal visits

⁸⁵ Interview with Jessica, 8 July 2022, Majaya BC

⁸⁶ Interview with Carl.

by party members. Such threats, not uncommon in rural areas, have contributed to a distorted view of the merits and drawbacks of development initiatives in Kanyemba. Overall, political intimidation has fostered an environment where only pro-government views find easy expression, leading to an imbalanced perspective on the impacts of development initiatives.

The ongoing discussion underscores the use of political retribution to suppress dissent against development initiatives, creating an environment of fear and uncertainty that hinders individuals from expressing opposition. In Zimbabwe, where most of the land is state-owned, land in rural areas like Kanyemba is designated as communal, with traditional leaders acting as custodians. Riverine gardens in Kanyemba are integral to local livelihoods, serving as food and trade sources, especially in drought. These gardens have become tools for coercion by individuals wielding political power. The threat of losing access to such crucial land has been employed to silence dissenting voices, exemplified by Nancy's experience of losing her garden after voicing concerns about CAMPFIRE's shortcomings. Nancy⁸⁷ openly criticised the wardens for not adequately protecting people from animal attacks and their gardens from predation during a meeting with representatives from various organisations. This embarrassed local leaders, leading to the withdrawal of her garden. She believes that this punitive move was for her critical stance on CAMPFIRE and served as a warning to potential critics. She is not the only person who has had a piece of land withdrawn for dissenting.

Similarly, land has been used as an incentive to garner support for development initiatives like CAMPFIRE despite reservations. While this may secure compliance, it also creates a situation where those in power can coerce individuals and communities into accepting and appreciating CAMPFIRE. This study contends that the imposition of positive attitudes towards development, whether driven by political intimidation or coercion, is counterproductive. Such an approach disregards the perspectives, experiences, and needs of those directly affected by these initiatives. Consequently, acknowledging the significant impact of imposed attitudes on individuals and communities is imperative in the discourse on development.

Carl and Nancy's accounts shed light on the political polarisation in rural Zimbabwean communities. The idea that locals can face repercussions for being associated with the opposition or expressing genuine concerns poses a significant obstacle to research endeavours. In Kanyemba, outsiders are perceived differently, especially during meetings or in villages. This challenged my methodological approach, particularly when interviewing individuals with

⁸⁷ Interview with Nancy, 02 June 2022, Chapoto

divergent voices. Community leaders often discouraged interviews with specific individuals, claiming they might not understand or adhere to communal rules. As outlined in the methodology chapter, while I was readily accepted in the Tembo Mvura community in the Chikunda domain, I encountered scepticism about my ‘supposed’ political affiliation during my stay in Kanyemba. Despite discouragement and advice against interviewing individuals with potentially opposing perspectives, I proceeded with these interviews. The resulting conversations yielded some of the most compelling opinions about the programme, which I have detailed earlier in this chapter. Navigating the challenges associated with politics and community polarisation proved crucial in ensuring a nuanced understanding of the situation.

6.4 Conclusion

This chapter provides a comprehensive exploration of the attitudes of the Chikunda people towards the CAMPFIRE project, shedding light on the diverse opinions within the community. Despite initial appearances of predominantly positive attitudes, this chapter reveals a more nuanced understanding of community sentiments. The chapter is structured into two sections, with the first focusing on the definitions and descriptions of development as perceived by the Chikunda. The section briefly highlights how the Chikunda use the same terms for development as the Tembo Mvura and what they associate with the terms. Local interpretations of development are presented to set the context for the second section, which examines the community’s attitudes towards CAMPFIRE as a form of development. Positive attitudes towards the CAMPFIRE project are detailed, highlighting perceived achievements such as infrastructural development and employment opportunities. While some community members express optimism and gratitude for CAMPFIRE’s positive changes, the chapter also critically explores the prevalent negative attitudes among respondents. The negative attitudes result from concerns, including the perceived disregard for local cultures, unequal distribution of emergency funds, prioritisation of animals over human lives, increased animal attacks, and allegations of favouritism in employment selection. I introduce the concept of imposed attitudes, illustrating how positive attitudes may have emanated from conditioning, coercion, and violence, reflecting the complex nature of community sentiments. Furthermore, this chapter provides insight into how external factors influence and shape community attitudes, highlighting the impact of human-wildlife interaction as a significant issue in people’s perceptions of development.

The preceding chapters have comprehensively explored CAMPFIRE, including its definitions, descriptions, and prevailing attitudes towards it. These insights, particularly from Chapters Five and Six, have shed light on the local populace's perspectives and attitudes towards development. A recurring theme in these discussions is the complex relationship between CAMPFIRE and Human-Wildlife Conflict in the region. These chapters lay a solid foundation, setting the stage for the exploration of Human-Wildlife Conflict. The intertwined dynamics of development attitudes and CAMPFIRE provide a deeper understanding of the complex relationship between the Kanyemba communities and wildlife. As I move to the next chapter, the reader is equipped to understand the intricacies of Human-Wildlife Conflict and its significant influence on local development perspectives.

CHAPTER SEVEN

HUMAN-WILDLIFE CONFLICT (HWC), CONSERVATION AND PEOPLE'S ATTITUDES TOWARDS CAMPFIRE

7.1 Introduction

This chapter uses human-wildlife conflict (HWC hereafter) in Kanyemba, a rural area in northern Zimbabwe, to explore people's attitudes towards CAMPFIRE. The chapter builds on interviews and participant observation to illustrate attitudes that portray disappointment, alternative aspirations, and a pervasive sense of failure in relation to development. By incorporating personal experiences, the chapter offers a rich and nuanced analysis of people's experiences and perceptions of HWC concerning CAMPFIRE. This contribution is consistent with a growing body of literature that uses qualitative research methods to explore human-wildlife conflict and conservation in depth (Drury et al., 2011; Rust et al., 2016). This chapter shows how HWC affects the two ethnic groups in Kanyemba differently: the Tembo Mvura and the Chikunda. The chapter adopts a multi-layered approach to analyse the conflict from various angles: human to human (Tembo Mvura vs Chikunda), Kanyemba residents vs the Mbire Rural District Council (MRDC) and Zimbabwe Parks and Wildlife Management Authority (ZimParks), and people vs animals. The chapter argues that people's attitudes towards development are shaped by the perception that animals receive better treatment than people and that CAMPFIRE fails to address their needs and aspirations by prioritising the needs of animals. In this chapter, I also discuss how people cope with ongoing conflicts using local and institutional animal control methods. I analyse how some local initiatives dealing with animals can be viewed as forms of everyday resistance against the dominant conservation paradigm. In this chapter, I highlight how people have reluctantly accepted HWC as a daily reality and now expect meat as compensation for their losses. This chapter combines narratives taken from interviews and first-hand observations to provide a comprehensive perspective on attitudes toward development and, in particular, towards the CAMPFIRE programme.

7.2 Human-wildlife conflict

As discussed in Chapter Two, Human-wildlife conflict (HWC) refers to interactions where human and wildlife behaviours negatively affect each other's well-being and survival (Madden, 2004; Jani et al., 2020). This includes wildlife threatening human safety and livelihoods by

destroying crops, attacking livestock, causing injuries or fatalities, and damaging property (Mupangwa et al., 2006; Dube and Kavhu, 2021). Examples include carnivores attacking livestock or humans, crop raids by animals, competition for resources, and disease transmission between wildlife and livestock (Graham et al., 2005; Madden, 2004; Jani et al., 2020). Although the term primarily describes harm caused by animals to humans, it also includes human actions against wildlife, such as trapping, retaliatory or pre-emptive killings, poisoning carcasses, and forcing animals to relocate (Dickman et al., 2014; Jani et al., 2020). These incidents underline the bidirectional nature of HWC, though it is more commonly associated with harm caused by animals to people.

This study adopts a broad approach to HWC and examines how the Kanyemba residents described HWC in their contexts. I asked about people's experiences with animals to get descriptions of HWC. Jakobo,⁸⁸ a Tembo Mvura man, described HWC as animal attacks that cause human injuries and death. In substantiating his definition, he gave numerous examples of community incidents where clashes between people and animals resulted in human casualties. To him, HWC does not include people killing animals either in self-defence or retaliation. He argued that this is the natural order of life; animals should be subordinate to humans and fear them. This definition reflects a traditional worldview of the Tembo Mvura regarding human-animal relations. Matambo,⁸⁹ a Tembo Mvura, lost relatives to the 2010 lion attacks and also lost his aunt to an elephant attack. He described HWC as 'when animals attack and kill people for various reasons, mostly human error'. Mafuti,⁹⁰ a Tembo Mvura member who has lost his goats to lions and hyenas, described HWC as the attack on domestic animals (goats, sheep, and fowl) by wild predators. Additionally, Thomas,⁹¹ a teacher at a school in Mbire I met at the meat distribution, was interested in my study and volunteered to be interviewed. He described HWC as actions that encompass attacks on people and their livelihoods.

It is important to note that the term human-wildlife conflict is commonly used among the Tembo Mvura and Chikunda people when an animal attacks and injures a person, but most often when a human being dies. People use the term human-wildlife conflict to refer to activities that encompass crop damages, human injuries, and deaths at the hands of animals. This chapter analyses how different actors have explained the causes of HWC. In Kanyemba,

⁸⁸ Interview with Jakobo, 2 May 2022, Chiramba

⁸⁹ Interview with Matambo 28 April 2022, Mariga Primary school

⁹⁰ Interview with Mafuti, 10 May 2022, Chiramba.

⁹¹ Interview with Thomas, 23 April 2022, elephant kill site.

the definition of HWC seems to fluctuate depending on one's area of residence: east or west of the Mwanzamtanda River, which separates the Tembo Mvura and the Chikunda communities.

7.3 HWC and resistance

In this study, I contend that human-wildlife conflict (HWC) in Kanyemba, particularly among the Tembo Mvura, should be viewed in relation to subtle acts of resistance. Hunting has always been regarded as part of the Tembo Mvura culture or tradition, and the ban on hunting was not readily accepted. To the Tembo Mvura, hunting was an everyday activity they did not associate with any illegal activities; the laws of the land made an important aspect of their way of life illegal, thus calling the act poaching. When referring to their hunting activities, the Tembo Mvura used the term *kuvhima* (hunting), not *kuba* (stealing), to refer to what they are doing, thus challenging the idea that what they are doing is poaching. The hunting of animals continued even after the ban had been imposed, and gathered evidence suggests that the people saw the killing of animals as a continuation of their tradition. Chiyambo⁹² argued that their traditional way of hunting did not over-hunt the animals. I asked how this could be so, considering that they used snares, which caught animals non-selectively of the sex. He responded that they had their ways of making sure they caught bulls. By rarely catching cows, they were assured that the number of animals would not dwindle. The hunts, however, often led to the injury and, at times, death of the hunters. This was the most common form of HWC prior to CAMPFIRE.

The clandestine hunting of animals persisted even after the prohibition on hunting and the implementation of CAMPFIRE. It is worth noting that my research suggests that CAMPFIRE played a significant role in enforcing the hunting ban. Despite laws prohibiting hunting during the colonial era and the first eight years of independent Zimbabwe, the Tembo Mvura community continued their hunting practices in ignorance of these laws. Because it is only through CAMPFIRE that the Tembo Mvura community members came to know of these laws, they are convinced that CAMPFIRE banned hunting. This conclusion was reached because, before the introduction of CAMPFIRE, people could hunt and kill small game without facing any repercussions. Their awareness of the hunting restrictions only became complete when CAMPFIRE was introduced in their region. The enforcement of these anti-hunting laws was ruthless, which fostered a sense of discontent among the people. The Anti-Poaching Units in

⁹² Interview with Chiyambo, 17 April 2022, Mariga village.

Kanyemba were also only introduced after CAMPFIRE, and the personnel are famous for their ruthlessness against alleged poachers.

Hunting was risky, and sometimes, animals attacked and, in rare instances, killed people. However, these attacks were often unreported. The Tembo Mvura people view hunting as a continuation of their traditions. Their insistence on continuing to hunt despite the ban can be interpreted as resistance to CAMPFIRE and the idea of development it represents. Many Tembo Mvura men have been arrested and imprisoned for hunting. Phineas⁹³ served at Chawagona Hapana Prison in Bindura for killing a buffalo. He came out bitter for the time spent in prison for killing what he thought was rightfully his. He narrated his experiences:

When we were young boys (my brother and I), our father taught us how to hunt for both big and small animals. Yes, even elephants, we know how to kill them, but we never saw the need to kill one. When CAMPFIRE was introduced, we were told that if we stopped killing animals (*zvinyama*), we would be given money like the Masoka people. We were, however, allowed to kill small animals like hares, duikers and wild boars for consumption. The following year, they changed the rules again. They said we were no longer allowed to kill even field mice, and if we were caught eating meat, we would be arrested. My brother was arrested that year and taken to Guruve, the nearest court. The magistrate was lenient enough to let him return home. He walked from Guruve to Kanyemba because he did not have the bus fare. He told me he would never forget the hunger and thirst he felt on the way. The following year, the meat was abundant from culled animals, and I did not need to go into the forest to set traps or hunt animals. That was the last time we had enough meat in our houses. We had to wait for the client (hunter) of the safari operator to kill an elephant, buffalo, kudu, or any big animal and share the meat with us. That meant we could not get meat all year round, but the animals did not stop roaming our fields. In 2008 or 2009, the situation was terrible; there was no food, the government was not giving us food, and the hunters were not killing any animals. Therefore, we had to come up with new plans to survive. My brother and I started going into the forest to set snares. We would bring the meat home, and our wives would dry it, eat it, and store it in areas where members of the anti-poaching unit would not see it. One day, my brother and I checked on our snare; it was a buffalo snare. We wanted to sell the meat to some people in Bawa, Mozambique. As we approached the snare, I discovered the animal was not dead and had broken the wire. I quickly told my brother, but he was overly late in reacting, and he was butted on his right leg. The buffalo could not gore him further because he hid behind a log, and the animal could not see him. I climbed up an acacia (*munanga*) tree, and the animal waited at the base. My brother could not make sounds because the animal would have heard of him and finished him off. My wife became worried due to the prolonged time one of us had not returned, and she sent my eldest son to come and check up on us. He shouted, asking if we were okay, and I told him the animal had broken the wire and he had to go and call for help. A group of men came and chased the animal away; we got rid of the wire and carried my brother to the clinic. The members of the anti-poaching unit accused us of poaching, which we denied. While my brother was hospitalised, one of our snares caught a juvenile buffalo. I skinned it and left the skin hanging on the tree trunk where Hyenas could not reach, carrying the meat. On my way home, I met a member of the APU, and he asked me where I had got the meat. I confessed everything, and within an hour, the ZimParks and the safari operator's Landcruiser trucks arrived at the scene. I was thrown into one of the trucks. When they took me to Majaya [CAMPFIRE office], some excitable wardens

⁹³ Interview with Phineas, 16 May 2022, Chansato.

slapped me, demanding I implicate my brother. I did not do such a thing, and the safari operator sent his truck to ferry me to Guruve for trial. I was sentenced to eight years in prison, and the prison removed three [i.e. reduced the sentence by three years]. I served my time and came back. Sometimes, I just wish we could go back to when we could kill the animals. We never had problems with animals (*zvinyama*) attacking people or their gardens. Animals were afraid of us.

The absence of Tembo Mvura individuals within Kanyemba's ranks of anti-poaching units was observed. The rationale behind this omission is rooted in the concern that their inclusion might inadvertently support and encourage their community members to engage in poaching activities. In Kanyemba, the Tembo Mvura community are viewed as more likely than the Chikunda to be involved in poaching, setting snares and killing animals (Chapoto Ward Anti-Poaching Unit Records, 2021). Consequently, the idea of incorporating them into anti-poaching efforts is seen as counterproductive. It is worth noting that the Tembo Mvura use the term *zvinyama*, which can be loosely translated as meat, to refer to certain animals, underscoring Tembo Mvura's perception of such animals primarily as a source of meat. Despite the inherent dangers posed by elephants and buffaloes, these creatures, as well as animals like bucks, are described as *zvinyama*, noting the community's tendency to view them as meat sources. In contrast, when discussing lions, hyenas, cheetahs, and leopards, which are acknowledged for their threat level, community members refer to them as *zvikara* (beasts). This nuanced distinction reflects Tembo Mvura's acknowledgement of these animals' predatory nature and potential danger. Historically, they hunted *zvinyama* but not *zvikara*.

One central theme from Phineas' narrative is the conflict between the Tembo Mvura and the CAMPFIRE programme over hunting rights and animal conservation. According to Jani et al. (2020, 2023), the Tembo Mvura have been accused of poaching by the ZimParks rangers, who view their hunting practices as highly unsustainable. Phineas' narrative highlights that the Tembo Mvura have a different understanding of hunting, contrary to the CAMPFIRE programme's tenets, which aim to promote wildlife management and community development through regulated hunting quotas and fees.

Even some of the generation that did not experience this freedom wished to return to the era when hunting was legal. The interview quoted below highlights the general agreement in Kanyemba that CAMPFIRE seems to value animals more than humans. The Tembo Mvura's utopian view of the past stems from their elders' stories. Although some of these stories had tragic endings, the community members focused on the positive aspects and lessons they could learn from them. In one of my nocturnal interactions with a group of young men at the gardens,

Mavhuto⁹⁴ recounted how his father, under the influence of alcohol, used to narrate his brother's death by a buffalo attack:

My father's voice trembled as he narrated how he lost his brother to a buffalo. They were skilled hunters who made a living by trading meat for *mpupu* (mealie meal). They hunted all kinds of animals except elephants; they were too complicated to kill, and their meat was too much to sell at once. One day, they set their snares for buffalos near the riverbank. When they returned the following day, my uncle saw that the beast had snapped one of the snares. He knew that buffalos were vengeful animals; when they broke free from a snare, they would hide nearby and wait for the hunter to come back so they could ambush. My uncle warned my father to be careful; suddenly, a loud snort broke the silence and a massive buffalo charged at them from behind a bush. The two ran for their lives, but the animal was faster than them. It caught up with my uncle and tossed him in the air with its horns, gored and stamped on him. The buffalo sniffed and urinated on him before walking into the jungle. My father ran to the village, gathered some men from the village, and tracked down the buffalo that had killed my uncle. They found it resting under a tree and shot it with their arrows until it stopped moving. They did this because it had spilt human blood; it was their custom to avenge their kin. They also killed another buffalo to provide meat for the funeral feast of the deceased.

Whilst this story illustrates the human-wildlife conflict that existed in Kanyemba before the implementation of CAMPFIRE, the Tembo Mvura argue that the difference is how they dealt with such animals versus how the officials today deal with animals who have killed a human. The death of a relative by a wild animal was met with both grief and vengeance. The community would kill the offending animal and hunt another animal for meat to be consumed at the funeral. This practice reflected the belief that humans had authority over animals and that killing them was a way of asserting dominance and deterring future attacks. However, this situation changed after the introduction of CAMPFIRE. The case of the marauding lions in 2010, which I will discuss further below, shows how the people felt betrayed by CAMPFIRE and the Department of Wildlife, who failed to kill the animals that killed or injured humans. The people perceived this as a sign of weakness and losing control over the animals. They also noticed a discrepancy between the treatment of problem animals on the western and eastern sides of the Mwanzamtanda River. They report that buffalo and crocodiles that attacked people on the western side (where the Tembo Mvura live) were spared, while the animals that killed people on the eastern side (where the Chikunda live) were killed. This exacerbated tension and resentment between the Tembo Mvura and the Chikunda ethnic groups living on opposite sides of the river.

CAMPFIRE has been associated with the breakdown of social ties, the emergence of people regarded as 'sell-outs', and the exploitation of community members by those in positions of

⁹⁴ Interview with Mavhuto, 20 April 2022, Mariga village.

authority. The Tembo Mvura community members have become divided and started to betray and exploit each other out of anger or selfishness. While it is true that the Tembo Mvura people had differences prior to CAMPFIRE, the introduction of the programme resulted in deeper divisions. A critical issue that kept coming up when discussing human-wildlife conflict (HWC) and resistance is the deep divisions that have emerged among the community members. Such divisions became very clear as I was writing this chapter and learned about an incident where men from Mariga were arrested for killing a buffalo. While looking for more details about this event, I saw a tweet (on X) from the Zimbabwe Republic Police (ZRP) announcing the arrest of nine men from Kanyemba for the same crime. I promptly contacted various individuals within the community to understand the situation better. What they told me showed how internal strife had taken hold and was closely related to development initiatives. People were now willing to sell out their fellow community members out of sheer spite or even in exchange for personal incentives. This is what resulted in these arrests. This revelation highlighted the extent to which development had sown division within the once-unified Tembo Mvura community.

When I next went to Kanyemba in 2023, I met up with Peter,⁹⁵ one of the few not arrested despite receiving a share of the meat. In an interview, he explained what happened:

Do you remember when we talked about how animals can cause trouble in the community? That is what happened. The animal was stuck in the mud, and we told the APU there was an animal in the pond. The APU did not react to the report, and the animal died of tiredness. We waited a day for the game people to come and allow us to skin the animal.

Nevertheless, they did not respond, and on the second day, my uncle took his axe and a rope. Some men joined him, pulled the animal out of the mud and skinned it. They divided the meat, and that is how it went. John came to the scene late, and the meat was almost gone. He got a small piece of meat and was unhappy. After eating the meat at his home, he went to the APU at the CAMPFIRE (office) and reported that some men had killed a buffalo.

Selling out did not begin with John in 2023. Different narratives were shared with me to point out that CAMPFIRE had become a weapon to settle personal scores and other differences.

Romeo,⁹⁶ a Tembo Mvura man, was arrested for poaching. He was, however, not found guilty by the courts due to the lack of evidence recalled:

I got caught for hunting and had to wait days in Guruve for my trial. I needed to make a new hut and went into the conservancy to get some poles. I had an axe, and I found the poles I wanted. On my way back, I came across a dead buck. It was still fresh, and I just picked it up and hung it on a tree. I planned to go and tell the APU and the conservancy workers that a dead animal was in the forest. Nevertheless, before I reached the edge of

⁹⁵ Interview with Peter 17 August 2023, Majaya BC.

⁹⁶ Interview with Romeo, 28 April 2022, Mariga Primary School.

the conservancy, I ran into Wiseman and Manny and told them about the dead buck. They persuaded me not to report the animal and that we should go to fetch the meat at night and split it equally. Later that night, we went where I had left the animal and took it with us. We removed its skin and left the skin and the guts at the scene for scavengers to feed on. Manny gave some of the meat to his in-laws, who gave it to someone else and one of the people who did not get it went and reported that Manny had game meat at his place. The game scouts came at night and found some meat in my kitchen; they arrested me and seized it. I did not have goats, so I could not have said it was goat meat. The magistrate asked me if I had killed the animal, and I said I had not, and because the meat that they had seized was not much, I was let go with a stern warning. The lack of meat in Kanyemba has led to a rise in sell outs. People now report to the scouts once they see you eating meat.

The two narratives shed light on the division and animosity that has emerged within the community. I argue that the introduction of CAMPFIRE has inadvertently led to the breakdown of social bonds. One notable consequence of CAMPFIRE highlighted in the narratives is the rise of sell-outs, whereby community members report others to the authorities upon discovering possession of prohibited items such as meat and forest resources like honey. This phenomenon has caused resentment and strained familial and friendship relationships as trust is eroded within the community.

The scouts employed by the Chitsere Conservancy, Anti-Poaching Unit members and the ZimParks wardens, known as *magame*, have exacerbated the growth of negative attitudes, especially among the Tembo Mvura. The scouts and members of the APU enforce regulations, particularly concerning poaching and trespassing. The scouts employed by the Chitsere Conservancy are paid to remove snares from the forest. The scouts have been accused of planting the snares in the forest and ‘recovering’ them for the reward. While this entrepreneurial act is good for the scouts, the records for the snares recovered in the Tembo Mvura areas keep going up and justify the arrest of the people. In addition to the scouts, the APU has encouraged people to report incidents of poaching or setting snares. The APU operate under the purview of the RDC and CAMPFIRE. Members of the APU have been accused of being too quick to arrest people and conduct investigations with the accused in holding cells. This arrest to investigate has compelled people to develop a dislike of the members. The most dreaded anti-poaching members are the ZimParks officials who have significant authority and oversee the APU operations and the scouts. It is important to note that the name *magame* refers exclusively to the wardens affiliated with ZimParks.

