Contesting inequality in access to forests

Who you are and where you live determine whether or not you have access to forests and forest decision-making in Zimbabwe. Inequitable land distribution and anachronistic policies combine to provide the wealthy with incentives for forest land management whilst the poor are ensnared in a web of contradictory regulations. The state's control of forestry is now under challenge from alliances in the private sector and civil society. Yet, whilst local people have begun to be recognised as adept managers of trees, there are major political and economic tensions in devolving authority to the local institutions that might be truly motivated for good forest resource management. *Contesting inequality in access to forests* describes the initiatives and coalitions that have turned key debates and begun to generate a more widely shared vision of the role of forests and woodlands in Zimbabwe's development. It analyses what has and has not worked, and it sets out the ways in which vision can be turned into reality.

Policy that works for forests and people series

Forest issues often concern large amounts of money, long timeframes, huge areas of land, and diverse livelihoods. The issues are complex and vary from place to place. However, a pattern of forest problems is common to many countries: continuing loss of natural forests; over-concentrated control and inequitable access to forests; an ill-informed public; and poorly-resourced, inflexible forestry institutions. Policy is the root cause of many of these forest problems.

This series consists of six country studies - from Costa Rica, Ghana, India, Pakistan, Papua New Guinea and Zimbabwe - and an overview report. The series aims at a better understanding of the forces at play in contests over policy, the winners and losers, and the factors that affect policy outcomes. It also describes the processes that make and manage good policies and the policy instruments that work in different contexts. By dealing with policy in practice - in the 'real world' of people and their institutions - the series aims to go beyond the frequently heard complaint that there is a lack of 'political will' to change, by showing *how* policy can change for the better.

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Policy that works for forests and people

No: 5

Zimbabwe

Nhira *et al*
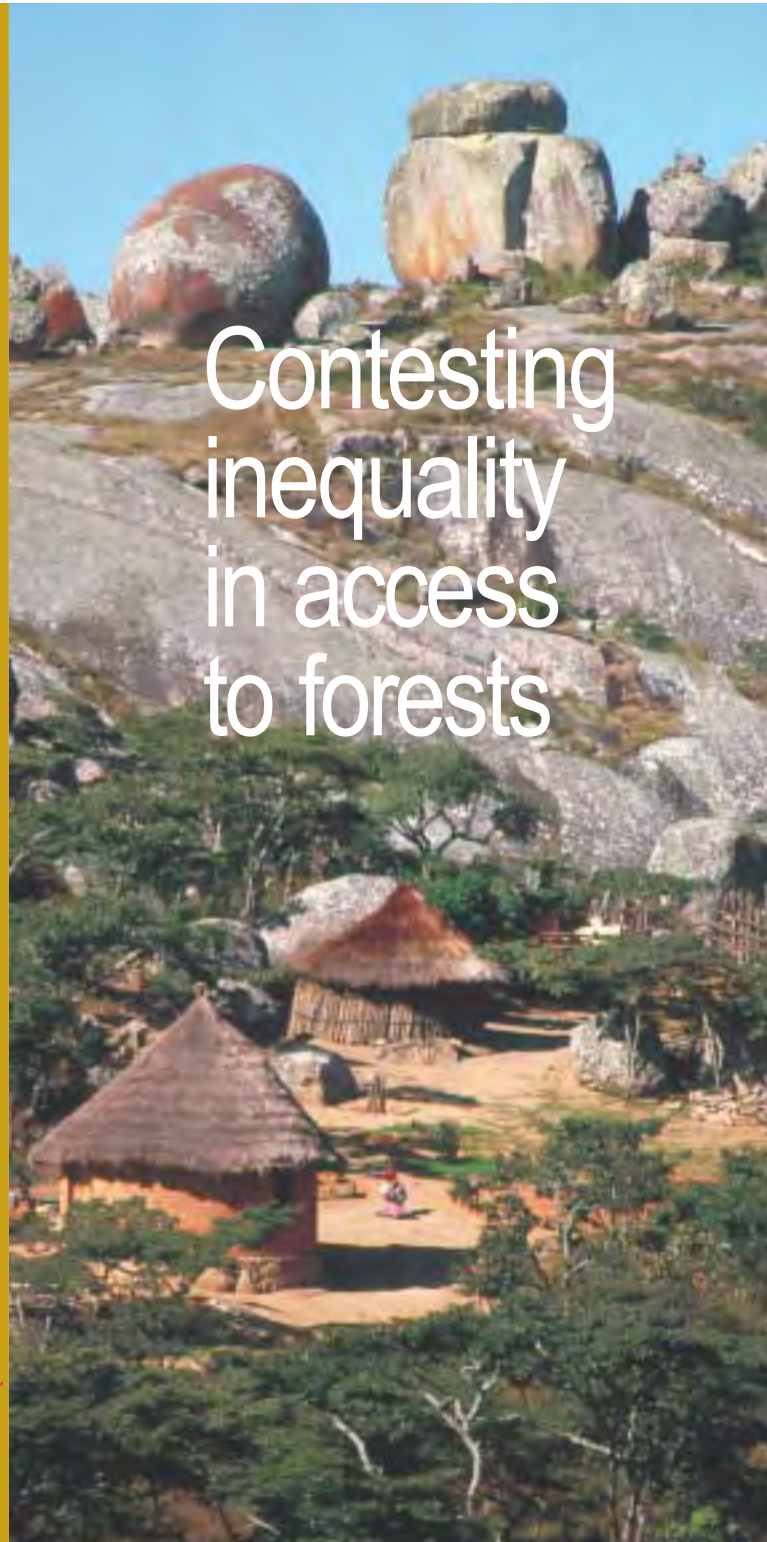
ZIMBABWE

Policy that
works for forests
and people

Contesting inequality in access to forests

Calvin Nhira
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Figure 2.2 Zimbabwe woody cover