When caught by a scout or APU member, suspected poachers are taken to the ZimParks offices before the wardens take the accused to the police. Stories of their brutality were shared. Some individuals only made it to the ZimParks offices and were acquitted without proceeding to the station. The treatment of the accused by the scouts, APU and game wardens has been central

to people's negative attitudes. The scouts deployed in Kanyemba are recruited from Masoka and Angwa communities outside Kanyemba, although there are instances where scouts are selected from the Chikunda community due to political pressures. Residents of Kanyemba find employment opportunities with Charlton McCallum Safaris, which operates camps far from the Tembo Mvura community in Kanyemba. The decision not to employ members of the Tembo Mvura community as local APUs and scouts is based on concerns that they may collaborate with their counterparts in illegal activities. Despite the Tembo Mvura's notable historical legacy of exceptional tracking skills derived from traditional hunting practices, employing them has always been considered a threat to wildlife.

The Tembo Mvura shared stories of how their community once thrived on a collective approach to obtaining and distributing food, fostering familial, extended familial, and communal bonds. However, this cohesion was severely disrupted by the implementation of CAMPFIRE, especially the deployment of scouts, APUs and game wardens. The consequences are twofold: the community's inability to engage in traditional hunting practices and the necessity for covert methods in sharing food due to the heightened surveillance by APUs and the presence of informants. A Zimbabwean proverb '*hukama igasva hunozadziwa nekudya*', loosely translated as 'a relationship that can be enriched through shared meals', encapsulates the essence of the Tembo Mvura's previous way of life. Such proverbs played a crucial role in keeping the community tightly interconnected, as they embraced a culture of sharing everything they possessed. However, the sharing of hunted meat has become challenging, with the constant fear of informants reporting individuals for poaching, leading to arrests. These narratives illuminate the breakdown of social ties and the unravelling of an entire way of life for the Tembo Mvura, as the fabric of their social structure and communal practices has been irreversibly torn apart.

7.4 Human-wildlife conflict: an extension of human-human conflict?

One central aspect of human-wildlife conflict in Kanyemba is the historical and contemporary differences between the Tembo Mvura and the Chikunda ethnic groups. The strained relationship between the two groups has shaped the attitudes and behaviours of the people towards wildlife conservation and human safety. Jani et al. (2020) argue that human-human conflict intersects with HWC, and HWC can be better understood by examining the social dynamics of the community. Chapter Three provides an overview of the ethnic composition in Kanyemba, showing how the Mwanzamtanda River acts as a boundary between the Tembo

Mvura and the Chikunda. The Tembo Mvura claim to have experienced segregation and marginalisation by the Chikunda from pre-colonial times to the present. I argue that this perceived exclusion has affected their participation and perception of CAMPFIRE. I align my socio-cultural approach to HWC with Dickman's (2010: 458) assertion that 'human-wildlife conflicts are often manifestations of underlying human-human conflicts, such as between authorities and local people, or between people of different cultural backgrounds'. Jani et al. (2020) explore intergroup relations' social dynamics and historical legacies by highlighting how human-human conflict influences and exacerbates HWC in Kanyemba. Their article provides valuable insight into the socio-cultural dimensions of HWC in this context. My study builds on their work and argues that the historical analysis helps nuance the understanding of the past and present conflicts between the two groups.

The Tembo Mvura history of hunting and gathering and their secretive lifestyles were explained or understood using stereotypes by the Chikunda. Tembo Mvura has experienced discrimination and contempt from the Chikunda, who regard them as inferior. The Tembo Mvura people did not own dogs, and when hunting, they ran after the animals, which gave rise to numerous stereotypes, chief of which was that the Tembo Mvura have tails. The mockery that the Tembo Mvura had tails can be traced back to colonial times. Passmore⁹⁷ said the Chikunda would say '*aDoma ane muchira*' (the Doma have tails). The people were associated with animals, hence the derogatory characterisation that they have tails. As discussed in Chapter Three, Olson (1969) reported seeing people who could run up trees, lived in the jungle and behaved like animals. The description of the Tembo Mvura people as animals by the Chikunda and by outsiders might have waned recently; however, the Tembo Mvura still recall these insults and feel resentment about them.

As discussed earlier, in 2010, some members of the Tembo Mvura community were killed by a pride of lions. This series of attacks can also be used to highlight internal differences in Kanyemba. These rogue lions attacked the villages on the western (Tembo Mvura) side of the river. The varied narratives about the event illustrate various aspects of people's attitudes to CAMPFIRE, which relate to this study's goals. The stories also demonstrate different epistemological views on why the lions killed people. Some Tembo Mvura saw it as a spiritual sign, while others blamed the authorities for not controlling the animals. Regardless of their views, the people still communicated their disappointment in the CAMPFIRE programme.

⁹⁷ Interview with Passmore, 16 August 2023, Majaya BC.

Chirata⁹⁸ lost a nephew to the lions and claims to have been the one who urged people to flee their homesteads and settle in the classrooms in the Chapoto area. Their stay in the classrooms put much pressure on the RDC and the local leadership, who wanted their children to attend school without disturbance. He remembered:

My brother's son was the first victim of the lion attacks. He had gone fishing at the confluence of the Mwanzamtanda and Zambezi rivers, where good fishing spots exist. That is where a crocodile attacked and killed the APU Chikunda man last year [2021]. He set camp at the Muuyu (*adansonia digitata*) tree. The tree has a hollow where the spirit medium keeps their *mbiya* (gourds used during traditional ceremonies). It is alleged that my nephew slept in the hollow of the tree, which is not forbidden; however, he is accused of using the gourds to prepare his food. After using the gourds, he allegedly left them dirty and broke one of them. It is also alleged that he relieved himself inside the sacred tree trunk. He left Zambezi around three in the afternoon, and the lions (*Mhondoro*) attacked and ate him. The second victim worked at the border; he was also attacked when he was coming from the Zambezi River. Rumour has it that he was in an incestuous relationship with his sister or cousin. The incestuous relationship angered the *Mhondoro*, and they sent their lions to cleanse their land of such.

The term '*Mhondoro*' encompasses two interconnected aspects. Primarily, it denotes a spirit medium (i.e. a human being) who can communicate with departed spirits. However, the word also refers to lions, which hold symbolic significance in this context. Scholars Lan (1985) and Spierenburg (2005) have extensively explored the roles of *Mhondoro* within people's daily lives. Lan's study primarily centres on the influence of the *Mhondoro* (the human *Mhondoro*) on rain, guerrilla activities, and their connection to the spiritual realm. Spierenburg's research focuses on the role of *Mhondoro* in matters concerning land and territory. Evidence collected in Kanyemba reveals that lions are considered to be responsible for upholding traditional laws and customs of the community.

In contrast, human spirit mediums facilitate communication between the living and the deceased. The *Mhondoro* lions are perceived as enforcers of punishment, with death being a last resort. The human *Mhondoro* would typically counsel individuals to refrain from engaging in unclean acts, warning of potential lion attacks as consequences. According to the Tembo Mvura belief system, community elders, particularly diviners or leaders, return as lions to protect the community after their passing. The lions leading the pride responsible for the 2010 fatalities were named Chiparamoto and Chiparaushe. These names carry meanings. The people allege that whenever the spirit medium dies in Mbire, the two lions named Chiparamoto and Chiparaushe kill people to signify the time for the instalment of a new medium. In an interview with Shepherd,⁹⁹ who was involved in the initiation of Mvura Chikwamba (the Tembo Mvura

⁹⁸ Interview with Chirata, 28 April 2022, Mariga

⁹⁹ Interview with Shepherd, 30 April 2022, Mariga.

spirit medium), he recounted that lions roamed outside the yard, growling throughout the night. Narratives from the Tembo Mvura community also indicate that the lions served as saviours during times of hunger by attacking and killing buffalos, making it easier for the people to obtain food. Both the Tembo Mvura and the Chikunda communities share the belief in and reference to lions as *Mhondoro*.

Chirata's narrative reveals spirituality's role in interpreting some human-wildlife conflict events. The belief is that the land belongs to the ancestors who regulate morality through *Mhondoro*. The narrative demonstrated that the killing of the people by lions resulted from violating a sacred place and committing incest. Furthermore, people use the death of a game warden (*mugame*) who shot the lion to illustrate the significance of spirituality. When lions killed four people, the Department of Wildlife, through ZimParks, dispatched a team to hunt and eliminate the rogue animals. When the game wardens located the pride of lions, they shot three of them on the spot, and the others escaped. The fifth victim of the pride was the game warden, who had fired and killed the male lion. Local stories assert that his death was an act of retribution by the spirits; he killed the lions without being purified by the spirit mediums, and killing the animals was tantamount to killing the ancestors. Chiyambo¹⁰⁰ claimed that for one to hunt and kill lions, which are considered protectors, the person would need first to be cleansed by the spirit medium. Explaining the causes of the 2010 lion attacks presents a distinctive epistemological perspective on human-wildlife conflict. It is challenging for some outsiders to comprehend and accept that an animal can kill a human being in vengeance.

Another interpretation of the lion attacks communicates the people's disappointment with CAMPFIRE, RDC and the ZimParks. Maria¹⁰¹ lost both her brother and husband in the lion attacks. Her brother was the one who was killed as he was coming from fishing in the Zambezi River. She blamed the attacks on the CAMPFIRE, RDC and the game parks for not killing the animals sooner. She narrated the eventful night when the lions snatched and killed her husband.

My husband was killed barely a week after we had lost my brother. After supper, we were seated right here [in the centre of the yard]. We were discussing the lions and how the people were terrified of moving around during the day or night. The light from the fire was not good to see beyond where we were seated. A male lion came out of nowhere and snatched my husband from the back. It grabbed him around his neck area and dragged him into the shrubs. My husband did not get the opportunity to scream or fight the animal. We started shouting at the animals to let him go, throwing stones and other stuff at the lions. When the pride eventually fled, pieces and bits of my husband were left, and his head was still attached to his neck. After his death, the community elders asked people to pack their

¹⁰⁰ Interview with Chiyambo, 17 April 2022, Mariga

¹⁰¹ Interview with Maria, 28 April 2022, Mariga

belongings and go to Chapoto school or else we would all die at the hands of the lions. The others did not readily relocate because they had not come in close contact with the lion. One of the families that had remained behind lost a family member to the lions. The first and second attacks were met with little to no urgency from the CAMPFIRE and the RDC. When my husband was killed, they sent an emissary to understand why people were being killed and possibly hunt the animals. In their investigations, Mvura Chikwamba [the spirit medium] claimed that the people killed were either dirty [sinned against the ancestors] or strangers in her land. After the consultation and cleansing, the rangers started hunting for the lions, and after some days, the first batch was killed, and people's remains were retrieved.

This narrative illustrates the widow's bitterness and frustration towards CAMPFIRE, RDC and the ZimParks for their delayed and inadequate response. They only intervened when the Tembo Mvura relocated to Chapoto primary school for refuge. The ZimParks were constrained in their reaction by the bureaucratic procedures of the central office in Harare, which resulted in a slow and ineffective communication of the order to kill. Meanwhile, the RDC dismissed the villagers' complaints by blaming the attacks on the Tembo Mvura because they had settled in what the RDC described as wildlife corridors. This is yet another narrative explaining how the people understood the causes of the attacks. The 'educated' individuals do not pay particular attention to tradition or spiritual forces when explaining the causes of the conflicts. In 2017, during my master's research, I had a conversation with a Chikunda individual who claimed that the Tembo Mvura were attacked and killed by lions because of their settlement choice. He argued that the animals attacked the people because they affected the animals' stay in the forest. In a different interview, however, with the same line of logic, a civil servant in the area also blamed the Tembo Mvura for living too close to the animals and competing for space and resources.¹⁰² In a more official capacity, Mahuni,¹⁰³ an RDC official, argued that the HWC was increasing because the Tembo Mvura were settled in the animal corridors and, therefore, were bound to have conflicts with the animals. The RDC official statement reflects the executives in many districts in which there have been HWC. The official explanation used by the RDC officials is that HWC has increased because of population increase and people settling in animal corridors. This line of argument has been used repeatedly by the officials to avoid paying damages or hospital bills.

The epistemological variations inherent in the narratives shared underscore the complexity of understanding HWC. The spiritual explanation, rooted in beliefs surrounding *Mhondoro*, reflects a worldview deeply intertwined with traditional spiritual practices and cultural heritage. In contrast, the CAMPFIRE-related explanation highlights the influence of policy

¹⁰² Interview with Thomas, 23 April 2022, elephant kill site.

¹⁰³ Interview with Mahuni, 8 February 2022, Mushumbi Rura District Council Offices.

frameworks and socio-economic factors on shaping perceptions of HWC. The local communities are convinced that CAMPFIRE, in addition to introducing HWC, also exacerbated it. Moreover, the correlation between HWC and human settlement patterns sheds light on the influence of geographical and environmental considerations on shaping human-wildlife dynamics. Recognising these epistemological differences is not only crucial for a comprehensive understanding of HWC, but it also illuminates the diverse cultural perspectives and worldviews that exist within and outside the Kanyemba communities.

7.5 Agriculture and a rise in spatial contestation

Agriculture has been touted as a primary basis for economic development in Zimbabwe and is mainly focused on the rural and farming areas. Whilst this study mainly focuses on people's attitudes towards development (CAMPFIRE), it is essential to highlight the ambivalent attitudes people have about clearing land for agriculture, which has been touted as development. In Kanyemba, there have been efforts to introduce cash crop farming, specifically sugar cane farming. Agriculture and animal conservation cannot co-exist without the necessary conditions. Increases in human population and agriculture are a threat to animal conservation. The latest population statistics of Kanyemba highlight that there has been an eight per cent increase since the last census in 2012 (ZimStats, 2022). The effect of population increase had set pressure on the access to land for agriculture and settlement.

A significant factor that has exacerbated the human-wildlife conflict in Kanyemba is clearing land for irrigation projects. Since attaining independence, the Zimbabwean government, through the Ministry of Lands, Agriculture, Fisheries, Water, Climate and Rural Settlement, has initiated several attempts to establish sugar cane plantations in the area. The clearance of the land was conducted on the eastern side of the river where the Chikunda stay. In the early 2000s, a Member of Parliament (MP) cleared thousands of hectares of land, imported aluminium pipes for water supply, and engaged with the local communities of Tembo Mvura and Chikunda. The project was presented as a cooperative venture, where the communities would produce sugar cane, and the MP would provide the market. It is unclear if the Member of Parliament would get a cut of the people's profits. What is definite, however, was the political mileage the market would get him in the area. However, the project was abandoned when the MP was dismissed from his position due to political disputes within the ruling party. The cleared land soon became overgrown with trees and bushes, attracting wildlife again. In 2017/8, another actor, allegedly a cabinet minister, revived the project. The details of the project

plan and the terms of engagement were unclear to the local people. Some lost their land to the project and were only compensated with one acre of irrigated land each. Those who lost more than five hectares of land to the project saw the exchange as unfair.

Clearing the land impacted the wildlife habitat and food availability. Animals were forced to migrate to the western side of the Mwanzamtanda River, where the Tembo Mvura reside. The elephants and buffalo also faced a food shortage, as their diet consisted of grass, low woody plants, and trees that the land clearing had removed. The animals raided the Tembo Mvura and Chikunda people's gardens along the river to satisfy their hunger. The gardens have crops such as banana plants, sugar cane, sorghum, sugar beans, and sweet potatoes. These crops are grown by the local people during the dry season, as the rainy season crops are often affected by drought or flash floods. The riverine gardens are thus a vital source of food security for the people, but they are also vulnerable to wildlife damage.

The animals clash with people, leaving people counting their losses, nursing their wounds or grieving the death of a loved one. Simon¹⁰⁴ is a middle-aged Chikunda man with a garden along the Mwanzamtanda River. I met him at the Kanyemba CAMPFIRE office and requested an interview because he wanted his story told. He recalled a harrowing night with an injured cow elephant.

I was in my *dara* [shelter, see Figure 3] when I saw a dark silhouette of the elephant roaming the gardens' boundaries. I shouted to the people that the animal was coming straight for my garden. My wife and I started throwing live charcoal at the animal and banging the metal bucket. Instead of the animal turning back, it charged in our direction. I shouted to my wife that she must run and get in the *dara* [shelter] whilst I ran in the opposite direction. The good thing is that an elephant has poor eyesight; it relies on its sense of smell. An elephant is enormous but can run at tremendous speeds; as I was running, I got tripped by some vines, maybe pumpkin or beans, I am not sure. I fell and started praying because I knew death was imminent. The animal got to where I was lying down, covered by the bean leaves and stood over me, flapping its big ears, trying to catch my scent. As it turned around, its rear leg caught part of my calf. I screamed, and my wife thought I had been trampled on and cried. The animal charged in her direction. Usually, elephants are afraid of fire, but this one ran over the fire and passed dangerously close to the *dara*. My wife and daughter were inside, and I realised that if I did not make any noise, the animal would attack the *dara*. Luckily, other people came, throwing stones, charcoal, and banging pots. The cow made false charges at the people, but eventually, they managed to chase it out of the garden. I could no longer walk and had to be carried to Majaya to wait for daylight. The CAMPFIRE people said they had no money to help me get medical treatment. I told them that the elephant that had attacked me was injured, limped, and was quite aggressive. They promised to investigate it and kill the injured animal because it was a danger to the people.

¹⁰⁴ Interview with Simon, 18 April 2022, Majaya BC.

The animal had behaved oddly, and elephants rarely attack people in the manner in which this one attacked Simon. His story highlights two points central to the arguments made in this study: the people with gardens believe that CAMPFIRE has failed to protect them and that CAMPFIRE officials value the lives of animals above those of people. I met Simon again at the scene where a bull elephant had been killed, and he was adamant that the game wardens had killed the wrong animal. He reiterated that the animal causing chaos in the gardens was injured and was bigger than the juvenile bull the officials had killed. Everyone dismissed him. However, two Tembo Mvura men encountered a dead elephant carcass on their way to fish a month later. They did not report it because they feared being accused of killing the animal.

During their routine rounds, APU members saw the dead elephant a day later; it was already bloated (due to the heat in Kanyemba), and lions were devouring the meat. They had to wait for the carnivores to finish eating to get the tusks. Two Tembo Mvura men reported that the elephant's leg had a massive wound. It seems likely that this is the elephant that attacked Simon's family.

I adopt a broad definition of human-wildlife conflict, including both animal attacks on humans and wildlife damage to crops. I show that wildlife's predation of people's gardens constitutes a form of conflict. As part of my fieldwork in Mariga, I participated in guarding the gardens along the river for a deeper understanding of my respondents' everyday lives and attitudes and to establish rapport with them. During my nights at the gardens, I witnessed how different animals invaded the crops, especially elephants and buffaloes. For clarity's sake, I must highlight that it is not only elephants and buffalo that invade people's gardens; kudus, gazelles, warthogs, and wild boars also invade. However, these are not as problematic as the elephants and buffalos. Elephants usually came early in the evening; sometimes, they could be chased away for the rest of the night. Buffaloes were more challenging to detect because they were smaller and darker than elephants. One of the most memorable nights was at Tony's garden, where a bull elephant had been reported to be roaming along the dry riverbed and feeding on the crops. The bull was the largest they had seen in a long time and was solitary, making it difficult to hear its approach compared to a herd. I learned that elephant herds usually move haphazardly. When a herd of elephants moves, it breaks tree branches, making its approach easily detectable.

That night, I had an opportunity to experience the challenge of guarding the gardens from the elephants first-hand. Around midnight, the neighbours alerted us that an enormous elephant

was approaching the gardens. They shouted, '*chiri kuno chihombe, varume huyai mese tichibuditse*' ('The elephant is here, please come here to drive it out'). I quickly put on my boots and joined Tony and the other men running barefoot. I highlight and emphasise that being barefoot shows people cannot afford to buy shoes when guarding their gardens. It does not seek to foreground the stereotype that they ran faster on barefoot. Nobody can run fast in a sandy riverbed.

A half-moon illuminated the night, and we could see the elephant walking in the Mwanzamtanda riverbed. We tried to prevent it from entering Mainoti's garden by throwing stones at it. The Tembo Mvura young boys learn how to use a sling to throw stones at the animals. When correctly propelled, the stone inflicts pain on the animals that, in many cases, the animal would surely change direction. The stones are used to deter an animal from entering the gardens. If the elephant enters a garden and does not eat its fill, it will move on to the next garden and repeat the process. The elephant seemed unfazed by the stones until one or two hit its tusk and trumpeted. The experienced guards cheered because they expected the animal to change direction. However, the elephant turned and made a false charge at us. Being a novice to garden guarding, I ran for the nearest shelter. The rest of the men laughed at me for my ignorance. I was later told that an elephant does not charge at a person on its first charge; it usually makes two false charges, and the third one would be serious, and everyone would run for life because the beast would be out for blood. The bull refused to leave the garden and charged at anyone who threw stones or burning charcoal at it. We sat in the riverbed, forming a barricade for the animal. Everyone expressed their resentment towards CAMPFIRE and blamed it for making the animals more problematic. Some animals are uncontrollable, as demonstrated by the bull that resisted our attempts to drive it away. The elephant eventually left the gardens only after it had eaten its fill.

7.6 Responses to HWC

So far, this chapter has demonstrated that the most prevalent and severe forms of HWC in areas closer to the safari and conservancy are crop damage, livestock depredation and human casualties, which negatively impact food security, income generation and human safety. Given the increasing occurrence of HWC in buffer zones, various responses have been implemented to address this challenge. HWC generates intense animosity among people towards the wild animals that destroy their crops and threaten their livelihoods (Parker and Osborn, 2006; Adams and McShane, 1992). People have resorted to different coping strategies for their anger and

frustrations towards wildlife. There have been different responses to HWC, from individuals to institutions. Through its organs and wildlife managers, the government of Zimbabwe have introduced different programmes to protect the people and the animals. I present protection methods such as chilli blocks, firecrackers, electric fences, clanging pots, fences, disturbance shooting, and community-based initiatives. In addition to the government methods, the local people adopted different practices to deter wildlife from entering their fields, such as burning logs at the margins and creating barriers using ropes with metal pieces at the end. These responses have been approved by the Rural District Council (RDC) and the Environmental Management Agency (EMA) in the district. There are some activities, however, which are conducted clandestinely.

7.6.1 Problem Animal Control (PAC)

Problem Animal Control (PAC), as defined in the context of CAMPFIRE communities such as Kanyemba, involves the management of wildlife that poses threats to human livelihoods and safety (Jani et al., 2020; Mashinya, 2007). Various methods are employed in PAC, encompassing both lethal and non-lethal measures, including shooting, trapping, translocation, fencing, deterrents, and compensation schemes. While PAC involves a spectrum of strategies, it is crucial to note that the last resort in this approach is the killing of animals. Mupangwa et al. (2006) highlight that resorting to lethal measures is typically considered only after other methods have proven ineffective, given its drawbacks of inefficacy, high cost, and long-term unsustainability. In the specific context of Kanyemba, it is essential to note that Problem Animal Control is referred to as PAC, with the term primarily associated with killing animals that pose threats to the community. Notably, instances where people, including Anti-Poaching Units (APUs), employ non-lethal methods to protect crops or lives from wildlife threats are not typically described as problem animal control.¹⁰⁵ This widespread perspective has contributed to the perception that PAC, in the local context, predominantly involves the killing of animals rather than non-lethal intervention methods.

In Kanyemba, the main problem animals are elephants and buffalos, which tend to damage crops and fields. Crocodiles also occasionally cause problems when they attack or kill people. During my fieldwork in Kanyemba, there were some crocodile attacks, one of which resulted in a fatality. The victim was fishing at the confluence of the Mwanzamtanda and Zambezi rivers

¹⁰⁵ Simon, Chiyambo, Pasmore, and Gift shared the belief that PAC only means the killing of animals.

when a crocodile attacked him. Manza,¹⁰⁶ a Chikunda man who works for one of the privately run fishing camps along the Zambezi River and is the one who set up the trap for the crocodile, reported that:

When a crocodile or hippopotamus kills a human being, it becomes our job to rid the waters of the animal. In the case of a hippopotamus, we [usually] kill it because it would have killed a person, [but] we could not kill that Hippopotamus that attacked and bit that guy because it was a cow. However, when it comes to a crocodile, we kill them regardless of their sex. When they taste human flesh, they try to attack any person they see, even in a boat. We shoot the animals and take them to the ZimParks. We want to keep the waters safe for everyone and ensure our clients are safe.

This account portrays the involvement of private players in addressing the issue of problem animals. A more nuanced examination of the role played by private actors reveals potential forms of marginalisation and class dynamics within the framework of problem animal control. Using this as an example, it can be argued that eliminating the crocodile was more of a business strategy than a community service initiative. In this context, killing the crocodile aligns with a business-oriented approach rather than solely a response to community safety concerns. The rationale behind this perspective is rooted in the understanding that a predatory crocodile in the vicinity threatens businesses engaged in activities such as fishing in the Zambezi River, a significant tourist attraction. While killing the crocodile was a noble act serving the community, I argue that business influenced the expeditious act.