MAP 1

ZIMBABWE
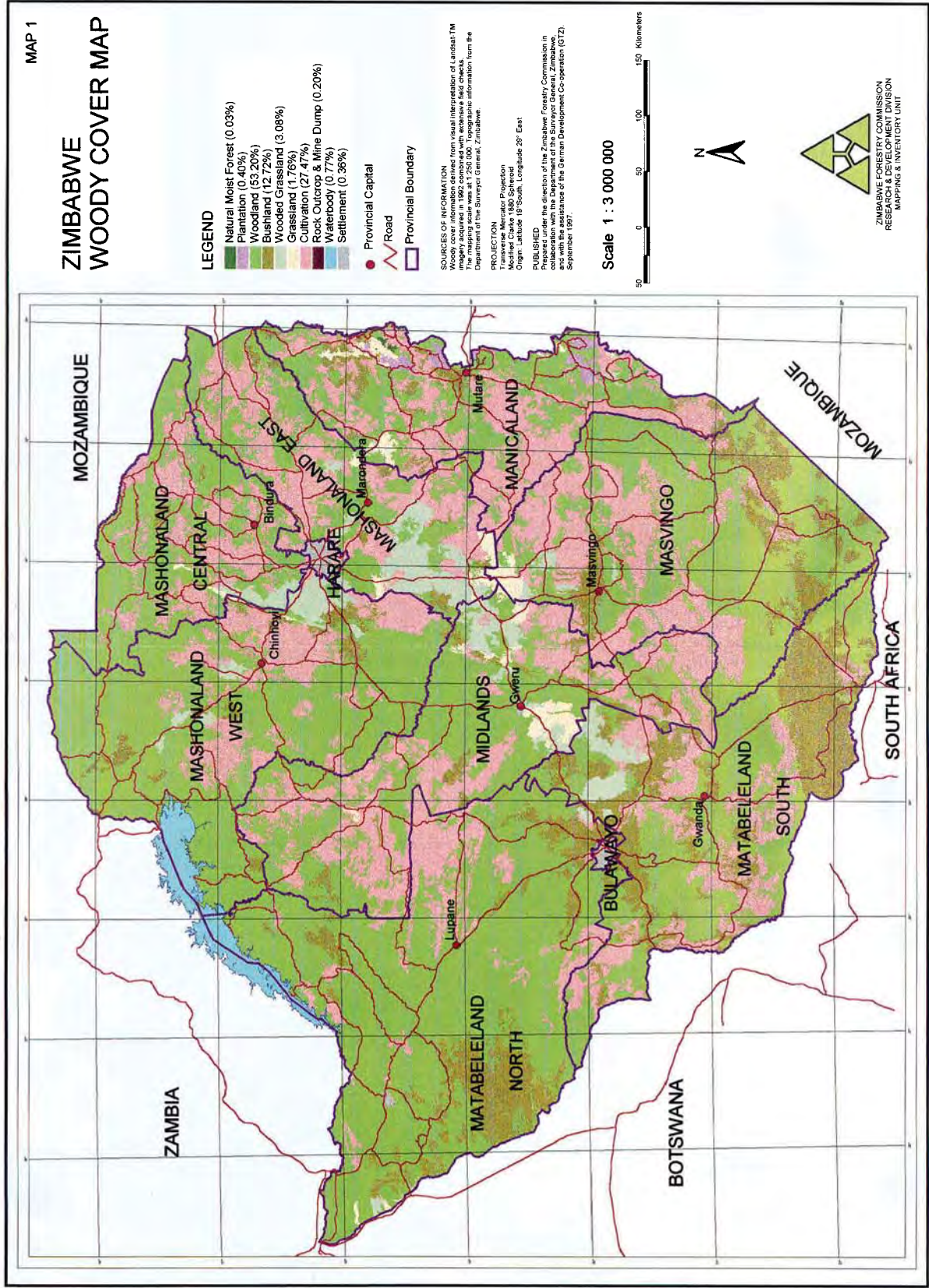## WOODY COVER MAP

LEGEND

- Natural Moist Forest (0.03%)
- Plantation (0.40%)
- Woodland (53.20%)
- Bushland (12.72%)
- Wooded Grassland (3.08%)
- Grassland (1.76%)
- Cultivation (27.47%)
- Rock Outcrop & Mine Dump (0.20%)
- Waterbody (0.77%)
- Settlement (0.36%)

● Provincial Capital
/\ Road
☐ Provincial Boundary

SOURCES OF INFORMATION
Woody cover information derived from visual interpretation of Landsat TM
imagery acquired in 1992 combined with extensive field checks.
The mapping scale was at 1:250 000. Topographic information from the
Department of the Surveyor General, Zimbabwe.

PROJECTION
Transverse Mercator Projection
Modified Clarke 1880 Spheroid
Origin: Latitude 19°South, Longitude 29° East

PUBLISHED
Prepared under the direction of the Zimbabwe Forestry Commission in
collaboration with the Department of the Surveyor General, Zimbabwe
and with the assistance of the German Development Co-operation (GTZ)
September 1997.

Scale 1 : 3 000 000

50 0 50 100 150 Kilometers

N

ZIMBABWE FORESTRY COMMISSION
RESEARCH & DEVELOPMENT DIVISION
MAPPING & INVENTORY UNIT

Zambezi escarpment woodland

Heavy soil erosion in the Kariba area; certain resettlement scheme and tsetse control operations have led to such denuded landscapes

Picking cotton on a commercial farm. These farms are generally found on the better land and have enjoyed a relatively supportive agricultural policy framework. Woodlands were originally cleared to establish commercial farms, but today the farmers can generally afford to look after the remaining woodlands

Winnowing soya beans. Agriculture contributes about 12 per cent of GDP and is the major source of foreign export earnings in Zimbabwe. Along with maize, wheat, fruit, coffee, sugar and cotton, soya is one of the major inputs to agro-industry

A load of pine logs being received at a board and paper mill in Mutare. The relatively small wood products processing industry in Zimbabwe is dominated by the Forestry Commission and two private companies. The industry has been on the upturn since the mid 1990s, largely because of favourable exchange rates

Baobab tree in bare maize fields during drought, Hippo Valley, Southern Zimbabwe

Fuelwood, one of the products provided by trees in the landscape which are essential to household economies, especially in the communal lands
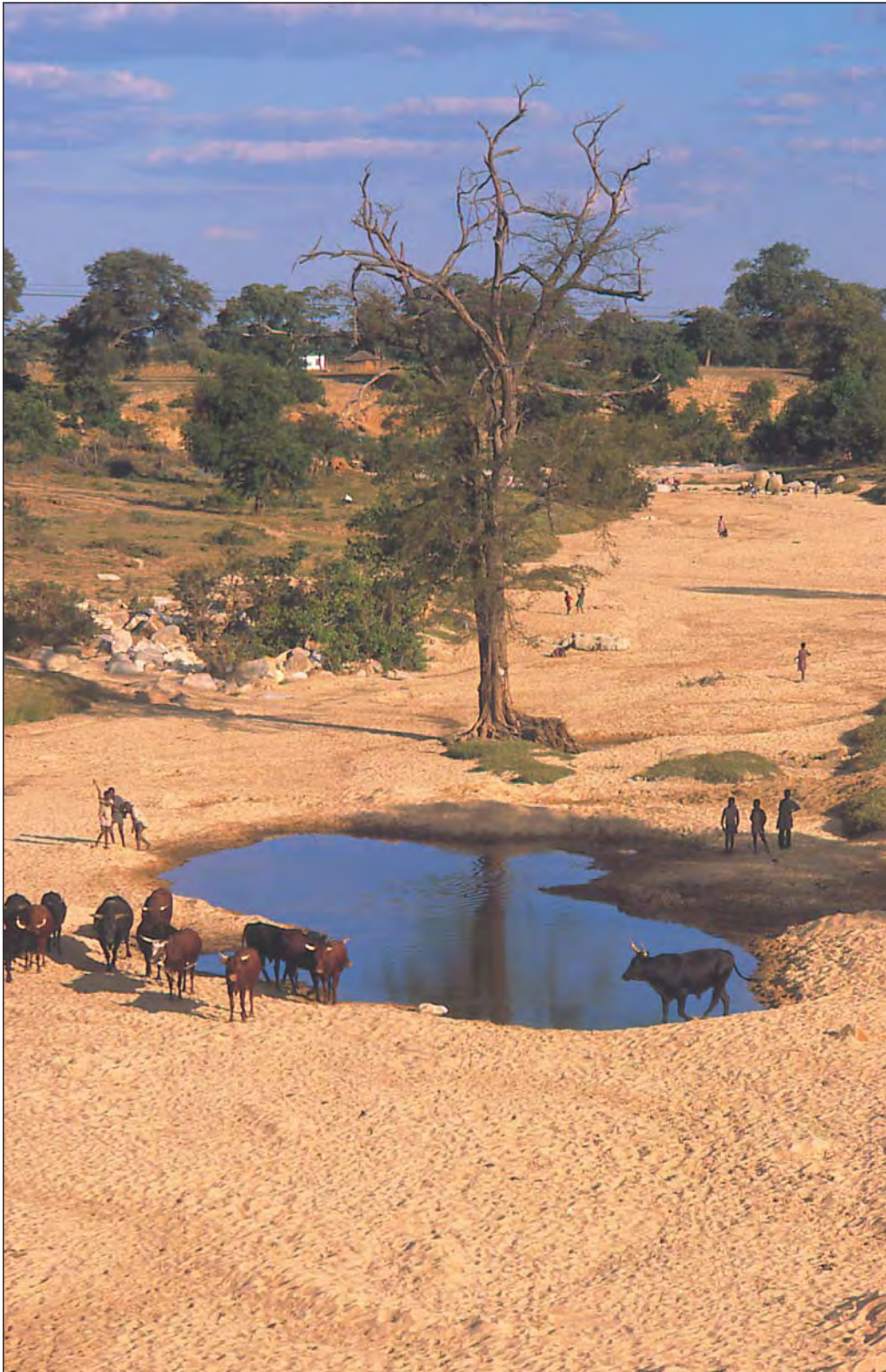
Livestock have been at the core of agricultural systems in both communal and commercial lands. Commercial farmers produce beef, whilst communal land farmers are more concerned with keeping live animals for draught power, milk and manure. Trees in grazing areas are vital, and it is increasingly recognised that woodland, cattle and cultivated land are inseparable. However, disconnected policies are currently failing to foster this interconnected system