To buttress my argument that the decision to kill the crocodiles was business-oriented, similar crocodile attacks occurred in Chagurika and Chiramba villages, and the crocodiles were never killed. Makeyi¹⁰⁷, one of the victims, recalls their effort to have the animal taken care of.

Before my attack, I had seen the crocodile many times. I told CAMPFIRE about it through text messages, but they only sent one APU who stayed with us for a day. The crocodile did not appear that day but was spotted at the pond in the next garden. We asked the councillor to help us catch it and move it to Zambezi, but they did nothing. We got used to having the crocodiles around, and they did not harm anyone. Then, one day, when I was getting water for my garden, the crocodile grabbed my right arm. I screamed for help, and people came and hit the crocodile until it let go of me, but I was paralysed. I went to Zambia for treatment, and the crocodile was still there when I returned.

This narrative highlights how PAC has been understood in Kanyemba as exclusionary and marginalising. Due to such marginalisation, the people have dealt with animals, such as crocodiles, in ways they know. Some have poisoned the crocodiles, and some have attacked the animals to death. These measures portray tired and frustrated communities, and when animals attack them, they receive no help from the responsible authority.

¹⁰⁶ Interview with Manza, 11 July 2022, ZRP Kanyemba

¹⁰⁷ Interview with Makeyi, 18 June 2022, Chiramba

A significant challenge for PAC in Zimbabwe is the poor coordination and collaboration among the stakeholders in managing human-wildlife conflict. These stakeholders include government agencies (such as Zimparks and EMA), local authorities (MRDC), non-governmental organisations (such as the African Wildlife Foundation AWF), and local communities. They may have different interests, perspectives, and capacities regarding PAC. In reiterating this point, I draw from the accounts shared in this chapter about Simon, who had survived an elephant attack, reported to the CAMPFIRE committee, and even sent a text message to the officials at the RDC. Simon continued to pester the local committee about the animal and the threat it posed to the community. Furnished with the accounts of the crocodile victim, Simon and the buffalo victim, I asked the councillor, CAMPFIRE committee members, the ZimParks and the RDC officials why it took so long to deal with an animal. The councillor walked me through the process of dealing with problem animals.¹⁰⁸ He explained that after receiving the reports from different village heads, they (the CAMPFIRE committee) compile them and create a report that shows the most problematic animal. During my research, the committee received reports of a huge elephant bull destroying people's gardens and refusing to leave them (this is the animal I described earlier). The councillor then sends the reports to the district offices where the Natural Resources Department sits and discusses the more pressing cases.

As highlighted in Chapter Three, the Mbire district has eight CAMPFIRE wards, meaning that the district offices receive reports of problem animals from at least eight wards. Even in wards with no CAMPFIRE programme, animals still roam and cause trouble. The RDC officials go through many reports and decide on the most pressing problem at their discretion. Once the MRDC's Natural Resource officials complete their reports, they forward them to ZimParks. Once ZimParks receives the reports, they will send the paperwork to the headquarters. When a decision on the best way of dealing with the problem animal is made, communication takes the same route in reverse until it reaches the ward. This process is very long, and usually, by the time the decision is made, the animal concerned has destroyed people's fields or left the area. Leaving the area is bad, especially if the animals had attacked a human being. The belief is that the animal would attack a person again because it would have lost the fear in its first attack. The case of the buffalo victim is a case in point. When the decision to kill the problem buffalo was eventually given, the buffalo had been integrated into the herd, and the game wardens said they could not tell which it was (although some people refuted this claim). The previous system was simple. It required a form documenting the details of the problem animals and their impacts

¹⁰⁸ Interview with Councillor Kachasu, 15 July 2022, Majaya BC.

on the communities. The form was submitted to the RDC, which then made decisions without waiting for the ZimParks to deal with the reports. Taylor (2009) argues that this system was efficient and user-friendly.

Moreover, the PAC system's weaknesses are one reason people have developed negative attitudes towards CAMPFIRE. Benji is one of the few residents of the western side of the river who attended school and is often considered the group's spokesperson.¹⁰⁹ He claimed that there could have been fewer deaths during the 2010 lion attacks if the system did not involve so many offices. In some instances, responsible people have subverted the process, especially when there is a public outcry or an intervention by a politician. In the lion attacks, the ZimParks only acted after the Tembo Mvura disrupted school after seeking refuge at the Chapoto primary school. In the case of the buffalo that attacked Moyo, a story I will describe in detail later in this chapter, the animal lurked in places close to people's settlements, yet the wardens claimed they could not locate it. However, I suspect that the game wardens and APU members had not received the green light to kill the animal. Their presence in the area was to pacify the people and make them believe they were hunting for dangerous animals.

Putting monetary value ahead of human lives and livelihoods is one of the reasons why people are convinced that CAMPFIRE treats animals as more important than people. Killing a problem animal is considered a loss to the RDC. For instance, killing a bull elephant because it has destroyed people's fields is not worth the money the RDC may get from the bull if it gets killed by a paying hunter. Taylor (2009) explains that bull elephants are more valuable when shot by foreign sport hunters than when killed for crop raiding. The locals are now aware that the RDC regards the animals as sources of funds. Jakobo expressed his dissatisfaction to the councillor who came to witness the meat distribution. He shouted at the councillor, '*marwadziwa ka kuti nzou yauraiwa pasina mari iri kuuya kwamuri?*', 'You are unhappy because an elephant was killed without bringing any money to you, right?'¹¹⁰ By 'you', he was referring to the CAMPFIRE funds, not the councillor personally. Passmore echoed this sentiment and claimed that the CAMPFIRE and RDC are okay with people being attacked by the animals and prefer not to kill the animals because killing a problem animal does not bring money to the RDC.¹¹¹ This and the lack of animal control have created resentment towards CAMPFIRE.

¹⁰⁹ Interview with Benji, 26 April 2022, Mariga primary school.

¹¹⁰ Interaction with Jakobo, 23 April 2022, elephant kill site.

¹¹¹ Interview with Passmore, 16 August 2023, Mariga.

7.6.2 PAC natural methods

Killing animals, as highlighted, is the last option; there have been several ideas on animal control, with some being successful and others not. One of the animal control measures that was promoted by the authorities was the use of chilli (*Capsicum* spp.), an unpalatable crop, as a field border to prevent wildlife encroachment. Parker and Osborn (2006) conducted a study in mid-Zambezi Valley on the effectiveness of this measure and found that most wildlife species avoided chilli. These measures were adopted in Museruka village, Angwa and part of Kanyemba. However, my research showed that this measure was unsuccessful in Kanyemba because baboons uprooted the chilli plants, creating gaps for other animals to enter the fields. Moreover, the chilli growing project did not attract many participants among the Kanyemba villagers, as they perceived it as another failed initiative that yielded no benefits.

In addition to using chilli capsicum as a boundary, the RDC, in collaboration with the African Wildlife Foundation (AWF) and the Global Environment Facility (GEF), undertook workshops with the Kanyemba communities on using chilli blocks/chilli bombs. Since the idea of growing chilli capsicum in the Mbire district had been taken up, GEF and AWF came up with the idea that people should use chilli bombs to deter elephants and buffalos from encroaching into their fields. Kuswa was one of the workshop organisers who taught how to make and use the chilli blocks.¹¹² He walked me through the process of making the chilli blocks and bombs. The chilli bombs are made by mixing ground chilli, elephant dung, and oil (people use used car oil because of financial constraints). The bombs are dried in the sun and then placed at the edges of the fields. The bombs are lit at dusk when the animals start roaming. The bombs produce smoke that repels the animals. An RDC official in the Department of Natural Resource Management claimed that the chilli bombs are eco-friendly and made from locally available materials.¹¹³ However, the Tembo Mvura members interviewed said the chilli bombs only worked sometimes, depending on the direction of the wind. Respondents like Joseph and John complained that the smoke indiscriminately affected both the people and the animals. Because the chilli bombs affected both people and animals negatively, they soon stopped using them. Apart from being affected by the chilli smoke, the people discontinued using the chilli bombs because the animals found new ways to enter their fields by avoiding coming downwind. The people started using strings dipped in chilli, which are hung along the edges of the garden. The smell of chilli keeps the animals away. The Mwanzamtanda riverbank would be lined with

¹¹² Interview with Kuswa, 20 May 2022, Chiramba.

¹¹³ Interview with Mr Tauro, 14 March 2022, MRDC offices.

chilli strings, which have a strong odour, especially in the afternoon. The strings have some drawbacks, however: they lose their potency due to the weather conditions, and they are easily damaged by the animals when they run away. While the community has accepted chilli as a deterrent, the method has not been very effective.

7.6.3 Conservationist-influenced animal control measures

The establishment of the Chitsere Conservancy resulted in a prohibition of hunting on the western side of the Mwanzamtanda River. Local leaders in Kanyemba reported that the conservation owners and the RDC officials held a meeting to inform them that shooting at animals on the western side of the river was forbidden. One of the most disliked measures of controlling the animals that were suggested and taken up temporarily was the Beat the Drum. Musiwa and Mhlanga (2020), in a study on Human-Wildlife conflict in the Mhokwe ward in Mbire, highlighted that beating the drums was practised by 58% of the respondents of the study. In Kanyemba, the conservationists from the Chitsere Conservancy suggested that the people should use drums to chase elephants and buffalos from their gardens. The method worked for some time; however, the people discontinued it for several reasons, chief of which was that they had to buy the drums using their money. Another reason was that beating drums all night was too much work. Kajau¹¹⁴ was one of the few people who sold the drums and made some money but complained that they stopped beating them because they demanded energy. Lastly, with time, the animals were no longer deterred by the sound of the drums, and they would get into the gardens as people beat the drums.

After the Beat the Drum method failed, the conservationists proposed that the people guarding their gardens should use firecrackers instead of guns to frighten the animals away. The conservationists supplied the people with these firecrackers. Initially, the animals were scared by the noise of the crackers. However, they became accustomed to the sound and realised it did not threaten them. Brighton,¹¹⁵ a Tembo Mvura who has a garden and used the firecrackers at some point, recalls:

We were given the firecrackers, and we would light them up. Initially, the elephants would trumpet and run, but with time, they were not bothered by the sound. We would light the crackers but wake up to a destroyed garden. We decided to discontinue and revert to stones and charcoal.

The firecrackers soon lost their effectiveness against the animals.

¹¹⁴ Interview with Kajau.

¹¹⁵ Interview with Brighton 16 May 2022, Chansato.

Upon realising that the people were no longer using firecrackers, the CAMPFIRE committee resorted to a disturbance shooting. This involved calling members of the APU to places where animals had damaged people's gardens. The APU members would come with their guns and fire shots in the air. Mahadu¹¹⁶ said the difference between crackers and disturbance shooting was the smell of gunpowder, which the elephants disliked. Disturbance shooting, however, was not frequently used because it was costly. Councillor Kachasu¹¹⁷ stated that they could not afford enough bullets for animal control. Because of its inability to purchase enough ammunition to control the animals, the CAMPFIRE committee was accused of not protecting people's gardens. The scarcity of the bullets again raises the issue of marginalisation in the ward: the Tembo Mvura believed that the committee did not respond to Tembo Mvura's reports on problem animals as quickly as they did to Chikunda's reports. In response to the accusation of favouritism, one committee member alleged that going to most Tembo Mvura areas required a form of transportation for the APU team, which meant additional expenses on the already stretched fund.

The Chitsere management pledged to build a fence separating the Conservancy and the Chiramba and Mariga villages. However, this idea faced much opposition, with people questioning who would be fenced in or out: animals or people. The people argued that the fence would deprive them of their sources of firewood, building materials and some food. Moreover, the people were unhappy with being fenced out of the forests and disputed the boundaries drawn and marked by the conservancy owners. Some parts of the boundaries crossed through people's homesteads, and others found themselves inside the Conservancy. The idea of a fence was therefore abandoned due to the resistance of the Tembo Mvura. An RDC official informed me that the official boundary of the Conservancy was the Mwanzamtanda River and that the land on the western side of the river belonged entirely to the Conservancy. However, I could not access any official documents to verify this claim. Nevertheless, I argue that the bureaucratic explanations for the attack of the people who live on the western side of the river suggest that they regard the people as occupying areas designated for animals.

7.7 Fighting against the system: acts of resistance

As highlighted earlier, this study employed observation and informal conversation as data collection methods. I observed subtle forms of resistance as I interacted with the locals and

¹¹⁶ Interview with Mahadu

¹¹⁷ Interview with Councillor Kachasu.

listened to their stories. I present some narratives that illustrate what Scott (1990) refers to as ‘Infrapolitics’, the politics of the weak. Scott (1990) avers that weapons of the weak are simple forms of resistance that challenge the power and legitimacy of the dominant groups. They are subtle and covert forms of resistance that avoid confrontation and punishment but negatively affect the oppressors’ economic and political interests. Scott (1985) points out that these tactics are not primarily aimed at advancing the interests of the weak or directly causing harm to the oppressors. Instead, they represent subtle forms of resistance that enable the oppressed to preserve autonomy and dignity while facing their oppressors. As shown, the acts I associate with weapons of the weak disadvantage the oppressor (the state in this case). The people have reacted to HWC in ways they hoped would communicate their grievances to the relevant state authorities (the WardCo, RDC, ZimParks and national government). One of the most common strategies for dealing with the animals raiding their gardens was to drive them to the eastern side of the river. During the rainy season, the people drove the animals into fields owned (or believed to be owned) by the state. Carl,¹¹⁸ who has a garden along the river, explained this strategy:

Our fields are constantly damaged by the elephants and buffalos, especially during the rainy season when it is hard to see them coming in the dark. We tried to light fires along the edges of the fields, but the rains would extinguish them. We realised that the CAMPFIRE [APU responsible for animal protection] was not doing anything to protect our fields from the animals, so we decided to drive the animals to the eastern side of the river. We heard sorghum fields on the eastern side of the river belonged to the government, and we thought the government should pay for the destruction caused by its animals. When the river was flooded in the rainy season, we only drove the animals to the riverbank. Most of the time, they crossed the river and ruined the fields on the other side, where no one could guard them. The animals did not return to our side because they feared being chased away again. We got some relief, and some of us harvested something from our fields that had escaped the animals’ attack.

This narrative portrays agency – the people have taken control of the animals into their hands and turned it in their favour. They fight against CAMPFIRE, RDC, and ZimParks by making the animals ruin fields they associate with officialdom.

In addition to herding the animals into government fields during the rainy season, people also herd animals into a hunting zone. Joseph, whose garden is close to the animal’s corridor/path, usually bears the brunt of guarding and shouting at the animals.¹¹⁹ He does not want to move away from the piece of land because it has some sentimental value (his father left it for him). He narrated how they deal with the animals:

¹¹⁸ Interview with Carl, 14 June 2022, Chapoto.

¹¹⁹ Interview with Joseph, 18 June 2022, Chiramba.

[The] elephant population has increased, and many elephants have escaped from hunters in Zambia and Mozambique and found refuge here [i.e. in a no-hunting zone]. The animals are overcrowded, and we share this land with them. They do not have enough food, so they raid our gardens. During the rainy season, they can eat on either side of the river without hunting. Nevertheless, when we start our gardens in mid-March, hunting resumes, and the animals move to the western side of the river, where the safari operator cannot shoot any animal, no matter how big the trophy is. Sometimes, the hunter leaves without killing anything. This hurts us threefold: first, we do not get any money for our ward and development; second, we do not get any meat from the animal, and we are hungry for it; and lastly, our gardens are destroyed. Animals cross the dry river at night and return to this side at dawn. There is no hunting at night, so they are safe then. We did not have a meeting to agree on this, but we tried to stop them from crossing back when we knew there was a hunter. Sometimes, the elephants push us back and cross anyway. However, most of the time, we succeed in keeping them on the eastern side, where they can be hunted. When they are killed, they stay away from us for a while. We are happy when an elephant or a buffalo dies because it means fewer animals to guard.

This narrative portrays that people who grow gardens along the river resist the Conservancy and, by extension, CAMPFIRE, which endangers their livelihoods. The Conservancy bans hunting on their side of the river, allowing problem animals to roam freely and damage their crops. The people need meat for protein, but the only legal way to get it is to aid the safari operator who brings hunters who pay to kill them. The people guarding their gardens herd the animals eastward, where they face a higher chance of being hunted. The conservationists may consider this illogical, but the Tembo Mvura community sees it as a necessary step to protect their resources and lives. I interpret this practice as a weapon of the weak, a hidden and indirect form of resistance that challenges the Conservancy's policy of favouring animals over humans.

7.8 HWC and compensation

As highlighted earlier, HWCs negatively impact humans and wildlife, resulting in loss of income, livelihood, or well-being for humans and injury, death, or habitat degradation for wildlife. These conflicts pose significant challenges and costs for people who live near wild animals. For instance, people have lost their livestock or game to predators (Graham et al., 2005), suffer crop or food damage by animals (Jani et al., 2020), face physical attacks by animals, or miss out on economic or lifestyle opportunities due to the restrictions associated with the animals. Therefore, finding effective ways to prevent and mitigate HWCs is crucial for achieving human development and wildlife conservation goals (Nyhus, 2016; Ravenelle and Nyhus, 2017). One of the most common approaches to address HWCs is compensating the affected people or communities for their losses or damages caused by wildlife. Compensation is defined as a monetary or in-kind payment that aims to offset the costs of living with wildlife and to foster positive attitudes and behaviours towards wildlife among the local people (Dickman et al., 2013). People have called for compensation for the injuries, loss of limbs, and,

in some cases, human lives caused by wildlife. Compensation aims to reduce the economic burden of living with wildlife and foster a more positive attitude towards wildlife. When people perceive that they are receiving a reasonable amount for their losses, they are more likely to tolerate the presence of wildlife and support conservation efforts (Tchakatumba et al., 2019; Woolaston et al., 2021)

One of the contentious issues in the rural areas of Zimbabwe is the lack of compensation for the human and material losses caused by wildlife. Despite the claims of CAMPFIRE, RDC and ZimParks that they are promoting sustainable and participatory conservation, many local people feel betrayed and neglected by these institutions. The people's attitudes exude a sense of exasperation at not getting any benefits even after having their lives affected by the animals. As Texan,¹²⁰ a resident of Kanyemba, put it: '*Kana tea yacho isina sugar ndotsivirei*' ('if the tea does not have sugar, why get scalded'). This proverbial expression captures the resentment and frustration of those who bear the costs of living with wildlife without receiving any benefits. During my fieldwork, I encountered Moyo, who had been attacked by a buffalo earlier that year.¹²¹ He shared his story:

My son was coming from the garden around 6 pm, and he said he had seen a silhouette resembling a buffalo under the *musau* trees. My wife and daughter were cooking outside under that tree. My son went to fetch something behind the kitchen, and the buffalo saw him and charged. He saw it early and shouted to everyone to hide. My wife and daughter ran into the house. I hid behind that shed. My son had failed to run into the house and had jumped into the shed. The buffalo followed him inside but could not see where he had hidden. Whilst the animal was in the shed, my wife shouted that I should seek refuge in the house. I decided to dash for the closest room. I was unfortunate; the animal saw, chased and caught me on my upper arm as I dived into the room. The animal took down the doorframe and the door. The door frame and door fell on top of me. The buffalo could no longer see me but could hear me breathing and trying to stifle my cries. It stamped on the door looking for me, eventually urinated on me, and retreated. As it returned to the spot, under the trees, it saw and attacked an empty drum till it realised it was not a human being. My son had joined his mother and sister in the other room, and they saw the animal retreat; however, they were afraid of coming out to check if I was alive. When he eventually came out to check on me, I was unconscious, and they called the CAMPFIRE people for help. They did not come that night; they only came the following day after I had left for Zambia. They only brought me 50 dollars, and my eventual hospital bill was more than 200. When the RDC official came to see me here, I asked him about compensation, and he said that they do not pay for damages to property or injury to people by animals. He, however, promised and delivered a door frame. We no longer want CAMPFIRE because we are being attacked and not compensated.

This account illustrates the challenges of human-wildlife coexistence, the demand for compensation and the critique of CAMPFIRE. The RDC, CAMPFIRE and ZimParks are not

¹²⁰ Interview with Texan, 10 June 2022, Chiramba.

¹²¹ Interview with Moyo, 02 May 202, Chiramba.

legally obliged to compensate the victims of wildlife damage. In a televised interview, the ZimParks spokesperson claimed that the organisation lacks the financial capacity to reimburse all the human-wildlife conflict cases (ZBCnews online, 2022). He also said the organisation cannot cover the costs of crop losses, injuries and fatalities caused by animals. The absence of compensation is one of the factors that has contributed to the erosion of local support for CAMPFIRE. On 6 June 2023, the Parks and Wildlife Act Amendment Bill was approved in parliament. This bill gave the green light to create the Human-Wildlife Conflict Relief Fund (Cassim, 2023). Despite this bill passing, the funds are still not available, and at the time of writing, the people have still not received any compensation for the attacks.

Makeyi is another victim of the human-wildlife conflict in Kanyemba.¹²² He was attacked by a crocodile and suffered severe injuries to his arm, which required surgery and impaired his ability to work as a farmer. He reports that he received only 20 USD from the authorities (RDC and CAMPFIRE) to cover his medical expenses, which were far higher than that amount. He expected more support from the agencies responsible for wildlife management, such as an alternative source of livelihood that did not depend on his physical strength. For him, compensation for HWC was not limited to monetary payments but also included opportunities for employment and empowerment. He claimed that he felt like the animals were enemies that sought to destroy his life and that adequate compensation would make him feel less burdened by living with wildlife and more positive towards wildlife conservation.

Furthermore, the topic of compensation in Kanyemba once again brings up the issue of marginalisation and fosters negative attitudes towards CAMPFIRE. Tawanda, a young Tembo Mvura man whom I met at the police station, where he was waiting for a canoe to cross into Zambia and seek medical help.¹²³ He explained how one's ethnic identity influences the distribution of the CAMPFIRE emergency funds. He supported his argument with two examples.

A Doma [Tembo Mvura] was killed by a herd of buffalos, and the RDC, following their standard procedure, brought with them a coffin and some food items to be used at the funeral. They also promised to provide specific assistance to the orphans and the widows. However, the family has been wallowing in poverty because the RDC and CAMPFIRE have not helped them with anything. In contrast, in 2020, a Chikunda woman was attacked by a crocodile whilst fishing along the Zambezi River, and she later died due to the injuries. CAMPFIRE released money, an amount more than what everyone gets, to cater for her medical needs. This was very unusual. When the woman died, the RDC officials came and made the same promises they had made in Chiramba. However, the difference is that they

¹²² Interview with Makeyi, 18 June 2022, Chiramba.

¹²³ Interview with Tawanda, 22 July 2022, ZR Police station Kanyemba.

have lived up to their promises and continued paying for the orphan's school fees. Most of my people feel that CAMPFIRE always favoured the Chikunda over us.

Examining how compensation for wildlife attacks is perceived and distributed among different groups is essential. Tawanda's narrative reveals people's sentiments towards CAMPFIRE and compensation for victims of wildlife attacks. The woman being referred to in this case was Rita, and I interviewed her daughter, Runesu, who claimed that RDC was not helping her in any way.

Despite the recent policy that seeks to compensate losses incurred due to wildlife, the Rural District Councils (RDCs), CAMPFIRE and ZimParks still have no funds to permit the compensation. The losses include human lives, injuries, and damage to crops and livestock, undermining rural communities' livelihoods and well-being. Previous studies conducted in Hwange, Gonarezhou and Kariba districts have revealed that the lack of compensation is a significant source of dissatisfaction and resentment among the locals towards CAMPFIRE and wildlife conservation (Gandiwa et al., 2013; Shereni and Saarinen, 2021; Matanzima and Marowa, 2022) The issue of compensation was raised in the parliament, with some members proposing to adopt a similar scheme as in Botswana, where people are compensated for wildlife-induced losses. The government has announced the establishment of a fund to cover the medical and funeral expenses of the victims of human-wildlife conflict, which would be financed by hunting revenues and other fundraising activities. However, conservationists and activists have met this initiative with scepticism, doubting its adequacy and effectiveness in addressing the complex and multifaceted problem of human-wildlife conflict.