A Forestry Commission tree nursery. During the 1990s centralised tree nurseries producing seedlings for afforestation programmes began to give way to more decentralised nurseries owned by individuals, local groups and NGOs. If such nurseries are based on genuine local demand, they can be more effective in promoting tree management by local people

Contesting inequality in access to forests

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Series Editor:
James Mayers

Copies of this report are available from:

Views on *Contesting inequality in access to forests*

From: Yemi Katerere

**Regional Director, IUCN-Regional Office for Southern Africa,
formerly General Manager, Forestry Commission.**

This report is a significant contribution towards defining a national vision for woodland management in Zimbabwe. For too long the management of forests was considered the domain of forestry and other formal government agencies using fossilised legislation and alien administrative systems that marginalised the local communities and traditional knowledge. This explains why the State, despite access to huge financial, human and technical resources has failed to evolve sustainable woodland management approaches.

Woodland resources for too long were seen as physical resources supporting a subsistence rural economy in the form of fuelwood and building material. The true value of these resources and hence their potential to contribute towards the transformation of the rural economy were grossly underestimated. This report shows clearly how the rural livelihoods are linked to woodlands and how the various government institutions have contributed to confusion over the management of the woodland resources at the local level by undermining local governance systems.

The report correctly places forest/woodland management into macro-economic context. Macro-economic policies have a direct bearing on how communities perceive and utilise the woodlands. For example, the land question has a major implication of the issue of access to land and natural resources and yet it remains unresolved. The delay in implementing land re-distribution in terms of both quality and quantity can only "exacerbate the underlying causes of woodland degradation" as argued in the report.

The area of policy formulation has become increasingly complex due to growing globalisation and the now widely accepted need for an

interdisciplinary, participatory and integrated approach to policy processes. Getting the process "right" can become an end in itself. This report correctly suggests that while we strive to improve on the process we should be continuously seeking to improve on the content. So we should not wait until we get the process "right" to begin intervention. The report uses the case study of the Forestry Commission to demonstrate how one institution began a process of policy change that was far from perfect but nonetheless facilitated an approach that would ultimately lead to "devolved participatory resource management".

This report is a valuable contribution to the on-going policy debate. It should prove useful not only to the numerous State institutions whose policies directly and indirectly impact on woodland management, but also for NGOs, civil society, private sector and academia who are potential agents for comprehensive policy changes. More importantly, it presents convincing arguments that forest management is interdisciplinary and influenced by complex yet reinforcing factors that go well beyond the forest discipline. Foresters alone cannot bring about the desired policy outcomes.

From: Marshall W Murphree
Professor Emeritus of Applied Social Sciences,
University of Zimbabwe

This is a ground-breaking study for forestry policy and management in Zimbabwe. As this volume demonstrates, there has been no paucity of policy pronouncements on woodland use and management in this Country since Independence in 1980. We have policies and we have the institutions to implement them.

However the goal of a set of policies that work remains elusive. At levels below those of a general vision our policies are inconsistent with each other in important respects. Policy making and policy implementation are poorly linked, and the institutions in which both activities are carried out lack completeness and cohesiveness. As the authors note "People within the current set of institutions face a number of internal and external constraints, whilst other people - other 'stakeholders' - who have potential to turn vision into reality are not sufficiently involved in shaping the vision and converting it to practice".

This kind of dilemma characterises the central challenge which faces natural

resource management regimes in Zimbabwe and elsewhere. In responding to this challenge this study exhibits a scholarship which in its content reconfigures our understanding of the issues involved and which in its conduct restructures the processes by which that understanding is reached. Grounded in a wide ranging data base, its content is holistic in analysis, robust in critique and pragmatic in prescription. Clarity is brought to complexity through the organisation and logical progression of analysis, giving a new profile to problem and solution.

In its conduct the study has been equally commendable. Designed from the start to capture the concerns and insights of users, managers and analysts, it has stimulated a new coalition of partners through a process of scholarship in which all have a stake and common purpose. In this process the systemic divisions which inhibit interactions between the academic, policy and management communities have been significantly breached. In this respect this study constitutes a new breed of environmental scholarship for Zimbabwe, a scholarship which through its location becomes a participant rather than a mere observer in the policy and action forum.