The views and aspirations of the Kanyemba residents concerning compensation for wildlife damage are influenced by their neighbouring villages. In an interview, Muchei argued that the people of Kanyemba would like to deal with animals like those in Luangwa, Zambia.¹²⁴ He reports that in Luangwa, people insist on retribution and restitution from the authorities when an elephant kills someone. He says that Zambians demand that the animal be killed first before they retrieve the body, and they also ask for financial compensation to assist the affected family. If the authorities do not act swiftly or effectively, the locals may resort to vigilantism and hunt down the animals. Sometimes, they may even confront and attack the game wardens for their perceived negligence or indifference. However, I must portray that the system allegedly practised in Luangwa is not in line with the official Zambian policies. Subakanya et al. (2018) argue that Zambian conservation policies lack an explicit provision for compensation in case

¹²⁴ Interview with Muchei, 06 May 2022, Chansato.

of wildlife damage. The Luangwa system may have been established to pacify victims, showing homegrown solutions. Respondents in Kanyemba favour the Luangwa model of compensation (or, at least, their perception of it), which involves killing the animals and selling the meat and other products, with the money going to the victims or their families. If the animal is a buffalo, they also expect the traditional practice of killing another buffalo to feed the funeral attendees to be respected. Furthermore, they want CAMPFIRE to have a specific fund to help the injured with their hospital bills rather than giving them a paltry sum that does not cover their expenses. Note that when I conducted my research, the bill had not yet been approved, so it is unclear whether people's views have since changed.

7.8.1 Animals are more important than people?

The Kanyemba community feels that animals are valued more than people and their livelihoods. This sentiment is shared by both the Tembo Mvura and the Chikunda groups. People who have experienced human-animal conflicts contend that the authorities value animals more than humans. They also express their frustration with the RDC and the ZimParks for failing to address the problems caused by the animals that invade their community. These animals damage crops, kill livestock, and injure or kill people. The victims do not receive compensation for their losses. I interviewed various community members to explore their perceptions of the value of animals and humans. The interviewees agreed that animals are treated more importantly than humans. One humorously remarked, 'The animals seem to have cell phones that when one is killed, they call the wardens, and they come quickly'.¹²⁵ This statement implies that animals receive better treatment than people. The interviews also suggested that the RDC, ZimParks, and safari operators responded faster when an animal was killed than when animals attacked a human. Sometimes, they would take a whole day to react to a case of human-animal conflict, as evidenced by Moyo's case. However, everyone agreed that the safari operator, RDC and the game wardens would arrive at the scene where the animals were killed within an hour, sometimes arriving in three Landcruisers. The slow pace at which the authorities react when a person is attacked has led people to conclude that animals get better protection from the authorities than humans. This chapter supports Jani et al.'s (2019) findings that people feel that animals, especially elephants, are overprotected. They argue that this protection undermines human well-being and livelihoods and causes them discontent.

¹²⁵ Interview with Mawau.

While getting a research clearance at the MRDC offices, I overheard gossip about two animal attacks. I spoke to one of the officials, who confirmed that a hippopotamus had killed a person. I asked him if they had hunted down the animals, and he said they were trying to. He explained that the hippopotamus attack was an unfortunate accident. A boat with eight passengers was coming from Mozambique, and the passengers did not notice a pod of hippos until a mother hippo rammed the boat. The passengers tried to scare the hippo away by splashing the water with their oars and hands, but the boat was between the mother and her calf, and she kept hitting the boat until it flipped over. The passengers swam to the shore, but one went towards the calf. The mother hippo bit him and tore his body apart. The victim was a fisherman who worked in Zambia. The hippo was not killed because she was lactating. The victim's family was unhappy and argued that there were too many hippos in the river, some coming from Luangwa River, where they had been culled at some point. I could not verify this claim of a recent hippo culling in Zambia. Many Chikunda interviews mentioned this recent attack and blamed CAMPFIRE and ZimParks for not dealing with the killer hippo.

7.8.2 Meat as consolation

Thus far, this chapter has shown that the local communities affected by CAMPFIRE have negative attitudes towards CAMPFIRE. One of the primary sources of dissatisfaction is the lack of tangible compensation for the damages caused by wildlife to their crops, livestock, property, and lives. However, as this chapter has demonstrated, up until the passing of a bill in mid-2023, there was no legal obligation for the government, RDC, CAMPFIRE or safari operator to pay for these damages. The local communities had somewhat accepted this lack of compensation, albeit reluctantly. However, they had taken the provision of meat as a consolation for the losses they incurred. While the local communities generally have diverse attitudes towards development, there is a consensus over the lack of transparency in the distribution of game meat. Wildlife meat was a vital benefit of the CAMPFIRE programme for local communities.

Meat distribution within CAMPFIRE wards involves two distinct categories: 1) meat derived from hunts and 2) meat sourced from Problem Animal Control (PAC) operations. The meat from hunts is supposed to be distributed among the villages in Kanyemba on a rotational basis. However, according to the bookkeeper at the CAMPFIRE Kanyemba offices, the last distribution of this meat occurred in 2019, before the onset of the COVID-19 pandemic. The bookkeeper further explained that the availability of meat had already declined due to changes

in council by-laws. These changes required the safari operator to pay for the smaller animals, such as duikers and springboks, used as bait for hunting large cats such as lions, cheetahs, and leopards (Taylor, 2009:2567). In the past, the safari operators used the small game (free of charge) meat as bait when hunting for large cats. This stopped when the safari operators were asked to pay for the small game. As a result, the safari operators now retain much of the meat from large games like buffaloes to avoid the expense of having to pay when using small game. This means that the community now receive less meat to share between them, and in many cases, it is alleged that only the game wardens and the APUs receive it.

Furthermore, corruption has also allegedly contributed to issues surrounding meat distribution, with allegations made against RDC, CAMPFIRE, and ZimParks officials for consuming a disproportionate amount of game meat compared to the people of Kanyemba. Such practices have further fuelled the local communities' rejection of CAMPFIRE, as it deprives them of their sole source of consolation. Concerns have been raised regarding meat distribution to RDC officials who do not stay in Kanyemba. However, the MRDC officials deny receiving meat from CAMPFIRE wards. Apart from the corruption allegations, politics has fostered negative attitudes among the local communities, especially regarding meat distribution. According to a safari operator, politicians have affected their business operations. In instances such as 2019 and 2022, ZimParks allegedly authorised the killing of six buffalos from the Mbire district without the safari operator's agreement with the RDC. During my stay in Kanyemba, a Buffalo was killed and carried to Bindura to feed people at independence celebrations. Taylor (2009, 2001) shows that politicians have used their offices to kill animals to be served at national events, and these animals are not paid for. Using political power without regard for conservation regulations has understandably resulted in frustration within the local community. The locals are of the view that the killing of animals for national events is not a bad thing. However, the local community also wants an animal to be killed for them for such celebrations. Suda¹²⁶ said with a smirk on his face:

We used to have buffalo or elephant meat at independence celebrations every year, but now this is our fourth year without meat. Where do they want us to get it? We hear soldiers come and get the buffalos, but they do not shoot one for us. It is frustrating that outsiders eat the meat; all we do is protect them.

Besides the meat supplied by the safari operator, another source of meat comes from PAC operations (see Figure 4). This meat is shared among the people at the site of the animal kill, with some portions reserved for the local chief and the rest divided equally among the

¹²⁶ Interview with Suda, 18 April 2022, Majaya BC

participants. The local community expressed dissatisfaction with the perceived unfairness in meat distribution by CAMPFIRE committee members. The local community views CAMPFIRE as depriving them of their only compensation. This inequity in meat distribution has caused growing resentment among the community members. I went to a kill site where a young bull was slaughtered, and I observed that the meat distribution was unequal. After the men skinned the elephant, the wardens told them to split the meat into portions that would be enough for everyone present. To assist this process, the wardens asked the village heads to record the households in their respective villages. I provided papers to the village heads for this purpose. Then, the men divided the meat into different piles based on the number of households in each village. I also received a piece of meat that weighed exactly 530 grams, which I assumed to be the approximate weight of each portion. The distribution process seemed organised, with the village heads collecting their respective shares of meat and distributing it among the villagers.



Figure 4: Elephant meat waiting to be distributed (photo taken by author)

However, problems arose when people who arrived late for various reasons and whose names had not been recorded demanded their fair portion of the meat. At first, this was not problematic. Nevertheless, later, it was discovered that some people were getting second portions before others got their first. This discovery led to a breaking point, resulting in disorder as people competed for a share of the remaining meat. To restore order, the wardens, who had already taken the tusks, skin, and a large portion of the meat, used sticks to control the situation.

However, these measures were ineffective as people continued to pursue the meat. From a broader perspective, this study interprets the ensuing disorder as an act of resistance against a system that consistently fails to address the community's needs and expectations while denying them their 'rightful' portion of meat.

7.9 Conclusion

This chapter focuses on human-wildlife conflict (HWC) and its impact on people's attitudes towards development. In this chapter, I described HWC by drawing on both mainstream definitions and local understanding within the Kanyemba community. I argue that HWC can be understood as an extension of human-human conflict, highlighting the interconnectedness of social dynamics and ecological challenges. Building upon the relationship between the Tembo Mvura and Chikunda, which is explained in Chapter Three, I illustrate the historical context of conflicts in the community. I explore the role of land use, which has contributed to HWC by creating spatial contestation between humans and wildlife. Agriculture has significantly led to conflicts, as the expansion of agricultural activities increases the spatial overlap between humans and wildlife. The chapter sheds light on the responses of the local community and various stakeholders to HWC. It has highlighted the everyday forms of resistance, termed 'infrapolitics', adopted by the locals, such as herding animals to government fields and hunting zones, which can be seen as subtle resistance against the prevailing circumstances.

In this chapter, I discuss compensation for the attacks on people and their sources of livelihood. While the policy was recently introduced in June 2023, the people still seem not to receive it. The people had accepted that meat was the least form of compensation for the losses they faced due to CAMPFIRE's protection of animals. I argue that the distribution of meat has become a primary source of resentment towards CAMPFIRE, fostering negative attitudes towards development programmes more generally. These attitudes are rooted in the perception that meat distribution is insufficient and unfair, particularly compared to the challenges and losses inflicted by Human-Wildlife Conflict (HWC). This chapter serves as the concluding discussion on people's attitudes towards development, forgoing an analysis of how these attitudes manifest as a rejection of development.

CHAPTER EIGHT

RETHINKING DEVELOPMENT IN KANYEMBA: A RADICAL DEMOCRACY APPROACH TO POST- DEVELOPMENT THEORY

8.1 Introduction

In previous editions of this work, I wrote that ‘development’ was like a star whose light can still be perceived even though it has been dead for a long time and forever. This echoed, in turn, Wolfgang Sachs’s (1992) statement: ‘The idea of development stands like a ruin in the intellectual landscape, and the time is ripe to write its obituary’. **Let us admit that we were both mistaken:** ‘Development’ continues to survive, even if, within the international institutions, its original aims have been whittled down to the struggle against poverty or achievement of the Millennium Goals (Rist 2019:273, emphasis added).

This chapter finds its foundation in the acknowledgement by Rist (2019) that post-development thinkers prematurely declared the end of development. Contrary to the prevalent belief among post-development thinkers in the late 1980s and early 1990s, declaring the end of development and rejecting it proves challenging. This chapter explores the nuances in the way people relate to development, utilising Kanyemba as an illuminating example to demonstrate the complicated ways in which people both desire and reject development. Using this small community, I navigate the complexities of post-development thinking, aiming to integrate this theoretical perspective into a dynamic conversation with the attitudes presented in the preceding chapters.

This chapter is structured into sections, facilitating the logical progression and interconnection of ideas and concepts. The chapter begins by situating the discussion within the context of post-development thinking, particularly aligning with a sceptical post-development perspective. The rationale for adopting the sceptical variant is justified. As the discussion evolves, the chapter addresses the interaction between power dynamics and local cultures and knowledge systems, emphasising their crucial role in collective resistance to development initiatives. Integrating post-development thinking throughout the discussion provides a nuanced exploration of these interconnected elements and their role in Kanyemba’s rejection of development.

The chapter also explores the critical issue of alternatives to development in Kanyemba. It underscores the importance of recognising that these alternatives are not universally applicable. The chapter elucidates why the alternatives in Kanyemba depend on specific cultural and ethnic

contexts. This section highlights the ethnic demarcation within Kanyemba, where the eastern side (associated with the Chikunda domain) and the western side (connected to the Tembo Mvura domain) have different perspectives on development and alternatives to development. While the two communities have different cultural contexts and, consequently, different perspectives, both communities indicate that they would like to be included in decision-making processes. The chapter consistently adheres to a sceptical post-development perspective, refraining from proposing a one-size-fits-all solution or suggesting that returning to agriculture or hunting and gathering is the only answer to the CAMPFIRE. Instead, it emphasises the complexity and context-specific nature of development alternatives in Kanyemba.

This chapter enhances the post-development conversation by highlighting the importance of radical and plural democracy, demonstrated through the community's determination to gain control and authority over their resources. The critique presented is multifaceted, including promoting local knowledge and autonomy, principles of inclusivity, respect for diversity, and a clear rejection of top-down development approaches. The chapter adds to the post-development school of thought by shedding light on how the local population's demand for control over resources is compatible with sceptical post-development and radical democracy. In this chapter, I posit that sceptical post-development thinking and radical democracy manifest in the Kanyemba community's rejection of development.

8.2 Situating the study in post-development thinking

Since its inception, post-development theory has encountered significant criticism from various perspectives. Chapter Two outlines that the critique is multifaceted and originates from different sources. Corbridge (2007:145) points out that post-development thinking has been criticised for romanticising 'soil cultures' without sufficient empirical documentation of its claims. Kiely (1999) uses the analogy of 'Pontius Pilate politics' to underscore the perceived weaknesses of post-development. Furthermore, Nederveen Pieterse (2010) asserts that post-development theory still needs to offer a viable path forward. Ziai's (2004) response to the criticisms of post-development is a notable contribution, particularly in identifying two distinct variants of post-development thought. By recognising the diversity within post-development thinking, Ziai's (2004) differentiation of the variants refined a post-development understanding beyond a blanket critique.

On the one hand, there is the reactionary neo-populist post-development, a discourse that romanticises traditional culture, portraying it as static and resistant to change, fundamentally rejecting modernity while advocating a return to subsistence agriculture (Ziai, 2004: 1053). Ziai (2004) identifies Rahnema and Bawtree (1997) and Alvares (1992), among others, as the proponents of this perspective associated with the idealisation of the past and failure to acknowledge potential drawbacks or challenges. On the other hand, there is a variant of post-development thinking that Ziai (2004) calls sceptical post-development. This perspective takes a more critical view of local communities and cultural traditions. It scrutinises modernity, adopts a constructivist view of culture, and refrains from prescribing specific models for societal transformations in the future (Ziai, 2004: 1054). Ziai (2004) identifies Escobar (1995), Esteva and Prakash (1998), and Apffel-Marglin and Marglin (1996) as proponents of this variant. Ziai (2004) argues that this variant of post-development thinking fits with the notion of radical democracy as laid out by Lummis (1996) and Laclau and Mouffe (2001).

This study is situated within the sceptical post-development thinking framework, as outlined by Ziai (2004). Rather than outright rejecting all facets of development, this research acknowledges the existence of certain aspects of development that Kanyemba residents value. Informed by the sceptical post-development viewpoint, this research perceives culture as an ever-evolving social construct influenced by historical, political, and socio-economic factors. This perspective accentuates the fluidity of cultural identities and practices, challenging static and essentialist viewpoints. When examining the Kanyemba community, this study explores the impact and influence of the global system and its role in fostering cultural hybridisation. This chapter adopts a cautious and critical approach to examining dynamic cultural traditions. It acknowledges that some traditions may no longer be relevant and require adaptation while recognising the incorporation of imposed or learned traditions. Crucially, this research aligns with the sceptical post-development approach in its refusal to prescribe a specific model for an ideal society, as underscored by Ziai (2017). This chapter utilises a restrained analytical approach, focusing on understanding and contextualising the unique conservation and development trajectories of Kanyemba society. By adopting this approach, this study illuminates the historical, social, political, and economic complexities within Kanyemba societies and acknowledges that a one-size-fits-all solution is inapplicable. This study elucidates the intricate interplay between democracy and tradition, modernity, and culture within the CAMPFIRE context. It highlights how the community has sought a democratic system for complete control of wildlife resources and grassroots decision-making.

As highlighted, sceptical post-development thinking fits with the idea of radical democracy. Radical democracy paves the way for this study to analyse people's attitudes towards development and how they demand equality, equity, inclusivity, and the decentralisation of power and authority. In this study, I posit that the demand for development is not universal, even within a small community like Kanyemba. This chapter brings the study into a conversation with post-development by showing the plurality of democracies and how local communities demand involvement in decision-making, control and ownership of their resources.

This study is grounded in the sceptical variant of post-development thinking, which allows for rejecting universalism. Universalism is the belief in principles or truths universally applicable to all people or cultures. This study recognises plurality and thus embraces radical pluralism. Esteva (2023:137) carefully distinguishes radical pluralism from cultural relativism, viewing the latter as risky, often leading to fundamentalism and conflict. Within the framework of sceptical post-development thinking, radical pluralism acknowledges the richness and intricacy of human experiences and perspectives, firmly rejecting the notion of a single, universally applicable perspective. This thesis argues for a worldview that values and respects diversity. It rejects any attempts to impose a universal truth or perspective on all people or cultures. This approach aligns with the principles of radical and plural democracy and sceptical post-development thinking, promoting a more inclusive and equitable understanding of our diverse world.

8.3 Dismissal of development in Kanyemba

Early post-development texts declared that the era of development had come to an end. For example, in the introduction to the book *The Development Dictionary*, Sachs (2010 [1992]: xiii) claimed that 'Development' was a guiding light for nascent nations, propelling them towards progress. At the time, he suggested that this era of development was coming to an end. However, authors like Sachs (2010) and Rist (2019) later conceded that their declaration of the death of development was premature. This study supports this concession. The age-old promise of development, which assured all societies of eventually bridging the wealth gap between the privileged and the marginalised, still strongly resonates with the people of Kanyemba. For the inhabitants of Kanyemba, the desire to achieve the equality that development promised is ingrained in their daily struggles. Their determination to improve their living conditions, which

includes essentials like building ‘proper’ homes, acquiring clothing, and ensuring a sufficient food supply, remains a dream as the people of Kanyemba wait anxiously.

As explained above, early post-development scholars like Sachs (1992) and Rist (1997) proclaimed that the development era was over. However, they later retracted their claims, acknowledging the resilience of the idea of development. This study suggests that the post-development thinkers who stated that the era of development was over were right to retract the statement because development is still desired by many. As has been highlighted in Chapters Five and Six, the residents of Kanyemba want development. The signposts of development among the Tembo Mvura are infrastructural development and food security, and the people still desire these things and associate them with development. This study highlights how people view development as essential if they want to achieve a state in which they can be viewed as developed people. As highlighted in Chapter Five, the Tembo Mvura still view their houses as not ‘proper’. By still striving to achieve development, the people of Kanyemba clearly do not consider the era of development as over.

Neo-populist post-development thinkers such as Rahnema (1997) claim that marginalised people do not want development. However, this study’s findings suggest that the residents of Kanyemba want development. For example, people regard brick- and asbestos-roofed houses as essentials associated with development. The people desire ‘proper’ houses, schools, clinics and money-generating projects to achieve the state of development. Contrary to the notion of dismissing development in toto and suggesting that marginalised communities do not want development, Kanyemba represents the epitome of a community which feels marginalised within development. The Kanyemba community desires development but feels excluded from it, and as such, presents a divergence from the notion that post-development thinking states that marginal communities do not desire development.

However, this does not mean that the people of Kanyemba fully embrace development either. Post-development scholars such as Sachs (2010) and Esteva (2023) have alluded to the notion that development involves cultural imperialism. Sachs (2010:319) describes the replacement of existing society through development as cultural imperialism. Esteva (2023:137 and 164) refers to the replacement or annihilation of local cultures by western cultures as *culturicide*. My findings suggest that cultural erosion is one of the foundational factors behind the ambivalent feelings towards development in Kanyemba. Cultural erosion in Kanyemba has to be understood from a bifocal point of view in which both the Chikunda and Tembo Mvura experiences are taken into account. As highlighted in Chapter Five, the Tembo Mvura viewed

view development as replacing their cultural beliefs on their conservation of resources. The study shows how the animals were conserved and sustainably utilised under the guidance of their cultural beliefs prior to the arrival of CAMPFIRE. Chapter Six attests to the fact that the Chikunda view CAMPFIRE as an agent of cultural imperialism. In this study, I suggest that the erosion of people's cultures is one of the reasons why the people of Kanyemba sometimes feel negatively towards development.

8.4 Chikunda attitudes towards CAMPFIRE and post-development thinking

Not only did development prove to be simply a myth for the millions it was destined to serve; the premises and assumptions on which it was founded were misleading (Rahnema 1997:378).

This statement by Rahnema, in the afterword of the book *The Post-Development Reader*, captures the situation in the Kanyemba community, as described in the preceding chapters. When CAMPFIRE was introduced, people were promised the end of poverty in Kanyemba, better living standards, employment and a stop to the animal attacks. However, these promises have not been fulfilled, thus giving rise to negative attitudes. Rist (2019) alludes that development was meant to alleviate poverty within the recipient areas. To the Chikunda community, solving poverty would begin with providing employment and other means of earning a living. CAMPFIRE, as the respondents have shown, has failed to employ the general populace, but only individuals associated with officials and others with power.

The development paradigm has been associated with entrenching dependency. My findings suggest that in Kanyemba, dependency was created in two ways. The first one was the dependency on the meagre dividends that the people received. When the programme began, the people received dividends. Even though the money was insufficient, the people depended on the funds. Closely aligned to the dividends system was providing food items during times of hunger (which occur quite often in the area). The dividend funds were, in some instances, used to buy mealie meal and sugar beans for the people to consume. The second way in which CAMPFIRE created dependency is its supposed provision of financial aid to victims of animal attacks. The people received the dividends from 1989 till 1996, when the project systems replaced the dividends system. When the dividends were stopped, the committee promised to take care of people in emergencies (including but not limited to animal attacks). The people, as the research highlighted, do not keep emergency funds, which is understandable considering

that there is no source of money in the area. Victims of animal attacks reported that CAMPFIRE has continuously failed to assist them. When nuanced, the manifestation of the negative attitudes portrays a severe dependence that CAMPFIRE created; the people were overly dependent on the funds they were promised when the dividends system stopped. Promises made and not kept by CAMPFIRE have seen many people wait for employment, development, and even progress in the area in a way that maintains a state of dependency.

This study might have led the reader to assume that the Tembo Mvura were the exclusive hunters in Kanyemba, which is inaccurate. The Chikunda were not hunter-gatherers like the Tembo Mvura, but they were renowned big-game hunters, particularly elephants. The Chikunda ancestors, who worked with Portuguese traders, were actively involved in hunting elephants for the ivory trade. They utilised homemade musket guns known as Gugudela, which were effective in elephant hunting. After the end of the ivory trade, people started using these guns to kill animals for domestic consumption. A few surviving elderly members of the Chikunda community professed to have the skills to service and use these guns. However, over time, the ban on hunting and restrictions on gun ownership compelled people to surrender or cease using these firearms. The Chikunda were not limited to big-game hunting; they also engaged in small-game hunting for household consumption, a practice later prohibited by CAMPFIRE. The ban on hunting did not significantly impact the Chikunda, as they primarily relied on farming for sustenance. Besides game meat, their protein source included fish from the Mwanzamtanda and Zambezi rivers. The Chikunda employed fish nets strategically in areas with lower crocodile presence. They fished in both the Mwanzamtanda and Zambezi rivers. However, CAMPFIRE introduced restrictions on net fishing, favouring pole fishing, which proved less reliable for securing fish.

Chikunda's discontent with CAMPFIRE stemmed from the programme's elimination of its primary protein source, which did not provide viable alternatives. The ban on hunting and fishing exacerbated the situation for the Chikunda because there were no cattle in Kanyemba due to Tsetse flies. Their only source of protein was fish and game meat, and CAMPFIRE's introduction banned access to them. In its pre-introduction meetings, CAMPFIRE experts and ecologists promised the people meat from hunted animals. While CAMPFIRE promised to provide meat, the reality from the 1990s to the present has been consistently scarce, except for the drought years of 1992-1993. As highlighted in the past chapters, animals were culled during the drought year. Consequently, Chikunda has dismissed the programme for failing to replace its primary protein source, especially after its removal.

8.5 Tembo Mvura: Development as a double-edged sword

... not only did development fail to resolve the old problems it was supposed to address, but it brought in new ones of incomparably greater magnitude (Rahnema, 1997:378).

The narratives from the Tembo Mvura community illuminate the disillusionment emanating from the complex relationship between development and issues of marginalisation and exclusion. Their experiences, marked by years of neglect and a lack of essential services, closely echo the critiques put forth by post-development theory. Post-development posits that development initiatives often unintentionally marginalise certain regions or social groups (Sachs 2010, Rist 2019), a sentiment strongly reflected in the Tembo Mvura community's narrative. The lack of essential services, such as schools and clinics in their area, has amplified their sense of marginalisation and contributed to their exclusion. The absence of educational opportunities has further marginalised them, restricting their employment prospects and relegating them to lower socio-economic strata.

The Tembo Mvura community has traditionally followed a nomadic lifestyle, avoiding the construction of permanent structures. The advent of the CAMPFIRE programme marked a period of transformation, primarily characterised by changes to their daily life. CAMPFIRE propagated Western concepts of progress and development as crucial aspects of its implementation strategy. Notably, the primary prerequisite for achieving the developmental pinnacle outlined by CAMPFIRE required a departure from deeply rooted traditional practices. The primary incentive offered to the Tembo Mvura people to make them abandon their nomadic lifestyle was the promise of obtaining 'proper' houses (*'dzimba chaidzo'*). Here, 'proper' refers to modern houses built with bricks and asbestos roofing. The Tembo Mvura people mostly used this statement, which has comparative connotations of their huts and modern-day houses. The CAMPFIRE programme aimed to universalise modernity in line with an inherent trait of development—universalism. In this context, universalism emphasises that contemporary society operates within a single, now globalised environment, consistent with Kothari et al.'s (2019:xxii) observations. However, the Tembo Mvura people faced significant hurdles in pursuing the promised state of development characterised by these 'proper' homes. The truth of this claim is highlighted by the noticeable lack of such structures in their communities, making the promises of the CAMPFIRE programme unfulfilled. This failure to realise the envisioned outcomes has significantly contributed to a prevailing rejection of CAMPFIRE

within the community. The people's disappointment in CAMPIRE can be understood in two different ways. Post-development thinking dismisses development for its universalism, which is understood as cultural imperialism. The Tembo Mvura had been staying in their pole and mud huts since time immemorial, and CAMPFIRE experts made promises of the modern-day houses as replacements for the old ones. This study argues that the people are disappointed in CAMPFIRE and want its removal because, while it has made them ashamed of their traditional houses, it has not enabled them to construct 'proper' houses. Chiyambo claimed that 'we all want houses in which we can all walk inside with a burning lamp and not be afraid of it catching fire. A house in which we can all sit inside and walk straight'.¹²⁷ These huts they stayed in had a cultural significance; the people were nomads and, therefore, did not construct permanent structures. After their resettlement in Mariga and Chiramba villages, they became quasi-nomads who built semi-permanent structures which they could dismantle in minutes and relocate to higher or lower ground depending on the season. The huts had a solid link to their livelihoods and culture. The people were willing to forgo that cultural part of their lives by accepting the 'proper' houses, but they have now seen that CAMPFIRE failed to deliver on its promise and hence should be dismissed.

Universalism and cultural imperialism are closely aligned, giving labels to people, groups and states. The characterisation of developed and underdeveloped can be traced back to the Truman 1949 speech and even earlier. The labelling of development recipients has been a contentious issue in post-development thinking. Rahnema (2010) argues that the poor are often labelled as 'underdeveloped' and are represented as lacking the ability to determine their interests. As a result, it is assumed that those with superior knowledge and power, such as governments, institutions, professionals, and competent authorities, should act on their behalf. This was also the case for the Kanyemba community, who were labelled poor despite their varied interpretations of this term and were, therefore, seen as needing development. The community initially did not contest this labelling because they were presented with evidence that seemed to support it. However, this study argues that while statistics might categorise the Kanyemba community as poor, these calculations did not accurately represent their lifestyle. The community members recalled a lifestyle that they would not classify as impoverished. They had a sufficient supply of protein and did not sleep outdoors.

I use Nanda Shrestha's (1995:261) recollections as he was growing up in Nepal:

¹²⁷ Interview with Chiyambo, 17 April 2022, Mariga

To my innocent mind, poverty looked natural, something that nobody could do anything about. I accepted poverty as a matter of fate caused by bad *karma*. That is what we were repeatedly told. I had no idea that poverty was largely a social creation, not a bad karmic product. Despite all this, it never seemed threatening and dehumanising. So, poor and hungry, I certainly was. But underdeveloped? I never thought—nor did anybody else—that being poor meant being ‘underdeveloped’ and lacking human dignity.

Shrestha’s reflections resonate strongly with the experiences of the Tembo Mvura community members. Prior to the introduction of the CAMPFIRE programme, the community was largely unaware of their perceived ‘underdevelopment’. This unawareness can be understood through two distinct scenarios from the gathered evidence. In the first scenario, the CAMPFIRE programme introduced awareness of their ‘poverty’, as it disrupted their traditional livelihoods. CAMPFIRE, among the Tembo Mvura community, effectively curtailed their traditional hunting and gathering practices. While there were pre-existing colonial and post-colonial laws prohibiting hunting and gathering, the introduction of the CAMPFIRE programme further entrenched these restrictions, which had not previously been enforced. Some older community members report that before CAMPFIRE, the community had an abundant food supply, and the resources in their environment met their needs sufficiently. They were largely unaware of their perceived state of being ‘underdeveloped’. The community did not perceive themselves as poor, as their needs were primarily centred around the provision of food. However, with the introduction of the CAMPFIRE programme and the subsequent restrictions on hunting and gathering, the community members realised they were considered ‘poor’ and were barred from their traditional livelihood practices. They could no longer hunt animals or gather tubers and fruits for subsistence, significantly impacting their self-perception and livelihoods. The community members understood that the CAMPFIRE programme undermined their livelihoods by eroding their diverse hunting and gathering skills. This aligns with Esteva’s (2023:22) argument that development initiatives often render the skills of local communities redundant and inadequate.

The Tembo Mvura community was unaware of their ‘underdeveloped’ status until the introduction of the CAMPFIRE programme. When development experts associated with CAMPFIRE arrived in Kanyemba, they portrayed the lifestyle of the Tembo Mvura as undesirable and inferior compared to ‘developed’ societies. The community was exposed to a life beyond their everyday experiences, shown houses, clothes, schools, and modern medicine, which they did not use. Their inability to utilise these was presented as a sign of being underdeveloped, and the introduction and acceptance of the CAMPFIRE programme further underscored this. The Tembo Mvura were shown films (bioscope), and these films influenced

how they identified themselves as poor, a state they had never considered in their previous lifestyle. Once labelled and associated as ‘underdeveloped’, the Tembo Mvura expected development to alleviate their poverty and elevate them to the level of the ‘developed’ societies they were shown. Poverty alleviation is often tied to assessing the ‘needs’ of local people, typically determined by experts (Rahnema, 2010). This study argues that the community became aware of poverty as they awaited development to fulfil the promised needs. However, the situation remained the same even after being presented with a solution to leave the underdeveloped state, which involved giving up their lifestyle of hunting and gathering in order to receive benefits. Over time, the community has become disillusioned with development efforts, as they have been forced to abandon their traditional lifestyle, but their poverty has not been alleviated.

Chapter Five is dedicated to an in-depth exploration of the attitudes of the Tembo Mvura community towards the CAMPFIRE programme and how it has consistently left them disenfranchised. The chapter highlights the promises made at the programme’s inception and how the community has held onto these promises. Among these promises, the prospect of owning ‘modern’ houses and educating their children are repeatedly presented as progress indicators. A section within Chapter Five is dedicated to the persistent questioning by the Tembo Mvura about the actual beneficiaries of development. This notion is associated with the deep-seated inequality that development sought to address. The CAMPFIRE programme has been characterised by a lack of tangible signs of development and an extension and deepening of marginalisation, poverty, and exclusion of their community. The Tembo Mvura community continually ask whose development CAMPFIRE is for. They argue that the animals which CAMPFIRE supposedly protects are more concentrated on their side of the river, yet they have seen little to no development. They are convinced that the CAMPFIRE programme has further entrenched the pre-existing inequality between them and the Chikunda. This inequality has become more pronounced because the Tembo Mvura no longer have access to their primary source of livelihood and now rely on money disbursed by the populous and dominant Chikunda community. During the dividends period, the councillor, chief, and a Chikunda-dominated CAMPFIRE committee disbursed the funds, and the Tembo Mvura are convinced that they were consistently short-changed. It is important to note that there was no paper trail of the funds disbursed; hence, their claims of being short-changed cannot be substantiated or refuted. After discontinuing the dividends system, the project system saw the domination of the Chikunda in decision-making committees, resulting in CAMPFIRE’s disenfranchisement of the Tembo

Mvura. The inequality is visible in the lack of infrastructural development in Tembo Mvura villages, which can be explained by the absence of committee members from the Tembo Mvura community.

Post-development thinkers such as Escobar (1995:44) and Apffel Marglin and Marglin (1996) show that development has historically been influenced by ethnocentric forces, which have imposed Western knowledges and cultures on local communities, often requiring them to abandon their own. Ki-Zerbo et al. (1997) use education to highlight the imposition and annihilation of cultures. Chapter Seven of this study illustrates how the introduction of the CAMPFIRE programme led to a disregard for the local knowledge of the Tembo Mvura community regarding animal control, resulting in an increase in HWC. This destruction of local knowledge through the imposition of Westernised policies echoes a fundamental critique within the post-development theory, which argues that development undermines local autonomy and erodes traditional practices. Conservationists and development experts dismissed existing cultures and knowledge, assuming that local traditions and knowledge had failed to conserve resources. As discussed earlier in this study, CAMPFIRE was formulated in response to the failure of the protectionist natural resource management and control policies (the fences and fines approach). These protectionist policies were introduced in response to the belief that African systems were overusing and misusing available resources. The experts who developed the protectionist approach and those who created CAMPFIRE both contributed to the destruction of local knowledge or what some describe as epistemicide. Santos (2014:92) describes this disruptive concept as ‘the murder of knowledge’. He further explained that unequal exchanges among cultures have always implied the death of subordinated knowledge. Hall and Tandon (2017) concur with Santos, defining epistemicide as the killing of knowledge systems. Bennett (2007:154) views it as ‘the systematic destruction of rival forms of knowledge, is at its worst nothing less than symbolic genocide’. Masaka (2017:442, footnote 3) understands epistemicide as the partial or near-total destruction of one knowledge paradigm by a hegemonic group with the objective of presenting their own as the dominant one. Epistemicide, understood as defined above, is an appropriate term to be used in describing the annihilation of local knowledge and the resultant increase in HWC, as described in Chapter 7. The experts (ecologists, development experts, conservationists) associated with CAMPFIRE can be seen as the hegemonic group that destroyed the local knowledges. The introduction of CAMPFIRE in Kanyemba was the proverbial final nail in the coffin, marking the death of local knowledge and cultures associated with natural resource management and control.

The disregard for the local knowledges has been one of the reasons why there has been contestation within the communities. The Tembo Mvura community's perspective on development and its relationship with epistemicide is crucial in understanding marginalisation and exclusion. The Tembo Mvura culture enabled them to have a deep knowledge of the natural resources surrounding them. With the introduction of CAMPFIRE, their knowledge was discarded, and this also allowed the Chikunda to mock the Tembo Mvura due to their supposed lack of knowledge. As highlighted in Chapters Five and Seven, the destruction of the Tembo Mvura's indigenous knowledge worsened the contestation in Kanyemba. The Chikunda consecrated their stereotypes against the Tembo Mvura, which was made more possible by the existence of new knowledge that disregarded the Tembo Mvura cultures and knowledge. The destruction of the Tembo Mvura knowledges worsened the contestation in the community, as evidenced by the categorisation of the Tembo Mvura as 'poachers'. Disregarding their knowledges and culture was seen to achieve development or the state of being developed. However, the CAMPFIRE initiative, driven by external actors and Western ideologies, resulted in unintended negative consequences. The imposition of resource conservation systems on the Kanyemba community has led to the marginalisation of the Tembo Mvura and some Chikunda members. Delayed animal control measures, issues with problem animals, and wildlife-induced disruptions to people's livelihoods have been some of the unintended consequences. The enforcement of modern animal control methods under legal threats epitomises the critiques that align with post-development thinking. The Tembo Mvura and Chikunda communities operate within the policy framework established by CAMPFIRE in partnership with ZimParks and the Rural District Council. These policies have faced criticism for prioritising animal protection over local population welfare. The people have demanded control of the animals and other resources.

8.6 'We want development, but not CAMPFIRE...'

The introduction of CAMPFIRE made the Kanyemba community acutely aware of their 'underdeveloped' state. This awareness sparked their desire to 'develop' and gain access to the amenities developed societies enjoy. However, this has placed the community in a dilemma; they aspire to move away from their state of underdevelopment, yet they wish to preserve certain aspects of the lifestyle that has been labelled 'underdeveloped'. This section explores the emergence of ambivalent perspectives within the post-development discourse. It begins by exploring the ambivalence within the Tembo Mvura community before shifting focus to the

Chikunda community. This exploration underscores the complexities and ambivalence inherent in development initiatives in the Kanyemba communities.

While the Tembo Mvura community has consistently rejected the CAMPFIRE initiative due to its failure to deliver on its development promises, it is essential to note that their rejection of this specific development approach does not equate to a lack of desire for development in its entirety. Their attitudes present a complex and ambivalent scenario. In Chapter Five, the descriptions of development by the Tembo Mvura community highlight their aspirations and what they associate with development. They desire modern amenities like houses, roads, clinics, and schools. However, they were told that they had to abandon some aspects of their traditional lifestyle to receive and enjoy these amenities. They quickly left their hunting and gathering practices, hoping to obtain meat, food, and money to build houses from the resources. Both the elderly and younger members of the Tembo Mvura community expressed a desire to own a brick-constructed house, send their children to school, and have the ability to eat three times a day without worrying about the next day. The promotion of CAMPFIRE played a key role in shaping these desires.

As time passed, however, the community came to the sobering realisation that CAMPFIRE and its associated development initiatives consistently fell short of fulfilling their expectations. The promises of improved living standards, better housing, and enhanced livelihoods still needed to be met. Frustration and disappointment grew among the people, leading to their rejection of CAMPFIRE. This dismissal should, however, not be understood as the end of the people's desire to have roads, clinics, schools and brick houses. The people still want development but not CAMPFIRE-related development. They want to own the brick houses, send kids to school and have all the roads that link their villages with the neighbouring communities. Their wishes for development show that the people are not dismissing development entirely, only the initiative that has failed to deliver on the promises. Such a circumstance aligns with the complex and intricate conundrum surrounding post-development ideology, as Matthews (2017) explores. She highlights the disparity between the community's aspirations for development and the harsh reality of unfulfilled promises. The people may not want some aspects of development but appreciate some aspects; hence, dismissal of development in toto is not applicable.

The community has responded to their disappointment with CAMPFIRE in various ways. While some individuals may have moved on and accepted the erosion of indigenous knowledge and cultures, other members of the Tembo Mvura community steadfastly cling to the hope of

a return to traditional practices. It might be assumed that this desire is primarily held by the older generation accustomed to hunting and gathering. However, in my interviews with the Tembo Mvura, it became clear that many younger Tembo Mvura people who have never engaged in these traditional activities also expressed a desire to reintroduce hunting and gathering. The rejection of CAMPFIRE by the community is strongly related to its prohibition of hunting and gathering, which destroyed their livelihoods while failing to introduce the ‘modern’ alternatives it promised. There is, however, ambivalence in demand to return to the old ways as even those opposing development in their area aspire to move beyond makeshift huts and own brick houses. They seek a middle ground — the ability to hunt and gather while enjoying certain aspects of modern living. The community’s stance on development is not absolute; it is complex. This complexity introduces ambivalent traits, revealing a perspective where some individuals dismiss certain aspects of development while retaining elements considered favourable to their way of life.

Chapter Six highlights Chikunda’s ambivalent attitudes towards development in Kanyemba. The Tembo Mvura assume that the Chikunda have received a better share of the development. This assumption is closely associated with the power imbalances rampant in Kanyemba. The Chikunda, being the clan in positions of authority, have indeed received some advantages from development initiatives. Infrastructural developments like clinics and schools in the Chikunda area are directly or indirectly attributed to CAMPFIRE, and the Chikunda express gratitude for these improvements that are aligned with the programme. Despite their acknowledgement of the positive infrastructural developments, the Chikunda, like the Tembo Mvura, assert that CAMPFIRE is unsuitable for achieving overall development. They argue that the programme has resulted in some adverse circumstances instead of improving their lives. Access to the primary protein sources—fish and game meat—has diminished due to hunting and fishing restrictions associated with CAMPFIRE, particularly impacting fish consumption among the Chikunda. This study, similar to the conclusion drawn by Claudio (2008), highlights that fish consumption was drastically reduced among the Chikunda, and the CAMPFIRE programme was an important factor in the reduction.

The Chikunda express a desire for development but insist on initiatives that do not disrupt their daily lives. They challenge the ban on net fishing, asserting that Zambians and Mozambicans have been using nets for fishing without depleting the fish population in the river. Some members of the Chikunda who have felt the effect of the hunting and fishing bans have described CAMPFIRE as a punitive programme that seeks to protect the animals at the expense

of the people. The Chikunda argue that they should not be forced to buy fish from Zambians and Mozambicans as if they do not have access to the Zambezi River from which the two nationalities get fish. The people want development and the right to catch fish for consumption and selling, which CAMPFIRE denies.

Apart from concerns about protein sources, some Chikunda members dismiss CAMPFIRE due to the perception that it favours community members close to the ruling elites. As highlighted earlier, some reports show that Chikunda has benefited from employment related to the CAMPFIRE programme. Despite this generally accepted assumption that the Chikunda have benefitted from the jobs, a nuanced approach reveals deeply seated power dynamics at play in the Chikunda community. Individuals who are unaligned with those in authority or who have fallen out of favour have not secured employment through CAMPFIRE. Consequently, many Chikunda community members desire jobs but reject CAMPFIRE's involvement, questioning its fairness and integrity. Ambivalent attitudes among Chikunda members arise because, despite the apparent collective benefits they have had as a community, there are many individual grievances which result when the perceived benefits are unfairly distributed. It is crucial to note that the dismissal applies specifically to CAMPFIRE as a development initiative and should not be equated with a rejection of development in general.

8.6 Post-development: Local knowledge and agency in Kanyemba

Post-development thinking highlights the crucial role of local knowledge in creating effective and sustainable development initiatives. Scholars like Demaria and Kothari (2017) and Ziai (2017) argue for a more decentred and equitable knowledge system to accommodate the diversity of global knowledge forms and change perspectives. They propose moving away from viewing objective and detached scientific knowledge as the only standard and recognising it as one of many possible forms of understanding. This comprehensive view of knowledge includes traditional or indigenous wisdom and the insights and experiences of individuals and communities closely acquainted with their challenges and aspirations. Furthermore, Shiva (1989) emphasises diverse knowledge systems and practices within Global South communities, particularly highlighting the contributions of rural women and indigenous groups. These alternative approaches to interacting with people, knowledge, and the environment contrast sharply with the dominant paradigm of reductionist science, patriarchy, violence, and profit-driven motives. Instead, they advocate for less exploitative and more ecologically harmonious interactions.

In line with this discussion, I argue that Kanyemba residents strongly emphasise the need for cultural relevance within the development initiative. Recognising that development interventions must be tailored to specific contexts, local knowledge considers cultural nuances and traditions essential. For instance, a deeper understanding of indigenous conservation practices can lead to more sustainable and productive approaches aligned with local ecosystems. The local Kanyemba ecosystems relied on numerous elements, including taboos, sacred places and totemism. Taboos (*zvierwa*) were essential in conserving natural resources in most African rural communities, including Kanyemba. A taboo refers to the prohibition of the use or consumption of certain plant species, natural resources, or animals, referred to as totems (Mawere and Mubaya, 2016; Makamure and Chimininga, 2015; Ogwu and Osawaru, 2022). Traditional cultures and taboos gave rise to the aspect of totemism, which was influential in the conservation of resources. As discussed earlier in the thesis, totemism is a belief system that revolves around a supernatural connection between individuals and specific objects, including animals or items made from these animals. Totemism held significant importance for the residents, with various clans identifying with specific totems, such as the Marunga (pigeon) for the Chikunda and the zebra and elephant for the Tembo Mvura.

The introduction of CAMPFIRE disregarded the sacrality that informed local conservation practices, and this, according to the people, has been the reason animals are wilder than they were. Sacrality was central to conserving natural resources in rural areas of Zimbabwe. Sacrality significantly contributes to the community's sustaining and conserving resources. Indigenous communities deem some areas sacred and conserve them through sociocultural and religious practices central to many indigenous cultures. These sacred areas can take various forms, including traditional sacred groves, temple groves, and burial or cremation grounds (Ogwu and Osawaru, 2022). In Kanyemba, sacred groves include temple groves, sacred pools and burial grounds. These groves had to be maintained in a 'pure' state because, in most cases, there are areas where the spirit mediums conduct their business. Ordinary people are not allowed, and there are some parts of the forest where one cannot walk unaccompanied. The mountains in Chewore Safaris and Chitsere Conservancy include areas where hunting is forbidden according to local beliefs and practices. Before one was allowed to set foot in those grooves, they were expected to be cleansed by the spirit medium.

However, the introduction of CAMPFIRE led to the desacralisation of the once-sacred areas, thereby destroying the cultural beliefs. 'Unclean' individuals, such as hunters and tourists, have trodden on the sacred areas, and the residents of Kanyemba believe that some of the ills

associated with the areas can be associated with the disregard of the cultural traditions. The people demand respect for their culture and believe that such respect will result in a decrease in the incidence of HWC. CAMPFIRE discarded the people's beliefs by introducing systems centred on Western conservation models. In Chapters Five and Seven, I highlighted instances of Human-Wildlife Conflict (HWC), where lions killed people and where these killings were perceived as being due to actions angering the ancestors. In some Zimbabwean communities like Kanyemba, lions are associated with the souls of departed community elders, and their killing is prohibited. These lions are referred to as *Mhondoro*, a term denoting spiritual beings. The killing of community members was believed to be a process of cleansing the tainted community. In Chapter Seven, I shared the story of a game warden who lost his life to the marauding lions and explained that the community described his death in ways that allude to strong cultural beliefs. The argument is that the warden, working under the instruction of CAMPFIRE and ZimParks, had not been cleansed by the spirit mediums to kill the lions; therefore, the ancestors were not happy in a mortal killing a *Mhondoro*. Such events underscore the influence of cultural beliefs and practices on human-animal interactions and their contribution to wildlife conservation. The dismissal of development is not only based on its failure to bring change to the community but also because it disregarded local knowledge and beliefs and shifted the agency from the local people.

The belief in sacred areas extends to fishing areas. According to local beliefs, the Mwanzamtanda and Zambezi rivers have areas and pools where people cannot fish. There are also some pools where fetching water using a container tainted with soot or a bucket used for laundry or any modern utensils is disallowed. Crocodiles and superhuman creatures (mermaids) are said to protect these sacred pools or places. The existence of mermaids cannot be supported. However, the locals argue that people have disappeared along the Zambezi River for different cultural and religious infractions. The two creatures (crocodiles and mermaids) were believed to herd fish into the fishermen's nets whenever there was hunger. When, in rare cases, these pools become tainted, the guilty party is fined, and these fines would range from chickens to goats and, at times, include grains. After paying the fines, the perpetrator, alongside community members, would come together and conduct traditional ceremonies to restore the groves' sanctity.

The introduction of CAMPFIRE in Kanyemba was characterised by desecration of the scared pools in two ways. Earlier in this study, I highlighted how private players are now running the fishing spaces, and the locals have been left to poach fish in dangerous areas with little fish to

catch. Both the Tembo Mvura and Chikunda report that the spirits do not like the smell of petrol. Staff members of the fishing camps, alongside game wardens, patrol the Zambezi River using petrol-powered speed boats. The elderly members claim that the mermaids left the area because of the constant use of these boats. The Chikunda and Tembo Mvura argue that prior to the introduction of CAMPFIRE, there were no instances of crocodiles attacking people. In addition to losing their right to fish in most fishing pools, the Tembo Mvura, in particular, argue that they have lost their connection with the spirits. Apart from using petrol-powered boats as a desecralisation, the community members now fish in any available pool. Before CAMPFIRE's introduction in Kanyemba, people respected the sacred pools and did not fish in them. However, CAMPFIRE left people with limited fishing spots after banning fishing, especially along the Zambezi River. They started fishing in the sacred pools, and consequently, they believe that misfortunes have continued to befall them. CAMPFIRE is criticised or rejected by many people because it fails to acknowledge the existing cultural beliefs and imposes restrictions that conflict with people's beliefs. People demand agency to preserve their beliefs and keep their traditions alive.

The erosion of people's agency in managing and accessing resources is akin to epistemicide or culturicide. This signifies a loss of control and a suppression of the cultural and knowledge systems integral to the community. In this scenario, the community finds itself without a voice to articulate its needs and guide the actions of external entities tasked with implementing and enforcing policies. There is a prevailing belief among residents that development initiatives have indirectly fuelled the rise of HWC. Amid this disempowerment, the community rejects the CAMPFIRE programme and advocates for alternatives to development that are more inclusive. These alternatives acknowledge and respect the people's diverse cultures and knowledge systems. The residents seek a platform where their voices can be heard, emphasising the importance of incorporating their perspectives into policies and initiatives.