Collecting firewood for fuel and cooking. Fuelwood meets most of the energy needs of households in communal lands. Heavy population concentrations in the communal lands result in high pressure on the tree resources in these areas. However, local tree management practices including selective harvesting and cropping of coppice regrowth are beginning to be recognised

Executive summary
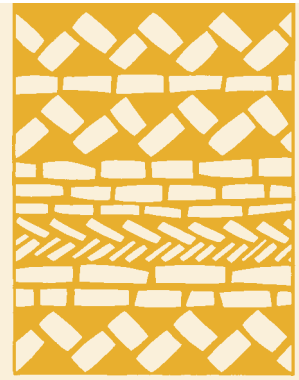
The challenge: inequality and the policy-practice gap

Zimbabwe as a whole is relatively well-endowed with woodlands. It is also well-stocked with policies which affect them. Some policies are mere pronouncements, which have few links to what people actually do. Others have considerable impact, for good or bad, on the way people treat woodlands. But whether you have access to decisions, about either woodlands or policies, depends crucially on where you live and who you are.

Pressures stemming mostly from economic reform in Zimbabwe have resulted in a changing policy arena. The nature and quality of people's livelihoods linked to woodlands is also changing. In response, organisations dealing with forestry have had to change the way they do business. In the late 1990s, policies and laws, and the institutions involved in their formulation and implementation, continue to be in a state of flux. The time is right to take stock of the situation.

This report looks at woodlands and people in post-independence Zimbabwe, and seeks to understand what it takes to make policies work for both. It derives from a study involving contributions from a wide variety of people between 1995 and 1997. The study began with the core team making its standpoint clear by developing its vision - of forest management which is integrated with other land uses, and focused on equitable rural development and security of forest resources for future generations. This vision lines up quite well with prevailing policy pronouncements, but not with current reality. Thus, the study sought to understand the separation between policy rhetoric and practice, and to identify how it might be transformed into policy that works for woodlands and people.

Woodlands and people

Woodlands cover 53 per cent of Zimbabwe's total land area, whilst bushlands cover a further 13 per cent. However, the land hosting these resources is very unevenly distributed amongst the population. Over a

quarter of the woodland area is contained in state lands - national parks, wildlife reserves and forest reserves. The majority of the best farmland, and over 30 per cent of woodland, is found on commercial farms holding only 19 per cent of the rural population. Meanwhile, 74 per cent of the rural population is confined to the communal areas, which constitute 42 per cent of the land, and this land is mostly of the lowest farming potential in the country. Many livelihoods are linked to woodlands in the communal areas - where concentrations of people create great pressures on woodland resources.

A wide range of government institutions have significant, often conflicting, influence over people's behaviour towards woodlands. NGOs are fast proliferating and the private sector is increasingly establishing timber plantations. However, local institutions which might be capable of steering forest management have suffered from the vicissitudes of government approaches to local governance, and are currently in a weak position.

Evolving national strategies

Since independence, the Zimbabwean government has promoted national development in two broad phases. In the early 1980s, "growth with equity" was founded on a large-scale redistribution of land. By the late 1980s, slow progress on land redistribution and a stagnant national economy rendered this an empty slogan. The second phase - "structural adjustment" - began in the late 1980s and today remains the central paradigm at national level.

Woodlands, and woodland-based livelihoods, have not enjoyed a prominent role in either of these strategies. However, "sustainable development" became a core focus of government rhetoric in the early 1990s, drawing on international momentum and national initiatives. "Poverty alleviation" emerged as a major focus from the mid 1990s as a response to the widespread dissatisfaction with the immediate effects of structural adjustment on livelihoods and employment.

To some extent, arguments for both "sustainable development" and "poverty alleviation" have been used to avoid addressing the existing inequitable land distribution. Old assumptions about the environmentally destructive livelihood practices of people in communal areas have been used to justify continuation of centralised regulatory control in those areas. These old assumptions are unsuited to the complex and diverse nature of the ecologies and livelihoods associated with woodlands. Poverty alleviation activities, meanwhile, are focused on those who bear the main brunt of the "temporary" negative effects of structural adjustment - the communal lands population.

Resilience of the "dual economy"

Much of the legislation on use and management of forests and woodlands was inherited at independence and reflects the dualistic nature of the colonial period, i.e. laws favouring voluntary self-policing and investment in the commercial private lands, whilst in the communal areas state enforcement and regulation was the rule.

Large commercial farms on the good land were able to employ intensive farming methods, and were encouraged to set up Intensive Conservation Areas to manage woodlands on a voluntaristic basis. In the communal areas, on the other hand, high concentrations of people on land with poor soils and unreliable rainfall tended to progressively clear woodland, as extensive forms of farming were the only practical option. The remaining woodland resource was heavily coppiced and pollarded. Land use planning, from the 1930s up to 1960, attempted to centralise villages and led to confused local institutional structures. This dualism is reflected in a number of post-independence policy developments.