8.7 Alternatives to development

This study aligns with post-development thinking, emphasising alternatives to development. Before embarking on this exploration, I must briefly address the question 'alternatives to *what?*'. The alternatives to development elucidated in this section are not alternatives to development in general but refer specifically to CAMPFIRE. Schoneberg et al. (2022) investigate alternatives to development by questioning what these alternatives to development entail. As Schoneberg et al. (2022) point out, the term development is notoriously ambiguous,

able to morph into anything depending on who defines it. The Kanyemba definitions and descriptions of development concur with Esteva's (2023:26) characterisation of the word as an amoeba-word. The ambiguous nature of development necessitates a clear delineation of the alternatives to development in Kanyemba. This study contextualises CAMPFIRE as a development programme, and thus, development is not just discussed as a broad concept or ideology but with reference to a concrete programme: the communal management of resources in exchange for financial benefits. CAMPFIRE, as highlighted, also refers to the individuals who work for the CAMPFIRE Association, the committee in Kanyemba.

The period from the 1980s to the mid-1990s witnessed a notable body of scholarly work that underscored the pivotal role of grassroots movements, local knowledge, and popular empowerment in redefining the concept of development (Escobar, 1995:215). Renowned scholars like Esteva and Prakash (1998), Esteva (2023), and Sachs (2010), among others, did not merely seek incremental adjustments within the existing development paradigm; instead, they advocated for alternatives to development that outright rejected the entire framework of development. Shared among these authors were common interests and concerns, including a profound emphasis on local culture and knowledge, a critical scrutiny of established scientific discourses, and a commitment to championing diverse localised grassroots movements. In alignment with these shared principles, post-development theorists endorse new modes of observation, understanding, and living. Escobar (1995), for instance, emphasises the potential of ethnography as a tool for dismantling established development paradigms, fostering a process of unlearning in the pursuit of alternative perspectives. Building on Escobar's insights, it is crucial to acknowledge that this ethnographic study of attitudes from the Kanyemba community serves to illuminate alternatives to development. Significantly, these alternatives, delineated by the Mwanzamtanda River, are marked by existing cultural and knowledge disparities within the community.

In the discourse on post-development and the need to explore alternatives to traditional development approaches, a key theme emerges the recognition that current alternatives to development may not be universally applicable. As I explore deeper into this conversation, it becomes increasingly clear that there is a need to reassess the assumptions about progress and consider alternative paradigms that prioritise sustainability, equity, and community well-being. As the discussion progresses, the importance of post-development thinking in creating a space for diverse voices and perspectives becomes evident. The experiences of the people living in Kanyemba highlight that it is important to listen to the marginalised communities, respect their

indigenous knowledge, and consider grassroots movements that offer alternatives to development. The need to transition from a one-size-fits-all approach to development towards a more inclusive and adaptive framework that embraces diversity and the coexistence of various development alternatives becomes clear.

Scholars like Klein and Morreo (2019), Kothari et al. (2019), and Schöneberg et al. (2022) have contributed lately to the conversation around alternatives to development. This surge in interest is due to the growing recognition of the shortcomings and adverse effects of conventional development models. Various alternatives to development have been introduced, offering unique viewpoints and principles to promote a more sustainable, fair, and harmonious world. A brief overview of several notable alternatives to development, including *Buen Vivir*, *Comunalidad*, Ecology of Culture, and Ubuntu, is provided for context (Kothari et al., 2019; Chuji, 2019; Osorio, 2019; Matthews, 2022). *Buen Vivir*, often translated as ‘good living’, emphasises the centrality of a balanced relationship with nature and fellow humans. Similarly, *Sumak Kawsay* translates to ‘good living’ and was adopted in Ecuador and Bolivia. *Buen Vivir* and *Sumak Kawsay* challenge the consumption-driven approach common in Western development models by promoting reciprocity, solidarity, and sufficiency. Development under *Buen Vivir* aims to meet essential human needs while respecting our planet’s ecological boundaries (Chassagne, 2020; Gudynas, 2011).

Comunalidad, a Spanish term meaning a community of individuals with shared values and goals, is particularly relevant in Latin American indigenous communities. It highlights the importance of collective decision-making, social justice, and responsible environmental stewardship (Osorio, 2019). The ecology of culture, part of the alternatives to development, underscores the interplay between cultural and ecological factors in understanding societies and their environmental interactions. This concept stresses the need to consider cultural diversity and environmental conservation in development efforts. Approaches based on the ‘ecology of culture’ support initiatives that protect and enhance cultural diversity while acting as guardians of the environment (Chertkovskaya, 2019). *Ubuntu* philosophy, a broader concept that concisely covers African alternatives to development, is deeply rooted in the belief in the interconnectedness of all beings (Ramose, 1999). It emphasises community value and interdependence. Regarding development, *Ubuntu* promotes an inclusive and holistic approach that prioritises community welfare over individual interests and considers long-term implications for future generations. This perspective encourages shifting from narrow, self-centred development strategies towards broader, more sustainable alternatives. As I explore

alternatives to development in Kanyemba, it is valuable to reference these philosophies and draw similarities without directly comparing them. While these established alternative approaches do not directly influence the specific alternatives in Kanyemba, they share common principles.

It is crucial to understand that alternatives to development frameworks are not universal, as exemplified by the *Buen Vivir* concept in South America, which varies significantly across nations and regions. Chuji et al. (2019) have demonstrated that the *Buen Vivir* countries adopt different approaches to the ‘good life’ concept. The projects in Bolivia differ from those in Peru. My study shows that even in a small geographical area, such as Kanyemba, there can be vast differences in approaches. Kanyemba presents a complex scenario with two main ethnic groups, the Chikunda and the Tembo Mvura, each with distinct historical heritages and livelihoods.

On the one hand, the Tembo Mvura community, rooted in a hunter-gatherer subsistence mode, derived sustenance from the region’s abundant flora and fauna. Notably, the Tembo Mvura have lived closely with the local fauna and have seen their lives as being integrated into the local environment, a facet of their lives that is in tension with the tenets of ‘modernity’ promoted by the CAMPFIRE programme. On the other hand, the predominantly agriculturalist Chikunda has a less marked interest in the conservation of resources and animals. As I explored alternatives to development within Kanyemba’s context, the interview questions were designed to probe respondents’ views on the future of the CAMPFIRE programme and resource conservation. These interviews categorised responses based on how individuals define or describe CAMPFIRE, revealing discernible patterns in their viewpoints regarding alternative approaches to development. The alternatives to development in Kanyemba are divided by the river. As a result, I provide a detailed description of the alternatives to development, starting with Chikunda and finishing with the Tembo Mvura. Nevertheless, there are some similarities between the two groups.

8.7.1 Chikunda alternatives to development

When questioned about potential alternatives to development, particularly in the context of the CAMPFIRE programme and resource conservation, the Chikunda community consistently expressed concerns about the need for greater community engagement and proactive measures to safeguard their agricultural lands. A subset of the Chikunda population supported land clearance activities to discourage the presence of wildlife. This endorsement of agricultural

practices can be understood from a dual perspective: Firstly, the Chikunda believe that the cleared fields would increase the cultivated crops. More cleared fields could facilitate better animal control, as more community members would be involved in guarding the fields. In addition, they would be food secure, a situation they are currently not enjoying. Secondly, it is posited that clearing the fields exerts pressure on wildlife to migrate further away from human settlements, potentially alleviating conflicts. The Chikunda community's primary means of subsistence revolves around agriculture, which inherently influences their envisioned alternatives to the CAMPFIRE programme toward land clearance to support farming activities in the region. However, it is important to note that this sentiment is not universally held within the Chikunda community.

While not all Chikunda residents engage in hunting or fishing activities, a subset of those who do advocate for a resurgence of hunting and fishing practices as a part of the alternatives to development, as previously discussed, the local community posits that allowing individuals to hunt would enable them to assume control over animal populations. The argument suggests that the restoration of hunting practices aligns with cultural traditions that historically facilitated wildlife protection. Specifically, the Chikunda community seeks authority over pools and fishing areas and the right to hunt animals for sustenance. In their perspective, reclaiming authority over these resources reflects a cultural connection and provides an avenue to secure protein for their families. For the Chikunda residents, reinstating hunting and fishing emerges as an alternative to conventional development, particularly the CAMPFIRE programme, which they perceive as having failed to enhance their living standards. The proposed alternative underscores the community's desire for autonomy over resources and envisions a pathway to improved living conditions that diverge from CAMPFIRE's unsuccessful orthodox development approach.

In summary, while some members of the Chikunda community support expanding agricultural lands as an alternative, others advocate for a return to hunting and fishing, and others assert that development can only be achieved by granting the community complete authority over local wildlife management. These are not necessarily mutually exclusive positions: an individual could want to return to hunting and fishing and, at the same time, favour more land clearance. My grouping of the suggestions is provided to clarify the suggestions of the people and their justifications. Some members of the Chikunda community contend that their lack of control over matters such as hunting permissions and safari lease allocations has led to the failure of development initiatives to yield positive outcomes. They attribute this failure to the

centralisation and bureaucracy inherent in the decision-making processes of programmes like CAMPFIRE. It is noteworthy that the founding principles of CAMPFIRE initially stipulated the establishment of an Appropriate Authority intended to ensure the local communities' participation in decision-making regarding the use of their surrounding resources (Murphree, 1993; Child, 1993;1996). In its initial years, CAMPFIRE was characterised by Annual General Meetings (AGMs) at which the community members were called to deliberate on issues such as which safari operators get the lease, animal quotas (i.e., the animals targeted for hunting), and the development plans set for their ward. The people felt in control of their community's development and conservation trajectory. They congregated and deliberated on the areas that needed to be worked on, the building of new structures, and other infrastructural development in the area. However, these meetings were discontinued, and no communication was offered for the discontinuation. The dissemination of the information began to take on an increasingly top-down approach. The people now rely on communication from their village headmen, who get the information from the councillors. The councillor awaits communication from the MRDC officials. There is no reverse communication in which the community members communicate their grievances and can expect a response. CAMPFIRE officials have been accused of writing down people's grievances and failing to work on them. The discontinuation of the AGMs took away the local people's agency in making decisions for the community. The Chikunda community seek to regain control over the decision-making processes and advocates for collective community involvement. It is important to acknowledge that this alternative to CAMPFIRE's principles is fraught with inherent complexities, especially within a socially divided community like Kanyemba.

8.7.2 Tembo Mvura alternatives to development

The Tembo Mvura community, as described in the previous sections of this study, embodies a unique standpoint concerning alternatives to development (and especially to CAMPFIRE) and resource control. This community is marginalised within the ward, with substantial infrastructural benefits from the CAMPFIRE initiative remaining unrealised. Furthermore, they have endured direct and frequently hazardous interactions with wildlife, leading to injuries and loss of life. These encounters significantly influence their perceptions of potential alternatives. Beyond their immediate grievances, a pervasive sense of dissatisfaction exists due to the perceived inability of the programme to deliver on its commitments, culminating in demands for the complete end of the development initiative. As elaborated in Chapter Five, the Tembo Mvura community perceives CAMPFIRE from a bifocal perspective: firstly, as the

individuals who constitute the administrative apparatus, and secondly, as an entity that appears to have endowed animals with authority surpassing that of humans. As a result, their proposed alternatives to these two facets of CAMPFIRE are markedly distinct.

The individuals who perceive CAMPFIRE primarily as the personnel operating at the office located at the local Majaya Business Centre hold a distinct perspective on the programme's future. When asked whether CAMPFIRE should be continued, these respondents proposed an alternative wherein the standing committee would be dissolved, and a consensus-based system would be formed where each community member has an equal voice. In this envisioned alternative, decisions regarding wildlife and related matters would be made through direct consultation with the community, bypassing the CAMPFIRE committee. One of the key criticisms the Tembo Mvura community levied against the existing committee is its perceived dominance by the Chikunda ethnic group, who, in their view, lack the requisite experience and understanding of wildlife. This study established that the Tembo Mvura members were first offered positions after 2010 and have always held non-influential positions as committee members. The Tembo Mvura community, owing to their extensive history of animal interaction, believe they possess a superior comprehension of wildlife compared to the Chikunda. Consequently, replacing the committee with a communal consensus system is seen as a means to ensure that decisions are made for the collective benefit of all community members and that the decision-making process becomes more transparent. It is worth noting that the argument put forth by the Tembo Mvura extends beyond the mere change in committee composition. They assert that the core issue lies in the politicisation of development within the area. Specifically, they highlight that the CAMPFIRE chairman also serves as the ward councillor, effectively representing the government's interests. This intertwining of government representation with the CAMPFIRE committee is perceived as undermining the voices and perspectives of the local populace. The Tembo Mvura community associates the committee with government influence, further accentuating the perception that the programme has disregarded community input during its inception and ongoing processes.

The proposal to replace the standing committee with a communal consensus system for decision-making regarding resource conservation in Kanyemba aligns closely with the principles of *Comunalidad*, particularly in its emphasis on collective decision-making and sustainable practices. The proposed alternative to development underscores the importance of collective decision-making. Underlying this communal consensus system is the idea that the

community collectively possesses and oversees the management of land, natural resources, and communal assets.

In an earlier section of this chapter, I referred to how the residents of Kanyemba employed cultural practices to conserve their natural resources. The underlying principle is that these communities upheld mutual respect among humans and non-human entities within their environment. The rituals and beliefs helped shape how humans and animals interacted and are also believed to have prevented HWC in Kanyemba before the introduction of CAMPFIRE. CAMPFIRE brought another way of dealing with HWC, and this includes killing them without seeking to understand the cause of the conflicts. These methods have continually failed to alleviate the conflicts. Some members of the Tembo Mvura advocate for the return to the belief and rituals in addressing the HWC in Kanyemba. They argue that if CAMPFIRE allowed them to practise their rituals, they would have brewed beer to propitiate the spirits and found other traditional ways to manage HWC.

Since the onset of the new millennium, there has been a resurgence of interest in revisiting traditional conservation methods within post-development, decolonial, and Anthropocene discourses. Buscher and Fletcher (2023) argue that orthodox environmental conservation is facing challenges due to the Anthropocene. They suggest an alternative approach called convivial conservation, which promotes radical equity, structural transformation and environmental justice. This resurgence has been precipitated by the perceived shortcomings of conventional conservation efforts aligned with the International Union for Conservation of Nature (IUCN) principles, primarily designed to safeguard the environment from excessive exploitation. These conventional methods often perpetuated a global capitalist order, reinforcing that humanity and its society or culture are separate from ‘nature,’ as articulated by Büscher and Fletcher (2023:32). Criticism has been levelled at the enclosure-based and exclusionary conservation systems, referred to as ‘fences and fines’. Such systems have been accused of marginalising local knowledge systems (Hutton et al., 2005).

Consequently, the quest for alternative conservation approaches has rekindled discussions about returning to traditional conservation practices. In his work, Bassey (2019) posits that Africa’s future may find a foundation in its historical context. It is noteworthy, however, that one common critique of post-development and decolonial scholarship lies in their propensity to idealise premodern eras (Kiely, 1999). Echoing this sentiment, Escobar (1995:170) underscores the significance of maintaining a balanced perspective when examining historical narratives. He cautions against the dichotomous tendencies of uncritically embracing these

narratives or rejecting them as romanticised interpretations by select activists or intellectuals. He contends that Western academics tend to gravitate towards the latter extreme, while progressive activists often lean towards the former. Matthews (2004:376) states that the call for an end to development should ‘not be interpreted as a call for a return to earlier ways of life’.

Acknowledging the risks associated with utopian idealisation, this section concerning a potential return to hunting and gathering attempts to position itself between these two extremes. The act of romanticising the past has been criticised for portraying historical eras as periods of pure greatness and nostalgia while overlooking the significant challenges that existed during those times. Mindful of these potential pitfalls, I cautiously approach the most prominent alternative to CAMPFIRE. The revival of traditional survival methods encompassing local modes of subsistence such as hunting, gathering, fishing, and the community’s autonomous management of natural resources. Numerous senior members of the Tembo Mvura community are confident in their capacity to oversee their natural resources without external intervention. Their confidence stems from their experiences with the CAMPFIRE programme, particularly their perception that there has been an increase in HWC incidents since its inception. I highlight the challenges that are associated with hunting and gathering as alternatives to development later in this section,

The Tembo Mvura community has historically relied on hunting, gathering, and fishing as integral components of their lifestyle, as detailed in Chapter Five on Tembo Mvura. This community has thrived on the abundant natural resources (flora and fauna) surrounding them. Oral accounts from community members suggest that they enjoyed a well-balanced diet and experienced minimal conflicts with wildlife. The lifestyle described by the Tembo Mvura community aligns with what Sahlins (1997) described in his affluent society theory. According to this theory, hunter-gatherer societies could live affluently by desiring little and satisfying those needs with readily available resources. This perspective would categorise such societies as ‘the original affluent society’. Elderly members of the Tembo Mvura community, who were young during the unrestricted hunting and gathering era, nostalgically recall having easy access to fresh or dried meat. However, it is essential to note that remembering can be selective, often favouring positive experiences over negative ones, such as periods of hunger. While labelling the pre-CAMPFIRE Tembo Mvura community as affluent is tempting, it would be an overstatement. Despite the community’s claim of their ability to meet the needs before the implementation of CAMPFIRE, it would be inaccurate to portray them as the epitome of an

affluent society. Nevertheless, their lifestyle does demonstrate the potential for a community to live comfortably by aligning their desires with the resources available to them.

When queried about alternatives to the CAMPFIRE, some Tembo Mvura members referred to the notion that returning to traditional hunting and gathering practices would represent the most viable solution to their contemporary challenges. Despite their desire to return to their past ways, it should be noted that hunting methods have been subject to criticism from various quarters, particularly by animal rights organisations. The deployment of spears, for instance, has been decried as inhumane. In counterpoint to the inhumanness of their hunting methods, elderly members of the Tembo Mvura community shed light on the application of poisonous concoctions to the arrowheads or spear tips, which immobilised targeted animals. In substantiating the claim, one of the respondents, a former tracker for a safari operator, contended that some hunters visiting the safari for sport and trophy hunting pursuits lacked the professionalism and precision of experienced hunters. This deficiency often resulted in hunters failing to achieve a clean and immediate kill, inflicting injuries upon the animals. Trackers and hunters would then engage in a protracted pursuit to secure the animal. The Tembo Mvura argue that modern hunting methods are no more humane than traditional methods. Against this, the Tembo Mvura are willing to replace their traditional hunting methods with modern hunting techniques if allowed to hunt.

The resumption of hunting activities would facilitate re-establishing the community's ability to manage and control animal populations effectively. Insights from interviews underscore that in a previous era when animal hunting did not bear criminal repercussions, animals encroaching upon human habitations were notably absent. These animals exhibited a cognisance that trespassing uncertain but demarcated boundaries invariably resulted in fatal consequences. It was postulated that animals possessed a peculiarly acute olfactory sensitivity to the scent of deceased animals' blood, avoiding proximity to human settlements where animals had previously been killed reportedly due to the smell of the dead animals. The practice of hunting entailed the utilisation of animal hides, repurposed as mats or makeshift blankets, following a thorough process of sun-drying. This transformative treatment is believed to have had the collateral effect of repelling other animals from the vicinity, as the scent of blood emanating from the drying hide served as a deterrent. The hunting customs also instated a regulatory principle wherein animals refrained from causing damage to agricultural fields belonging to the community. In the event of animal incursions into cultivated areas, individuals would respond with defensive actions against such transgressions. Individuals who faced legal

repercussions in 2023 for their involvement in the killing of a buffalo, their testimonies corroborated the enduring belief within the Tembo Mvura community that animals, once they ventured into gardens, were subject to lethal measures. This widely held conviction has contributed to the consistent appeal among individuals with gardens along the Mwanzatanda River for the selective removal of ‘problem animals’ from the riverbed plots. This strategic action dissuades other animals from revisiting the area over an extended period until their memory of the danger fades. Some community members wish to return to an era of unrestricted animal hunting, wherein even young boys could effectively herd large animals like elephants away from human settlements. This period is nostalgically remembered as a time when the lives of animals did not hold a superior status to those of humans.

Be that as it may, the idea of returning to historical practices has met resistance from some conservationists who argue that animal populations have significantly decreased. This reduction in animal numbers led to the Chitsere Conservancy being granted a 30-year lease to help restore these populations on the western side of the Mwanzamtanda River. Notably, the establishment of the conservancy did not involve prior consultation with the local people, leading the community to believe that the increase in HWC resulted from these conservation efforts. The opposition to returning to traditional practices is based on concerns that local communities cannot use these resources sustainably. Conservationists suggest that unrestricted hunting could lead to overexploitation of animal populations. However, this argument is met with scepticism from the Tembo Mvura, who claim that the decline in animal numbers only became apparent after the introduction of CAMPFIRE. They argue that modern conservation was the reason for the decline in animal populations.

Fishing constituted an integral facet of the community’s way of life, serving as a source of sustenance and a basis for trade. The prohibition of fishing may not manifest an overt connection with alternative avenues for development and conservation until examined through the lens of human-wildlife conflict (HWC), where its rationale becomes more discernible. In this context, a perceived increase in crocodile attacks within the Mariga, Chiramba, and Chagurika villages has been linked by community members to the moratorium on river fishing. The covert net fishing practice, ‘*kukukudza*’, which uses mosquito nets, has become more common, especially when ponds are drying. The proposition put forth by the Tembo Mvura community posits that permitting fishing would likely reduce occurrences of crocodile attacks. They argue that the reptiles are attracted to the stagnant ponds because of infrequent human activity, which allows them to establish their habitats in these water bodies. The resumption of

fishing would preclude such habitation, inducing the crocodiles to migrate towards the Zambezi River. Deploying piscicidal roots (*Bisi*) in fishing practices, although non-lethal to humans, bears lethality for crocodiles, rendering the areas inhospitable for these reptilian predators. The crocodiles avoided pools closer to people's habitation, and this, in turn, reduced conflict. It is imperative to note that park authorities did not wholly ban fishing; however, individuals must obtain a daily permit or license to engage in the activity and employ fishing rods. The accessibility of such permits is constrained by the substantial financial burden they represent, with a ten United States dollar fee exceeding the means of a populace struggling to secure even two daily meals.

In contrast, neighbouring systems in Zambia and Mozambique allow free net fishing in the Zambezi River. These fish are sold at markets in Lusaka and Tete. The reinstatement of net fishing would not only ameliorate the dietary conditions of the community but also contribute to a reduction in human-wildlife conflicts, notably those initiated by crocodile predation.



Figure 4: A warning sign at the boundary of the Chitsere Conservancy (Photo taken by author)



Figure 5: A Dande Safari Areas sign against trespassing (Photo taken by author)

It is crucial to underscore the contradictions inherent in the alternatives to development portrayed in this section. Some members of the Tembo Mvura community express a yearning, tinged with nostalgia, for a return to their traditional hunting and gathering lifestyle, a desire rendered impossible in the contemporary context. The areas once frequented by their forefathers for hunting are now designated animal sanctuaries, with hunting and gathering strictly prohibited. Roaming in the areas that once belonged to their forefathers has been criminalised, and signs (Figures 5 and 6) restricting access are posted across their former hunting areas. Some of these signs (Figure 5) are commonly seen on the edges of the Chitsere Conservancy, whose boundaries sometimes traverse people's yards, with some homesteads falling within the conservancy. Figure 6 is a sign for the Dande Safaris Areas, where the Tembo Mvura used to hunt and gather. These signs restrict the freedom to roam and hunt, which was prevalent years ago. The community finds itself unable to return to its historical way of life due to the evolution of state boundaries, game park demarcations, conservancies, and the establishment of hunting concessions. In response to these constraints, the Tembo Mvura community suggests a review of the laws and acts that forbid their traditional hunting and gathering practices. They propose that the government allow them to hunt small game and gather fruits and tubers, as they did in the past, to ensure a protein-rich diet. However, this

proposal presents a conflict of interest between politics and conservation efforts. When the Vice President (Chiwenga) verbally endorsed the Tembo Mvura proposal (of hunting small game) during a visit to Kanyemba, safari operators and conservationists raised concerns. The former decried that once the people were allowed to hunt, the animals would move away from their habitat and seek areas where they enjoyed tranquillity. Conservationists alleged that the people would overhunt the small game, and predators like lions, cheetahs and leopards would become a problem to the community. The Tembo Mvura counters these concerns of disturbance to animal habitats, overhunting and potential problems with large predators by pointing to their historical practices, asserting that when they engaged in hunting, the larger animals coexisted peacefully, and the predation on livestock—non-existent at that time—did not occur.

Given the way in which land has been handed over to conservancies and safari areas, it is not easy to see how the Tembo Mvura could return to their past hunting and gathering lifestyle. To achieve their alternatives to development, they suggest that there should be a review of the acts and laws that forbid them. Development to the Tembo Mvura has given them very little, and their proposed alternatives to development have been rendered impossible by the creation of state boundaries, game park boundaries, conservancies, and hunting concessions. Going back to the past lifestyle is now impossible for the Tembo Mvura – the land on which they previously roamed freely is under state and private control. However, they still demand authority over the animals and the resources rather than be treated as aliens or strangers to flora and fauna. Their alternatives to development are an attempt at creating new ways to consider what they want and what the government can offer. The central argument is that a complex interplay of legal restrictions, conservation interests, and conflicting viewpoints between the community and external authorities impedes the Tembo Mvura community's pursuit of alternatives to development.

8.8 Kanyemba attitudes and my input to post-development thinking

The primary focus of the CAMPFIRE design was on the economic benefits of the conservation of resources. The core idea was that people would benefit materially in exchange for conserving wildlife. However, the programme's implementation neglected an assessment of the associated costs incurred by individuals in wildlife conservation. In Kanyemba, the unintended consequences of CAMPFIRE implementation have manifested in a reduction of livelihood options, an escalation of Human-Wildlife Conflict (HWC), and the marginalisation of minority

groups. Oral testimonies suggest the abundance of food sources preceding CAMPFIRE's implementation. Prior to the introduction of CAMPFIRE, the Tembo Mvura and Chikunda communities sustained themselves through diverse means such as hunting, fishing, gathering, agriculture, and trade. This study reveals that CAMPFIRE's introduction significantly altered individuals' daily lives in multifaceted ways. In examining people's attitudes towards development, this study contributes to sceptical post-development thinking by emphasising that the critique of development can be comprehended through a radical plural democracy perspective. The analysis of people's dismissal of development underscores the shortcomings of Western development models and the need for the promotion of local knowledge and autonomy, the principles of inclusivity and respect for differences, and the rejection of top-down approaches to development. The attitudes shared in the study advocate for an inclusive, respectful, and locally driven approach to social and economic change. The Tembo Mvura, in particular, challenged the dominant Western conservation models because it failed to provide them protection from wild animals, failed to give them food and other resources, and reinforced their marginalisation. In response, they have emphasised the centrality of dissent and local knowledge deeply ingrained in their cultural beliefs. The Chikunda and Tembo Mvura collectively have rejected the top-down approaches to conservation and development and advocated for the empowerment of local communities.

Most Chikunda and Tembo Mvura community members prefer replacing the existing committee systems with a consensus-based approach. Such a system, they argue, would enable the active involvement of all community members in decision-making processes related to the area's development. The critique of committee systems lies in their perceived exclusionary tendencies, contributing to the widespread rejection of the development programme. Advocating for an alternative system that embraces broad-based participation in development discourse, this study contends that the community's dismissal of development is contingent upon establishing a more inclusive decision-making framework. Grounded in sceptical post-development, I contend that the local population does want some of the benefits that development was supposed to bring (formal housing, schools and healthcare, for example) but also wants to be able to pursue their livelihood strategies and want to have more control over the animals living around them.

8.9 Conclusion

This chapter relates post-development theory with the critical research findings of this study to elucidate the prevailing attitudes toward development in Kanyemba. This chapter frames the discussion within the sceptical post-development theory perspective, highlighting the community's disillusionment with development's unfulfilled promises. The chapter portrays people's dismissal of development. Despite the dismissal of CAMPFIRE, the Tembo Mvura and Chikunda communities still desire aspects of development, reflecting ambivalence with the current development. I highlight that Kanyemba residents have rejected CAMPFIRE for failing to fulfil its promises. Nevertheless, the community members have an underlying desire for development, making it apparent that their ambivalence is not unique but mirrors a common theme in many communities. Central to this narrative is the assertion that the Tembo Mvura and Chikunda people's dismissal of CAMPFIRE should not be misconstrued as a complete rejection of development; instead, it reflects their dissatisfaction with development as channelled through the CAMPFIRE framework, which has failed them over an extended period. The people still wish to have aspects that will characterise them as 'developed'.

In this chapter, I also explore alternatives to development, emphasising their unique application based on distinct community livelihoods and history. For instance, the Chikunda community seeks to resolve Human-Wildlife Conflict (HWC) through increased agricultural land clearing. Some community members also call for a more community-based decision-making system pertaining to the control of animals. I also explore the Tembo Mvura community's alternatives to development. Some community members perceive a return to hunting and gathering as a form of development. The Tembo Mvura community regards this return to their ancestral ways as the optimal path towards achieving development while retaining control over their local wildlife. While hunting and gathering are viewed as an alternative to development, I highlight the challenges posed by existing policies and modernity. In this chapter, I highlight how the two communities agree on a communal decision-making system as an alternative to development (and to CAMPFIRE in particular). Through this synthesis, the chapter elucidates the ambivalent attitudes towards development in Kanyemba.

CHAPTER NINE

CONCLUSION: RETHINKING POST-DEVELOPMENT IN A MARGINAL COMMUNITY

9.1 Introduction

During a feedback session, my first supervisor posed a question that would significantly influence the trajectory of my Chapter Eight and potentially guide future research endeavours. She asked, ‘If granted five minutes in the presence of post-development theorists and commentators, what message would you convey to them?’ I had an epiphany. Faced with articulating meaningful insights to the proponents of post-development ideologies, I initially felt overwhelmed by the multitude of thoughts within me. However, upon reflection, a coherent theme emerged. The key point illuminated by my study is that post-development stands to gain substantially from embracing a radical democratic paradigm in understanding people’s perspectives on development in Africa. As discussed earlier, calls for the dismissal of development have been heard since the early 1990s. However, even some post-development thinkers acknowledge that they made a premature declaration on the death of development. Development, akin to a resilient phantom, persists! As I conclude my thesis and respond to my supervisor’s question, I assert that the dismissal of development by many (in Kanyemba) is not solely rooted in its failure to achieve objectives. Rather, it emanates from an approach that strips individuals of agency, stifles their voices, and curtails democratic participation in determining their preferences and how they desire to progress.

9.2 Conversing with my research questions

The overarching objective of this study was to comprehend the attitudes of the Kanyemba communities towards development, specifically the CAMPFIRE programme. To fulfil this objective, the study pursued three interrelated goals. The first goal was to adopt a bottom-up approach to elucidate the perspectives and experiences of ordinary local individuals in Kanyemba concerning their encounters with development. The second goal sought to investigate the engagement with and contestation of development, particularly the CAMPFIRE project, by aligning these experiences with contemporary discourses in post-development theory. The final goal was to transition the analytical lens from a ‘Western’ perspective to a more traditional, local, and specific understanding of development and to delineate the intricate

alternatives to development, particularly in the context of the CAMPFIRE project. These three goals were instrumental in formulating the research questions that provided focus for the study, guided the research process, and defined the study's scope.

The first research question was: How do Tembo Mvura and Chikunda community members perceive and interact with the CAMPFIRE programme? Do their views coincide with or diverge from the mainstream development discourse? Discussions on development and conservation programmes in Zimbabwe have traditionally been dominated by reports from Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) and government officials. These reports typically focus on programme achievements, failures, and recommendations for improvement, relying predominantly on empirical statistical data and conventional definitions of development. However, what about the perceptions and sentiments of the people affected by these programmes? These subjective experiences cannot be encapsulated in statistics. As highlighted in Chapter Three, CAMPFIRE is contextualised as a development initiative. Chapters Five and Six provide an extensive exploration of the Tembo Mvura and Chikunda communities' perceptions towards CAMPFIRE.

Perceptions of CAMPFIRE within the Kanyemba communities vary between the western and eastern sides of the Mwanzamtanda River. As discussed in Section 5.4, the Tembo Mvura community uses the word 'CAMPFIRE' to refer both to the personnel working for the Association and to the CAMPFIRE conservation and development programme, with these two perceptions being closely intertwined. When referring to CAMPFIRE officials, who are located at the local business centre, the Tembo Mvura accuse them of being the reason why the animals in the area cause much damage, an issue discussed in Chapter Seven. When referring to CAMPFIRE, the Tembo Mvura community views it as a programme that has disenfranchised them, replacing their environmental knowledge with modern conservation systems and invalidating their cultural practices due to their perceived ineffectiveness in wildlife management. In the same vein, the community perceives CAMPFIRE as exclusionary. They substantiate this perception by highlighting how CAMPFIRE has excluded them from decision-making processes despite bearing the brunt of the effects of wildlife. The Tembo Mvura community argues that their exclusion from decision-making related to animal control has significantly impacted their daily lives due to the increase in human-wildlife conflicts.

The Chikunda community holds a somewhat different perception of CAMPFIRE. Some members view the programme as transformative. As discussed in Chapter Six, their perceptions are shaped by the belief that the programme has mitigated human-wildlife conflicts, improved

their lives, and, most importantly, facilitated access to education. These perceptions stem from the benefits they have accrued from the programme. Section 6.3 addresses imposed attitudes, explaining how the overwhelmingly positive attitudes towards the programme shown by some appear to be imposed as a result of the political context.

In this thesis, I posit that the perceptions of CAMPFIRE among the local populace both align and diverge with mainstream development discourse. On the one hand, a segment of the population perceives CAMPFIRE as a development initiative aimed at transforming their lives and facilitating their progression towards a developed state. They envisage CAMPFIRE as a project that they hope will yield tangible benefits such as housing, improved infrastructure, healthcare facilities, educational institutions, and even the possibility of electricity. This group's perception of CAMPFIRE aligns with the conventional development discourse. Conversely, there exists a faction within the Kanyemba residents who perceive CAMPFIRE as the source of the challenges they currently face. This perception diverges from the mainstream development discourse.

The second research question sought to answer how the Kanyemba residents actively participate in and challenge the CAMPFIRE project and how these interactions can be interpreted within the framework of post-development theory. It also sought to find out if the attitudes of the Tembo Mvura and Chikunda communities challenge or support the post-development criticisms of initiatives like CAMPFIRE. I was focused on the mundane everyday interactions of the local community with the CAMPFIRE. As outlined in Section 5.4, which interrogates the question of whose development it is, the community argued that the implementation of CAMPFIRE appeared to be driven by an agenda to replace their traditional knowledge and cultures with a more 'modern' perspective. The Tembo Mvura community contends that the implementation was predicated on promises that, in their view, have not been fulfilled and may never be realised. The perception of the people influenced their participation and ultimately challenged the programme. In the initial stages of the programme, community participation was notable. This participation was motivated by two primary factors: firstly, the active solicitation of their involvement, and secondly, the timely distribution of programme benefits, which encouraged community support for the initiative. Village headmen encouraged their constituents to attend meetings, emphasising that non-attendance could result in their demands being overlooked.

Furthermore, the community was convinced that their attendance at these meetings would ensure the continuation of dividend disbursements and meat allocations. Annual General

Meetings (AGMs) were conducted with an expectation of attendance from every community member. Although attendance was not mandatory, community members participated as these meetings provided an optimal platform for them to voice their concerns. I argue that this represents the community's active participation in the development initiative. Employing a post-development perspective, I posit that such participation underscores the community's agency in shaping their desired progress. Moreover, their participation can be interpreted as a form of empowerment. Despite being minimal, their participation aligns with the principles advocated by the post-development school of thought for communities receiving development initiatives.

Community participation extended beyond attendance at meetings, encompassing active involvement in anti-poaching efforts within their locale. This participation conferred dual benefits to the community. Firstly, the community received monetary compensation from legally hunted animals, a benefit forfeited if an animal fell victim to poaching. Secondly, the community was assured of meat from legally hunted animals, whereas meat from poached animals was deemed unsafe for consumption. Consequently, community members actively participated in the CAMPFIRE by reporting suspected poachers and instances of gunfire.

In Chapters Five and Six, I briefly discuss the cessation of dividend disbursements, underscoring its correlation with the shift in community attitudes towards CAMPFIRE in Kanyemba. The dividends, referred to as '*Mari yemakanda*' (money from animal hides), were instrumental in facilitating community participation in the CAMPFIRE programme. The community could endure wildlife-induced crop damage due to the anticipation of year-end financial payouts. In instances of severe hunger, the CAMPFIRE committee would procure food for the community using part of the dividends. The discontinuation of the dividend system and its replacement with project-based initiatives led to a decline in programme participation. As highlighted in Chapter Five, the cessation of the dividend system resulted in the termination of AGMs, as the community saw no incentive to attend meetings if they could not discuss fund disbursement. This decline in meeting participation coincided with a reduction in meat distribution. In Section 7.8, I discuss how changing laws regarding the use of small game as bait compelled safari operators to retain more meat for baiting large cats. This change impacted the quantity of meat distributed, leading to a cessation of community participation in anti-poaching activities. The Tembo Mvura, arguably the most affected by the reduction in meat distribution, resorted to clandestine hunting and gathering. Statistics from the MRDC indicate that the Tembo Mvura constitute the majority of arrested poachers. In Chapter 7, I narrate the

experiences of community members who were arrested for poaching. Although I cannot confirm the prevalence of poaching among the Tembo Mvura, accusations of poaching persist from MRDC officials, CAMPFIRE association workers, and safari operators. Clandestine hunting and gathering activities, such as collecting honey, tubers, and construction poles, underscore the community's challenge to CAMPFIRE. Hunting and poaching serve as acts of defiance, conveying a message to the responsible authorities that the community continues to demand agency and the power to determine what they deem best for the collective good. This study, therefore, responds to the concerns raised in the second research question, illustrating the community's interactions with CAMPFIRE and their subtle ways of challenging the programme.

While I cannot attest to having witnessed clandestine hunting, I observed instances of individuals herding animals into designated hunting zones. As discussed in Chapter Three, the western side of the Mwanzamtanda River, which encompasses the Tembo Mvura area, is part of the Chitsere Conservancy, where hunting is prohibited. Certain Tembo Mvura homesteads now fall within the conservancy, and the MRDC demarcation does not indicate the boundary of the conservancy. As highlighted in Chapter Seven, both the Tembo Mvura and some Chikunda, who maintain gardens along the Mwanzamtanda River, encounter issues with elephants and buffalos destroying their gardens. The Tembo Mvura, in particular, have developed strategies to herd these animals towards the eastern side of the river, where hunting is permitted. This eastern side also contains state-owned fields, which subsequently become targets for these herded animals. Utilising a post-development lens, I interpret these acts of herding as subtle forms of resistance. Herding the animals to the eastern side does not ensure their killing through hunting; it does, however, provide a sense of satisfaction to the community. The same can be said about herding the animals into the perceived government fields. The people stand to benefit nothing, but it makes them feel better. Herding the animals should be understood as people challenging development, and this aligns with the post-development school of thought. The people were promised protection from the animals, meat, and some money, something which they enjoyed initially. In response to my second research question, my findings show that people initially supported CAMPFIRE but later turned on and started to challenge the programme in subtle ways.

The third research question sought to examine the alternatives to development that the Tembo Mvura and Chikunda communities propose and what principles form the foundation of these alternatives. I also sought to nuance the roles played by cultural, historical, economic, and

environmental factors in shaping the Tembo Mvura and Chikunda communities' alternatives to development. This study was premised on post-development thinking, and one of the primary canons of the school of thought is its emphasis on alternatives to development. The last research question is heavily influenced by the study's shift from an orthodox understanding of development. Before getting into the alternatives to development, it is imperative to discuss prevailing opinions related to animal management. As shown in Chapters Five and Seven, there is a prevalent belief among the local population that CAMPFIRE has resulted in a situation where animals are treated as more important than humans. This belief is explained with reference to animal attacks, especially the 2010 lion attacks, and the subsequent delays in response from the responsible authorities. Furthermore, the buffalo and crocodile attacks discussed in Chapter Seven highlight the existence of divergent opinions on animal management in the area. Experts advocate for non-violent methods as effective strategies for dealing with problem animals, as discussed in Section 7.6.1. In contrast, the local population believes that animals should be held accountable for transgressions against humans, which they interpret as necessitating lethal action. These differing opinions stem from distinct backgrounds: experts draw upon their academic knowledge of animal control, while the Tembo Mvura and Chikunda communities rely on their historical and cultural knowledge. This knowledge forms the foundation of the alternatives to development presented in this study.

Schoneberg et al. (2022) pose a critical inquiry concerning the nature and purpose of alternatives to development, asking what these alternatives aim to substitute. In the context of this study, the highlighted alternatives are alternatives to achieving food security, mitigating human-wildlife conflict (HWC), addressing marginality and exclusion, and animal control. These alternatives to development, as elaborated in Chapter Eight, respond to the concerns mentioned above. I argue that the alternatives to development, as proposed by the residents of Kanyemba within the framework of the CAMPFIRE, are intrinsically linked to the community's historical context. In Chapter Three, I discuss the history of the Chikunda people, tracing their origins back to the Portuguese plantation era in Mozambique. As indicated there, the Chikunda have historically engaged in agriculture concurrently with their roles as soldiers, slave hunters, or elephant hunters. Their livelihoods are deeply intertwined with agricultural practices. In light of this, their proposed alternatives to development, as outlined in Chapter Eight, are influenced by their historical association with agriculture. One of their proposed alternatives to CAMPFIRE, specifically in response to wildlife damaging their fields, is to expand their agricultural land to boost food production. Expanding farming spaces is hoped to

push the animals further from their habitats. This strategy underscores the importance of understanding the historical and socio-cultural contexts in formulating alternatives to development.

As shown in Chapter Three, the Tembo Mvura community have historically relied on hunting and gathering. This history significantly influences their proposed alternatives to development. The community advocates for a reversion to an era when hunting and gathering were permissible practices. They propose that they be given authority over wildlife, enabling them to dictate the future of their community based on decisions regarding leasing rights, hunting quotas, and the allocation of generated income. Both the Chikunda and Tembo Mvura communities concur on the necessity for a complete restoration of their control over wildlife. They argue that prior to the implementation of CAMPFIRE, they had systems that effectively managed wildlife, resulting in a situation in which animals respected human boundaries. I posit that cultural, historical, economic, and environmental factors play a central role in these proposed alternatives to development.

The emergent theme of conflicting or ambivalent perspectives towards development, although not initially incorporated in the research questions, has proven to be a critical aspect of this study. Early post-development theorists, such as those who contributed to the edited volumes by Sachs (1992) and Rahnema (1997), advocated a complete rejection of development. However, contemporary discourse on post-development theory, as exemplified by McGregor (2009), Gibson-Graham (2010), Klein and Morreo (2019), tends to moderate this stance, acknowledging that a significant number of individuals in the Global South still maintain faith in development or appreciate some aspects of mainstream development. This study corroborates this evolving perspective by underscoring that while the participants in this study dismiss certain facets of development, they hold on to others. As delineated in Chapters Five, Six, and Seven, the need for modern housing, well-equipped clinics, and infrastructural advancements was consistently emphasised by the participants. The dismissive attitudes, as I contend in Chapter Eight, should not be misconstrued as a total rejection of CAMPFIRE or development in general.

9.3 Future research

Several promising avenues for further investigation have emerged from this study. Issues related to human-wildlife conflict continuously came up in my interviews and observations. This study addresses HWC as a significant issue. Initially, I had not intended to focus

extensively on this topic. However, the wealth of information I gathered was so relevant and comprehensive that it necessitated an entire chapter be devoted to it (Chapter Seven). This subject is expansive, with numerous sub-issues that could potentially form the basis of another thesis. One intriguing aspect that emerged during my research was the epistemological understanding of the causes of human-wildlife conflict. Numerous scholarly theories exist that provide a framework to understand HWC and guide people on how to mitigate them. My research reveals that there are local ways in which HWC is understood. In Chapter Five, I discuss an incident where a pride of lions killed people. The locals had even named the ‘rogue’ lions Chiparamoto and Chiparaushe, names that have significant cultural connotations to the residents of Kanyemba, as briefly explained in Chapter Seven. While ‘experts’ and officials attributed these killings to the fact that people were living in animal corridors, the Tembo Mvura community believed the killings had supernatural causes. In Chapter Eight, I outlined the cultural indigenous practices in relation to managing the relationships with humans and animals. The people relied on taboos and totems, and these beliefs were closely tied to the way in which people governed the animals prior to the introduction of modern ways. The beliefs determined how animals were treated, how to prevent indiscriminate killing and most importantly, how to explain HWC instances and propitiate the angered spirits. These differing epistemological perspectives on HWC and animal relations present an exciting area for future research, particularly in understanding the implications of human-wildlife conflict on local beliefs and how these beliefs have been dismissed in the modern era.

Related to the epistemological issues surrounding the causes of human-wildlife conflict, this study briefly discusses the act of poaching and hunting and the naming of animals. The official term for hunting without a license is ‘poaching’, which is synonymous with stealing. The Tembo Mvura do not consider hunting ‘their’ animals to be poaching but rather an act of eating one’s animals. Understanding the distinction between hunting and poaching in the context of CAMPFIRE, which was founded on principles of full devolution of authority (as described in Chapter Three), could be a valuable area for future research.

9.4 Conclusion

Do the residents of Kanyemba want development? Do they dismiss development? What sentiments are portrayed by their attitudes towards development? These are the questions that one may have considered reading this thesis. This study has highlighted that answering these questions is a complex exercise that goes beyond a simple yes or no answers. This research

provided an in-depth analysis of the attitudes of the Tembo Mvura and Chikunda communities towards development using a post-development lens. The study provided an understanding of the community's perspectives on development in Kanyemba, with a particular focus on the CAMPFIRE initiative. By drawing on the narratives of the community members, this research has highlighted the nuanced and ambivalent attitudes people hold towards development. The emphasis on the failure of CAMPFIRE based on local perception, while not unique among development initiatives in Zimbabwe, holds particular significance as it provides a platform for expressing the community's diverse perspectives. The study has highlighted that post-development thinking, in such instances, falls short of understanding the dismissal of development in rural areas. It is important to note that this study is broadly relevant to people interested in understanding how development is engaged with and thought about.

As I conclude this study, I recall sitting with a group of young men, and we discussed different topics, from politics to the local soccer league, which they follow through the national radio channels. As we conversed, the guys asked numerous questions, to which I provided answers where I could. One of the guys asked a question to which I had no answer or had ever thought to ask. He asked, 'So if we are developed, does it mean we will not require anything more?' This question, though confusing and seemingly unanswerable, sparked my imagination and prompted me to reconsider the notion of development from their perspective. This question highlighted how the attainment of a state of development is perceived as an ultimate goal by these young men, though not uniformly among them. As we discussed what comes after 'development,' numerous stories were shared about what people would do. Despite people suggesting what would happen after development, the majority of the suggestions were based on what would happen if the state of development was not attained. One story, in particular, resonated deeply with the consequences of failing to achieve the state of development. It recounted events in villages bordering Gonono (Mbire District) and Kairezi (Muzarabani District). Poachers came and shot eight elephants and removed the tusks. The poachers passed through the villages, informing the people to go and get *muriwo* (relish) from the dead elephants. The villagers rushed to share the meat, neglecting to observe the poachers closely or report the incident to the park authorities. The people saw no reason to report the poachers because it was useless for the official approach to conserving animals, which had not brought any positive changes. This is what would eventually happen if the state of development is not attained.

This story may serve as a forewarning of what is slowly happening in Kanyemba—people are gradually becoming disillusioned and disengaged, perceiving no value in adhering to conservation efforts that do not appear to benefit them. I use this narrative to underscore this study’s critical aspect of a nuanced understanding of development that encompasses both the aspirations and the realities of local communities. In this study, I reveal that for development to be meaningful, it must address the tangible needs and perceptions of the people it aims to serve. The disconnect between official conservation policies and local experiences highlights the importance of integrating traditional knowledge and local perspectives into development strategies. Reflecting on the stories and discussions presented in this thesis, it becomes clear that development is not merely an end goal but a complex process that must be continually re-evaluated and adapted. Achieving development demands more than just economic growth or infrastructure improvements; it requires fostering a sense of agency and ownership among local populations. Ultimately, the conversations, stories, and dismissals shared by the residents of Kanyemba remind us that the development path is multifaceted and must be navigated with sensitivity and inclusivity.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: LIST OF INTERVIEWEES

Interviews with officials.

Name	Date of interview	Venue
Councillor Zuze	12 March 2022	Mushumbi
Mr Makati ZimParks	16 March 2022	Mushumbi
Nr Nyarugwe	21 March 2022	Mushumbi
Mr Tauro MRDC	18 February and 14 March 2022	Mushumbi RDC Offices
Mr Mahuni MRDC	8 February 2022	Mushumbi RDC Offices
Councillor Kachasu	28 April 2022 and 15 July 2022.	Majaya BC
Miles McCallum	5 July 2022	Harare
Mr Shoko MRDC	1 August 2022	Mushumbi RDC Offices

Interviews with Kanyemba residents.