Recurrence of the "land question"

Land distribution is a fundamental policy issue which circumscribes many other areas of policy. Since independence, approximately 62,000 families have been resettled on about 8 per cent of the country's land, which was transferred - on a "willing seller, willing buyer" basis - from commercial farms. This is well below the target, set at independence, to resettle 180,000 families. Whilst strong political pressures for large-scale distribution of white-owned estates persist, about 4,000 whites still retain about 35 per cent of the country's total arable and ranch land. Land redistribution has been used as a political bargaining chip with the rural population. When elections are imminent, some commercial farm areas are bought and redistributed. After that, redistribution activity subsides.

Concerns about land tenure insecurity, rather than land distribution *per se*, prompted the government to set up the Land Tenure Commission in 1993. Despite criticisms of the Commission's process and products, it recommended quite radical, and much-needed, changes in tenure and rural governance systems in both communal and commercial areas. However, the government has been very slow in its response.

Efforts in late 1997 to initiate a large-scale land re-allocation exercise raise many questions about the intended beneficiaries, and about the ability of government to support the settlers. Poorly supported land re-allocation may exacerbate some of the main underlying causes for woodland

depletion, including: inter-sectoral confusion over responsibilities; lack of clarity over the role of trees in top-down land use planning; insecure tenure; and inadequate community institutional mechanisms. Resettlement, as currently pursued, is no substitute for agricultural and economic development in the communal areas. Concern is growing that without fuller participation of all sections of society in policy development, emerging land policy may reinforce inequalities by concentrating too much on productive smallholder development and too little on allocation of land to those who need it for survival.

Policies for agriculture, livestock, wildlife and tourism

Agricultural pricing policy in colonial times discriminated against crops produced in communal areas, thus perpetuating a population dependent on exporting its labour to commercial farms, mining and other sectors, and causing communal land farmers to clear large areas in order to produce sufficient crops to retain income. After independence, communal area farmers gained access to loans at subsidised rates for agricultural inputs and received more agricultural extension support. However, the onset of structural adjustment meant removal of subsidies. Available technical options, and the means to deliver them, have been insufficient to transform agricultural production in a way which might take pressure off woodland resources. Combined with severe drought in several years in the 1990s, these factors have increased the economic marginalisation of the majority of farmers in communal areas.

Livestock policies have generally been export-oriented and have not recognised the close linkage between livestock, woodland resources and local livelihoods. A succession of failed grazing schemes are testament to this. Cattle numbers in commercial areas are falling, despite continuing subsidy, due to low beef prices, and commercial farmers are turning increasingly to horticultural crops and game ranching. The latter may prove beneficial in terms of woodland cover in these areas.

Policies and programmes affecting wildlife management and tourism are increasingly important influences on woodlands. The CAMPFIRE programme, based on local control of the benefits from sport hunting, is making a significant contribution to improving communal area livelihoods in areas where game, and woodlands, are relatively abundant. Conservancies, based on game ranching for tourism or sport hunting, are springing up on commercial lands. An increase in small-scale industry based on wood-craft, is directly linked to these developments. Government is also looking to the potential of tourism in its forest reserves.

Forest policy and dilemmas concerning state roles in forestry

Forest policy also still exhibits the dualism of the colonial period. In communal areas, forest policy was formed essentially by a range of laws which restricted use of forest resources to subsistence and banned commercial use. Extension strategies since the mid-1980s have sought to establish small woodlots of exotic species, and more recently have started to support natural woodland management. In commercial areas, controls on forest use have been largely voluntary, with some weakly applied restrictions on cutting woodlands. State management of forest reserves has moved towards multiple goals in recent times, but has had limited success in dealing with what state authorities perceive as the "human encroachment problem" in some areas.

The state role in forestry, and how to finance it in the face of declining budgets, has been debated since the 1980s. Donors sought to push change in the early 1990s and a Forest Sector Review produced recommendations on changes to the law, support for local institutions, and re-structuring the Forestry Commission. Internal institutional factors - to do with individual pressures and motivations - and external factors - to do with economic climate and institutional territories - help to explain why the Review's recommendations have been adopted only partially.

A number of key dilemmas continue to be posed by different interpretations of the functions of the Forestry Commission:
• public service provision versus cost-recovery;
• production forestry versus biodiversity conservation;
• trees only versus wider rural development;
• and policing the 'national interest' versus promotion of sustainable management.

These conflicting interpretations, magnified through the era of structural adjustment, have both stimulated and confused the process of institutional change in the Forestry Commission. Institutional options under discussion have been geared towards securing a financial base: full or partial privatisation of the Commission's commercial arm; user fees/consultancy services for extension; contracting out management of forest reserves; leasing reserve land for grazing or tourism enterprises; charging for research; and commercialising training services. The privatisation of commercial operations of the Forestry Commission took a decisive step in early 1998 but the form of the remaining government role remains uncertain.

The Forestry Commission has proven increasingly receptive to other stakeholders' ideas in recent times. NGOs have had particular influence in:

legitimising community knowledge; promoting participatory approaches; considering trees amongst wider issues of land use; and advocating governance alternatives, particularly the need for devolution of management powers to communities.