Pseudonym	Date of interview	Place of interview
Saini	19 August 2017	Mariga
Prugia	22 August 2017	Chiramba
Chiyambo	17 April 2022	Mariga
Suda	18 April 2022	Majaya BC
Juwakinyu	18 April 2022	Majaya BC
Simon	18 and 23 April 2022	Majaya BC and elephant kill site
Maiko	19 April 2022	Mariga
Passmore	19 April 2022, 16 August 2023	Mariga
Tony	19 April and 20 May 2022	Mariga
Benji	20 and 26 April 2022	Mariga primary school
Mavhuto	20 April 2022 and 17 August 2023	Mariga, Majaya BC
Texan	21 April and 10 June 2022	Chiramba village
Thomas	23 April 2022	Elephant kill site
Mutopo	23 April 2022	Elephant kill site

Fidelis	24 April 2022	Chiramba
Mupa	24 April 2022	Chiramba
Netsai	24 April 2022	Chiramba
Sharon	25 April 2022	Mariga
Mbuya ake Givhi.	27 April 2022	Mariga
Mahadu	28 April 2022	Mariga
Matambo	28 April 2022	Mariga primary school
Romeo	28 April 2022	Mariga primary school
Chirata	28 April 2022	Mariga
Maria	30 April 2022	Mariga
Shepherd	30 April 2022	Mariga
Prisca	02 May 2022	Chiramba
Jakobo	02 May 2022	Chiramba
Moyo	02 May 2022	Chiramba
Zvanyadza	06 May 2022	Chansato
Muchei	06 May 2022	Chansato
Mr and Mrs Mafuti	10 May 2022	Chiramba
Mavis	10 May 2022	Chiramba
Mainoti	11 May 2022	Mariga
Freddy	14 May 2022	Chansato
Peter	14 May 2022 and 17 August 2023.	Chansato and Majaya BC
Phineas	16 May 2022	Chansato
Brighton	16 May 2022	Chansato
Kuswa	20 May 2022	Chiramba
Kapara	20 May 2022	Chiramba
Maitei	21 May 2022	CAMPFIRE shed Majaya BC
Nancy	02 June 2022	Chapoto
Maitira	02 June 2022	Chapoto
Damani	03 June 2022	Majaya BC
Chota	03 June 2022	Majaya BC
Mawau	03 June 2022	Majaya BC
Marita	03 June 2022	Chapoto
Nhamo	06 June 2022	Nyaruparu

Runesu	12 June 2022	Chiruwe
Mabvura	12 June 2022 and 18 August 2023	Chiruhwe
Jeffrey.	13 June 2022	Chiruhwe
Carl	14 June 2022	Chapoto
Gift	16 June 2022	Chagurika
Mr and Mrs Fosho	16 June 2022	Chagurika
Makeyi	18 June 2022	Chiramba
John	18 June 2022	Chiramba
Joseph	18 June 2022	Chiramba
Maruka	21 June 2022	Chapoto
Paul	27 June 2022	CAMPFIRE Shed, Majaya BC
Moses	27 June 2022	Chapoto primary school
James	27 June 2022	Majaya BC
Jova	02 July 2022	Gondo
Daniel	7 July 2022	Mushumbi BC
Jessica	08 July 2022	Majaya BC
Kajau	10 July 2022	Chiramba
Manza	11 July	ZRP Kanyemba.
Nyarai	11 July 2022	Canoe along the Zambezi River
Tawanda	22 July 2022	ZR Police Kanyemba
Peter	17 August 2023	Majaya BC
Norman	6 June 2022	Gondo (not used)
Sharai	27 June 2022	Majaya (not used)

APPENDIX B: ETHICAL CLEARANCE



Rhodes University Human Research Ethics Committee

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17 December 2021 Mr Neil MAHEVE

Email: g21m2019@campus.ru.ac.za Review Reference: 2021-5272-6496

Dear Mr Neil MAHEVE

Title: RETHINKING DEVELOPMENT IN POST-COLONIAL ZIMBABWE: THE CASE OF THE CAMPFIRE PROJECT IN KANYEMBA

Researcher: Mr Neil Maheve

Supervisors: Professor Sally Matthews,

This letter confirms that the above research proposal has been reviewed and **APPROVED** by the Rhodes University Human Research Ethics Committee (RU-HREC). Your Approval number is: 2021-5272-6496

Approval has been granted for one year. An annual progress report will be required in order to renew approval for an additional period. You will receive an email notifying you when the annual report is due.

Please ensure that the ethical standards committee is notified should any substantive change(s) be made, for whatever reason, during the research process. This includes changes in investigators. Please also ensure that a brief report is submitted to the ethics committee upon completion of the research. The purpose of this report is to indicate whether the research was conducted successfully if any aspects could not be completed, or if any problems arose that the ethical standards committee should be aware of. If a thesis or dissertation arising from this research is submitted to the library's electronic theses and dissertations (ETD) repository, please notify the committee of the date of submission and any reference or cataloguing number allocated.

Sincerely,

Prof Arthur Webb

Chair: Rhodes University Human Research Ethics Committee, RU-HREC

cc: Ms Danielle de Vos - Ethics Coordinator

APPENDIX C: INFORMED CONSENT DECLARATION (ENGLISH)

PARTICIPANT INFORMED CONSENT DECLARATION

(To be signed by research participants)

Research Project Title: **Rethinking Development in post-colonial Zimbabwe: The Case of the CAMPFIRE Project in Kanyemba**

Neil B Maheve from the Department of Political and International Studies, Rhodes University, has requested my permission to participate in the above-mentioned research project.

The nature and the purpose of the research project and of this informed consent declaration have been explained to me in a language that I understand.

I am aware that:

1. The purpose of the research project is to understand the attitudes of the people towards development (CAMPFIRE) and the local alternatives to development (conservation).
2. Rhodes University has given ethical clearance to this research project **(2021-5272-6496)**, and I have seen/may request to see the clearance certificate by contacting the Ethics Coordinator, Danielle De Vos (d.devos@ru.ac.za).
3. By participating in this research project, I will be contributing towards making CAMPFIRE more beneficial and grassroots-oriented.
4. I will participate in the project by answering questions from the researcher.
5. My participation is entirely voluntary, and should I at any stage wish to withdraw from participating, I may do so without any negative consequences.
6. I will not be compensated for participating in the research, but my out-of-pocket expenses will be reimbursed.
7. The following risks are associated with my participation:
 - i. Possible alienation from the CAMPFIRE committee
 - ii. Possible alienation by community members
 - iii. Slight chances of social persecution.
8. The Researcher intends to publish the research results in the form of journal articles and book chapters. However, confidentiality and anonymity of records will be maintained. My name and identity will not be revealed to anyone who has not been involved in researching *unless I indicate to the contrary/recognise that as a public figure, my identity will inevitably be/become known, in which case I agree to and accept the loss of confidentiality.*
9. In terms of the Protection of Personal Information Act, it remains my right to request the Researcher to provide me with a detailed explanation of exactly how confidentiality and anonymity will be achieved. I may request to know how my personal information will be stored securely, for how long it will be stored, and whether it is likely to be used again in further research.
10. In terms of the Protection of Personal Information Act, I possess the right to receive feedback about this research. This will take the form of feedback meetings and the provision of a hard copy of the thesis *Unless I elect not to receive feedback.*
11. Any further questions that I might have regarding the research or my participation will be answered by Neil B Maheve +27645251250/+263774734235, Professor S Matthews +27760408629.
12. By signing this informed consent declaration, I am not waiving any legal claims, rights or remedies.

13. A copy of this informed consent declaration will be given to me, and the original will be kept on record.

I,, have read the above information / confirm that the above information has been explained to me in a language that I understand, and I am aware of this document's contents. I have asked all the questions that I wished to ask, and these have been answered to my satisfaction. I fully understand what is expected of me during the research.

I have not been pressured in any way, and I voluntarily agree to participate in the above-mentioned project.

I **agree/disagree** (SELECT APPLICABLE) to the Researcher's request to take photographs and/or videos of me as part of this research project, recognising that agreement here is likely to raise the risk of compromising my anonymity and that steps will be taken to ensure this does not happen if my approval is granted.

I **agree/disagree** to the Researcher's request to voice record my comments and opinions during interviews, the purpose of which is to ensure the accurate recording of my views. Furthermore, I have the right to request a copy of interview transcriptions to confirm that my opinions are accurately recorded.

.....

Participants signature

.....

Date

APPENDIX D: INFORMED CONSENT FORM (SHONA)

(To be signed by research participants)

Research Project Title: **Rethinking development in post-colonial Zimbabwe: the case of the CAMPFIRE project in Kanyemba**

Neil B Maheve kubva kuDepartment of Political and intrenation studies pa Rhodes University, akakumbira mvumo yangu kuve muchirongwa chekutsvakurudza chakataurwa pamusoro apa.

Chimiro uye chinangwa chechirongwa chekutsvakurudza uye chekuzivisa uku kwekubvuma kwakazivikanwa kwakatsanangurwa kwandiri mumutauro wandinonzwisisa.

Ndinoziva kuti:

1. Chirongwa chekutsvakurudza chine chinangwa chekunzwisisa maitiro ekuramba CAMPFIRE uye dzimwe nzira dzemunharaunda dzekuvandudza (kuchengetedza)
2. Rhodes University yakabvumidza chirongwa ichi chekutsvakurudza (2021-5272-6496) uye ndakaona / ndingakumbira kuti ndione chitupa chekubvumidza nekutaura neEthics Coordinator (ethics-committee@ru.ac.za).
3. Nokuve muchirongwa ichi chekutsvakurudza, ini ndichange ndichibatsira kuita kuti CAMPFIRE iwedzere kunzwisisika.
4. Ndichave mutsvakurudzo ino nekupindura mibvunzo kubva kune mutsvakurudzi.
5. Kuve mutsvakurudzo ino ndekwekuzvidira uye kana ini pane chero danho ndichida kubva pakutora chikamu mberi, ndinogona kuita kudaro pasina chero migumisiro yakaipa
6. Handisi kuzobhadharwa nekuve mukutsvakurudza, asi ndikashandisa mari yangu ichabhadharwa.
7. Njodzi dzinotevera dzinokwanisa kusanganwa nadzo nekuve muvakurudzo kwangu:
8. *Mutsvakurudzi anoda kubudisa tsvakurudzo mujournal uye chitsauko chebhuku. Zvisinei, zvakavanzika uye kusazivikanwa kwezita rangu uye kuzivikanwa hakuzoziviswa kune chero ani zvake asina kubatanidzwa mukuita tsvakurudzo, kunze kwekunge ini ndichiratidza kune zvakasiyana / kuziva kuti semunhu weruzhinji, kuzivikanwa kwangu kuchave kusingadzivisiki*
9. Maererano neProtection of Personal Information Act, inoramba iri kodzero yangu kukumbira Mutsvakurudzi kuti andipe tsanangudzo yakadzama yekuti zvakavanzika uye kusazivikanwa zvichaitwa sei chaizvo. Ndinogona kukumbira kuziva kuti ruzivo rwangu rwemunhu oga ruchachengetwa sei zvachengeteka, kwenguva yakareba sei ichachengetwa, uye kana ingangoshandiswa zvakare mune imwe tsvakurudzo.
10. Maererano neProtection of Personal Information Act, ndine kodzero yekugamuchira mhinduro pamusoro pekutsvakurudza uku. Izvi zvichatora chimiro chemisangano yemhinduro uye kugoverwa kwekopi yakaoma yechidzidzo. kunze kwekunge ndasarudza kusagamuchira mhinduro.
11. Chero mimwe mibvunzo yandingave nayo pamusoro pekutsvakurudza kana kutora kwangu mutsvakurudzo ichapindurwa naNeil B Maheve, G21M2019.
12. Nokusaina chiziviso ichi chekubvuma ruzivo, handisi kurega chero zvirevo zvepamutemo, kana kodzero zangu.
13. Kopi yechiziviso ichi chekubvuma chine ruzivo ichapiwa kwandiri, uye yepakutanga ichachengetwa pachinyorwa.

Ini,, ndaverenga mashoko ari pamusoro apa / kusimbisa kuti ruzivo rwuri pamusoro apa rwakatsanangurwa kwandiri mumutauro wandinonzwisisa uye ndinoziva zviru mukati megwaro rino. Ndabvunza mibvunzo yose yandaida kubvunza uye izvi zvakapindurwa kugutsikana kwangu. Ndinonzwisisa zvizere zvinotarisiwa kwandiri panguva yekutsvakurudza.

Handina kudzvinyirirwa nenzira ipi zvayo uye ndinobvuma kuve muchirongwa chakataurwa pamusoro apa.

Ndinobvumirana / kusabvumirana kune chikumbiro cheMutsvakurudzi chekutora mifananidzo uye / kana mavhidhiyo angu sechikamu chechirongwa ichi chekutsvakurudza, ndichiziva kuti chibvumirano pano chinogona kusimudza njodzi yekukanganisa kusazivikanwa kwangu uye kuti matanho achatorwa kuti ave nechokwadi chekuti izvi hazviitike kana mvumo yangu ichipiwa.

Ndinobvumirana / kusabvumirana nechikumbiro cheMutsvakurudzi chekunyora mashoko angu uye pfungwa panguva yekubvunzurudza, chinangwa chacho ndechekuvimbisa kurekodha kwakarurama kwemaonero angu. Uyezve, ndine kodzero yekukumbira kopi yezvinyorwa zvebvunzurudzo kuti ndisimbise kuti pfungwa dzangu dzakanyorwa zvakarurama.

.....

Participants signature

.....

Date

APPENDIX E: QUESTIONS FOR OFFICIALS

- 1) What is your current role or job title within this ministry/organisation?
- 2) Could you share your perspective on the development initiatives related to CAMPFIRE in the Mbire and Kanyemba regions?
- 3) From your personal and professional standpoint, can you assess the effectiveness and influence of CAMPFIRE in the Kanyemba area?
- 4) Please describe the tangible developments and improvements initiated by CAMPFIRE in the Kanyemba ward. How have these changes positively affected the living conditions and the residents of the local area?
- 5) What criteria or factors are considered when distributing the profits or gains generated by CAMPFIRE initiatives?
- 6) Does your office maintain records or statistics regarding the benefits provided to the residents of Kanyemba?
- 7) Who is responsible for negotiating and finalising lease agreements with safari owners?
- 8) Could you explain how your office or department grants hunting rights to individuals or organisations?
- 9) What specific government policies and measures are in place to deter poaching and illegal exploitation of natural resources?
- 10) Can you assess the effectiveness of these regulations and policies in reducing poaching in the Kanyemba area? Please elaborate on your observations.
- 11) How has prohibiting traditional hunting methods among locals contributed to wildlife conservation efforts?
- 12) How successful have the conservation policies associated with CAMPFIRE been in safeguarding wildlife?
- 13) In your view, how beneficial and effective is a collaboration with local communities for wildlife conservation?
- 14) When an incident involving the death of an animal occurs, could you explain the procedures and protocols your department follows to address such issues?

- 15) What roles do residents play in these situations, and are there any partnerships or collaborations with parks and wildlife officials? Does your department employ game wardens or trackers from the local ward?
- 16) Considering the measurable outcomes of CAMPFIRE initiatives, do you believe it should be continued or discontinued? Please provide your perspective and reasoning.?

APPENDIX F: QUESTIONS FOR LOCALS (ENGLISH)

Questions for Kanyemba communities.

1. How long have you been a resident of Kanyemba?
2. In which specific area or neighbourhood within this ward do you reside?
3. Could you provide some information about your family size and occupation? I understand that some residents are engaged in agriculture.
4. How would you define the concept of development?
5. In your opinion, what are the key indicators or factors that demonstrate a state of development?
6. What is your perspective on the progress of development within your ward? Have you observed significant development since you first moved to Kanyemba?
7. From your perspective, what does the acronym CAMPFIRE represent or signify in Kanyemba?
8. Do you believe CAMPFIRE was introduced to Kanyemba at an opportune time?
9. Has CAMPFIRE been involved in the development of infrastructure within your ward, particularly in your village? If so, could you share how this has personally benefited you?
10. Have you or your family participated in the CAMPFIRE, Village Development Committee (VIDCO), or Ward Development Committee (WARDCO)? Is CAMPFIRE committee membership gender balanced?
11. In the context of Kanyemba, do you believe your group, Tembo Mvura or Chikunda, is adequately included or excluded from the decision-making process within CAMPFIRE? Are there concerns about marginalisation?
12. Do you think that being a member of committees such as CAMPFIRE, WARDCO, or VIDCO provides advantages when it comes to sharing the benefits of these initiatives?
13. How frequently do you hold meetings to discuss allocating and utilising funds generated through CAMPFIRE or other financial matters?
14. Who plays a role in determining the priorities for development projects within the ward or village?
15. Is there equitable sharing of benefits, such as meat from killed animals, among community members? As a family, have you ever received any monetary or otherwise benefits from the killing of the animals?
16. Do you think CAMPFIRE is a project for the elites?
17. From your perspective, do you believe the dividend method or the benefits method has been more effective in the context of CAMPFIRE initiatives?
18. How do you perceive the role and impact of CAMPFIRE within your village or ward?
19. Can you share how your circumstances have improved since the introduction of CAMPFIRE in your area?
20. Have any of your relatives been involved in poaching activities and subsequently arrested?
21. Should trapping small animals (including rodents) and gathering tubers and honey be considered poaching?
22. In your opinion, who should be the rightful owner of the animals: CAMPFIRE or individuals in the community?
23. How do you perceive the issue of human-wildlife conflicts, and what is your opinion on the actions the Problem Animal Control (PAC) took in response to these conflicts?
24. Do you believe that Safari operators, the Rural District Council, and the CAMPFIRE Association should provide compensation for human lives lost due to animal attacks?

25. In your view, what takes precedence in the eyes of the RDC, CAMPFIRE Association, and safari operators: human life or the welfare of animals?
26. There have been discussions about CAMPFIRE funds potentially fostering dependency (Donor syndrome) among recipients. Do you think CAMPFIRE has led to increased reliance on handouts, hindering the community's ability to initiate its development?
27. From your perspective, has CAMPFIRE been effective in benefiting this community? Please elaborate on your response. Do you think CAMPFIRE should be removed from this ward? If yes, what should be put in its place?
28. When you compare the traditional conservation methods used in the past with the current CAMPFIRE approach, which do you believe is more viable for Kanyemba?
29. If you can recall, when do you feel life was better for you: before the introduction of CAMPFIRE or after?
30. Many communities have explored alternative approaches, such as Community Conservation Trusts. Do you think these trusts have the potential to be more effective than CAMPFIRE?
31. Is there a representative from your community in the Chapoto Conservation Trust?
32. What specific expectations do you have from the Chapoto Conservation Trust that you feel CAMPFIRE could not fulfil?

APPENDIX G: MIBVUNZO MUCHISHONA

1. Mave nenguva yakareba sei uri mugari wemuKanyemba?
2. Munharaunda ipi chaiyo kana nharaunda mukati mewadhi iyi yaunogara?
3. Ungagona here kupa mamwe mashoko pamusoro pehukuru hwemhuri yako uye basa? Ndinonzwisisa kuti vamwe vagari vari kuita zvekurima.
4. Ungarondedzera sei pfungwa ye "development"?
5. Mukufunga kwako, ndezvipi zviratidzo zvinokosha kana zvinhu zvinoratidza mamiriro edevelopment?
6. Chii chiri maonero yenyu pamusoro pekufambira mberi kwebudiriro mukati meward yenyu? Wakacherechedza chitiko chinokosha kubva pawakatanga kutamira kuKanyemba here?
7. Kubva pamaonero ako, CAMPFIRE inomiririra kana kureva chii muKanyemba?
8. Unotenda here kuti CAMPFIRE yakatangwa kuKanyemba panguva yakakodzera?
9. CAMPFIRE yakabatanidzwa mukugadzirwa kwezvivakwa mukati mewadhi yako, kunyanya mumusha mako here? Kana zvakadaro, ungagoverana here kuti ikoku kwakakubetsera sei somunhu oga?
10. Iwe kana mhuri yako yakatora chikamu muCAMPFIRE, Village Development Committee (VIDCO), kana Ward Development Committee (WARDCO)? Nhengo dzekomiti yeCAMPFIRE dziri nhengo dzechikadzi here?
11. Mumamiriro ezvinhu eKanyemba, unotenda here kuti boka rako, Tembo Mvura kana Chikunda, rakabatanidzwa zvakanakira kana kubviswa mukuita sarudzo mukati meCAMPFIRE? Pane kunetseka pamusoro pekudzingwa here?
12. Munofunga kuti kuva nhengo yemakomiti akaita seCAMPFIRE, WARDCO kana VIDCO kunopa zvikomborero here kana zvasvika pakugoverana zvakanakira zvirongwa izvi?
13. Munaita misangano kakawanda sei kuti ukurukurirane kugovera uye kushandisa mari inogadzirwa kuburikidza neCAMPFIRE kana dzimwe nyaya dzemari?
14. Ndiani anoita basa pakusarudza zvinokosha pazvirongwa zvebudiriro mukati meward kana musha?
15. Pane kugoverana kwakaenzana kwezvikomborero, zvakadai senyama inobva kumhuka dzakaurawa, pakati pemitezo yenzanga here? Semhuri, wakambogamuchira betsero dzipi nedzipi dzemari kana kuti zvimwe mukuurawa kwemhuka here?
16. Unofunga kuti CAMPFIRE chirongwa chemavanhu vane simba uye mari?
17. Kubva pamaonero ako, iwe unotenda here nzira yechikamu kana nzira yekubatsira yave ichishanda zvakanakira mumamiriro ezvinhu eCAMPFIRE zvirongwa?
18. Unonzwisisa sei basa uye kukanganisa kweCAMPFIRE mukati memusha wako kana ward?
19. Unogona here kugoverana kuti mamiriro ako ezvinhu akavandudzika sei kubva pakatanga CAMPFIRE munharaunda yako?
20. Pane hama dzako dzakabatanidzwa mumabasa ekuvhima zvisiri pamutemo ndokuzosungwa here?

21. Kubata mhuka diki (kusanganisira makonzo) uye kuunganidza tubers uye uchi zvinofanira kuonekwa sekuvhima zvisiri pamutemo here?
22. Mukufunga kwako, ndiani anofanira kuva muridzi wemhuka akakodzera: CAMPFIRE kana vanhu munharaunda? Kupa zvose maonero eCAMPFIRE uye maonero ako kwaizova kunzwisisa.
23. Unonzwisisa sei nyaya yekurwisana kwevanhu nemhuka dzesango, uye chii chiri maonero ako pamusoro pezviito zvakaitwa neProblem Animal Control (PAC) mukupindura kurwisana uku?
24. Iwe unotenda here kuti vashandi veSafari, Rural District Council, uye CAMPFIRE Association vanofanira kupa muripo wehupenyu hwevanhu hwakarasika nekuda kwekurwiswa kwemhuka?
25. Mukuona kwako, chii chinotanga mumaziso eRDC, CAMPFIRE Association, uye safari operators: hupenyu hwevanhu kana kugara zvakanaka kwemhuka?
26. Kwave kune kukurukurirana pamusoro pemari yeCAMPFIRE inogona kukurudzira kutsamira (Donor syndrome) pakati pevanogamuchira. Unofunga kuti CAMPFIRE yakatungamirira kuwedzera kuvimba nezvipa, zvichidziva kukwanisa kwemunharaunda kutanga kukura kwayo?
27. Semaonero ako, CAMPFIRE yave ichishanda mukubatsira nharaunda iyi here? Ndapota tsanangura mhinduro yako. Unofunga kuti CAMPFIRE inofanira kubviswa muwadhi iyi here? Kana hongu, chii chinofanira kuiswa munzvimbo yacho
28. Paunozanisa nzira dzekuchengetedza dzechinyakare dzinoshandiswa munguva yakapfuura neiyo nzira yeCAMPFIRE, ndeipi yaunotenda kuti inonyanya kubudirira kuna Kanyemba?
29. Kana iwe uchigona kuyeuka, iwe unonzwa rini hupenyu hwakanga huri nani kwauri: pamberi pekutanga kweCAMPFIRE kana mushure?
30. Nzanga dzakawanda dzakaongorora dzimwe nzira, dzakadai seCommunity Conservation Trusts. Iwe unofunga kuti izvi zvivimbiso zvinogona kubudirira kupfuura CAMPFIRE?
31. Pane mumiriri kubva kunharaunda yako muChapoto Conservation Trust here?
32. Ndezvipi zvinotarisirwa chaizvo zvaunazvo kubva kuChapoto Conservation Trust zvaunofunga kuti CAMPFIRE yaisagona kuzadzisa?