Tensions in devolving resource management

Evidence shows that the state, on its own, does not have the capabilities to manage all natural resources at the local level. Indeed, decentralised governance is strongly promoted in government rhetoric. Yet, major tensions arise from the simple fact that although the state is needed to create the conditions to enable local empowerment, the state reduces its capacity for local control by doing so.

Policy and legislation remain equivocal about the rights of communities to control the utilisation of forest products, including commercial utilisation. The reliance on restrictive legislation and the emasculation of local authority has meant that governance arrangements, particularly in the communal and resettlement areas, are unable to deal with matters of resource use. Local authorities - the Rural District Councils - which hold many responsibilities, are inadequately financed and tend to rely on the services of central government sectoral agencies with varying agendas, which further exacerbates overlap and contradiction at local level. Where commercially valuable natural resources are concerned, community interests are likely to be sacrificed by Councils starved of central government funding.

The future of woodland resources is crucially linked to the viability of local institutions. However, given the complex web of law that is disabling local management and control, and the conflicting signals from government agencies, it is not surprising that there have been few concerted initiatives in local management of woodlands. The CAMPFIRE programme provides lessons, but no blueprint, for management of woodland resources. However, woodlands generally have lower direct financial values than the game resources on which CAMPFIRE has been based.

Better understanding is emerging of the range of practices employed by people in communal areas, in planting trees and managing naturally occurring trees and patches of woodland, and of the adaptations people make to changing woodland resources. Forestry Commission extension workers are beginning to recognise and engage with these practices. The Forestry Commission has also begun to work with communities around

forest reserves on a "resource-sharing" pilot programme, in an attempt to tackle long-term conflict over woodland resources. These developments are serving to install ideas within, and between, government agencies about the positive aspects of collaboration with other stakeholders.

If "business as usual" continues...

...Over the next 5 to 10 years, forest cover is expected to decline in communal areas, resettlement areas and small-scale commercial farming areas. Farmers are likely to clear further woodland in search of more agricultural land to maintain their production levels in response to lowering margins. Redundancies in the formal employment sectors are likely to increase the numbers of people relying on agriculture for survival, and/or turning to forest resources for subsistence and sale.

Without land redistribution, some forests on commercial lands may remain intact, but livelihoods and real incomes of commercial farm workers are likely to deteriorate. With comprehensive land redistribution, if settlement is not accompanied by support services and effective incentives for conservation, widespread stripping of forest assets is likely, from the evidence of previous resettlement areas. With low levels of support, it is estimated that settlers may require periods of 20 to 25 years to achieve stable farm production levels. Thus, we predict a gloomy short- to medium-term future for forest cover in such areas, unless we see concerted and integrated support for agriculture and forestry extension.

Policies that work, almost work, or show promise

Analysis of past and current policy points to a range of ways in which the above depressing scenario may be avoided. Key lessons about policies include:

A precondition

(a) *Following through on land reform*. Redistribution of land to the land-hungry is a vital step, but is a step to nowhere if not backed up by sufficient investment in infrastructure and institutional support in the redistributed lands.

Involvement and capabilities

(b) *Opening up formal policy making* to more stakeholders, to increase the knowledge base, improve accountability and make prescriptions more workable. Examples of processes which are "half-way there" include: the Forest Sector Review; Land Tenure Commission; and the environmental law review.

(c) *Networking and strategic inter-sectoral collaboration*, for building

complementarity and a "critical mass" for change. Examples include the CAMPFIRE collaborative group, and cooperation amongst government agencies for the pilot forest resource-sharing programme.

(d) *Fostering the capacity of rural district councils to provide support for management of land and natural resources*. Government programmes are beginning to find ways to support the resource- and skills-base of councils which are vital to making the first step of decentralisation effective.

(e) *Building skills for control of land and natural resources at community level*. Government agencies and key NGO programmes are making progress on building local technical and managerial skills.

Rights and responsibilities

(f) *Restructuring the Forestry Commission around centres of professional motivation*. Commercialisation of some functions is under way, but further key opportunities exist to reorganise the remaining state role around key functions which attract motivated forestry professionals to work with civil society to create a national "vision" for woodlands in development.

(g) *Making legislation facilitate local action.* Currently, the National Parks and Wildlife Act is alone in providing a legal mechanism for local woodland management. All other laws are restrictive, and need amending or superseding. By-laws also offer much potential, especially to respond to local conditions.

(h) *Incorporating gender equality in all policy*. Whilst a little progress has been made on access to land and resources, it is time for a major push.

(i) *Focusing on local knowledge and natural woodland management*. Forestry Commission and NGO extension strategies are increasingly geared to this, thus reversing previous reliance on extension packages based on woodlots of exotic species, which were infrequently adopted.

Instruments and mechanisms

(j) *Prioritising local involvement in land use planning*. Participatory, voluntary land use planning approaches are still in their infancy in agricultural extension and rural development agencies; they need to be fast-tracked.

(k) *Sharing forest benefits and responsibilities across tenure boundaries*. Isolated informal examples, and a Forestry Commission pilot programme, have begun to show the way to overcome long-standing conflict over forest resource tenure.

(l) *Capturing value locally*. Whilst the full "true" value of woodland resources is often elusive, it is clear that policy should be re-oriented to ensure local returns where significant market values are involved.

(m) *Creating access to credit in communal areas*. Government natural resource agencies, in collaboration with some donors, are beginning to make credit accessible to household industry and small-scale agricultural enterprise.

(n) *Encouraging investment by new stakeholders in rural development and forestry programmes*. Some partnerships between NGOs and the private sector show much potential, for example outgrower schemes for forest products.

Recommendations

It is tempting to argue that if policy processes are "right" then the content of policy will take care of itself. However, we cannot wait for a perfect process, and there are many aspects of policy content which also need to be addressed as a matter of urgency. We have identified twenty recommendations for building on the above lessons. They are presented in four agendas - one for each of the main sectors or cross-sectoral groups who should lead in taking them forward.

Central government agenda
1. Engage quickly with recommendations of existing policy review processes.
2. Share decisions on restructuring with the affected agencies.
3. Create the conditions friendly to private sector investment in equitable enterprises in communal and resettlement areas.
4. Steer increased decentralisation of key forest industries.
5. Concentrate central government support to forestry on forest extension.
6. Promote interim legislation and amendments pending comprehensive policy change (see 7).
7. Legislate for devolved, participatory natural resource management.

Forest sector agencies agenda
8. Commit to opening up current and future policy consultations.
9. Develop better information systems on natural resource assets, values and use.
10. Support adaptive research on negotiation processes, policy instruments and prediction of policy impacts.
11. Experiment further with models of good forest management.
12. Allow some state land in reserves to be used for resettlement.

Land and agricultural agencies agenda
13. Develop participatory working methods amongst land and resource agencies.
14. Broaden participation in production of agricultural tradeables.
15. Incorporate consideration for natural resources in resettlement schemes.
16. Fully assess the scope for a land and water tax.

Multi-sectoral agenda
17. Promote accountability through enabling civil society initiatives.
18. Install reflective processes within and between stakeholder groups on land and natural resource management issues.
19. Support capacity of local institutions to deal with others and to manage resources.
20. Increase investment in agricultural infrastructure, extension and marketing.

A process of debating these lessons and recommendations, and detailing and prioritising the potential ways forward, is now needed. If forests and people in Zimbabwe are to be mutually supportive, we will need policy which engages with practice in the "real world" - of our people, our institutions and the forest goods and services we need now and in the future.

Acknowledgements

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The project's advisory group, interviewees, workshop participants and members of rural communities who participated at various stages of the work. The individuals involved are listed in Annex I of this report. Useful comments on the draft report have been received from the following reviewers: Bruce Aylward, Steve Bass, Pippa Bird, Simon Croxton, Olivier Dubois, Christo Fabricius, Bill Howard, Yemi Katerere, Elaine Morrison, Marshall Murphree, J. Henk Neuteboom, Ian Scoones and Lucy Welford.

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Acronyms

AGRITEX	Department of Agricultural, Technical and Extension Services
BUN	Biomass Users' Network
CAMPFIRE	Communal Areas Management Programme for Indigenous Resources
CASS	Centre for Applied Social Sciences
COOPIBO	Cooperation Internationale Belgique-Outremer
DANIDA	Danish International Development Agency
DEAP	District Environmental Action Planning
DFID	Department for International Development
DNPWLM	Department of National Parks and Wild Life Management
DNR	Department of Natural Resources
DVS	Department of Veterinary Services
EC	European Community
EIA	environmental impact assessment
ENDA	Environment and Development Activities
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organisation of the United Nations
FC	Forestry Commission
FFYNDP	First Five Year National Development Plan
GDP	gross domestic product
GTZ	Deutsche Gesellschaft fur Technische Zusammenarbeit
ICA	Intensive Conservation Areas
IIED	International Institute for Environment and Development
IUCN	International Union for Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources (World Conservation Union)
MET	Ministry of Environment and Tourism (before 1997)
MLGRUD	Ministry of Local Government, Rural and Urban Development
MMET	Ministry of Mines, Environment and Tourism (from 1997)
MZVRDP	Mid-Zambezi Valley Rural Development Project
NCS	National Conservation Strategy
NGO	non governmental organisation
NRB	Natural Resources Board
(PF) ZAPU	(Patriotic Front) Zimbabwe African People's Union
RAP	Rural Afforestation Programme
RDC	Rural District Council
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SAFIRE	Southern Alliance for Indigenous Resources
SARDC	Southern African Research and Documentation Centre
SAREC	Swedish Agency for Research Cooperation with Developing Countries
SDF	Social Dimensions Fund
SFYNDP	Second Five Year National Development Plan (incorporating Economic Reform Programme)

TC	Timber Council
TNDP	Transitional National Development Plan
TPF	Timber Producers' Federation
TTCB	Tsetse and Trypanosomiasis Control Branch
UNCED	United Nations Conference on Environment and Development
UNEP	United Nations Environment Programme
VIDCO	Village Development Committee
WADCO	Ward Development Committee
WCED	World Commission on Environment and Development
WWF	World Wide Fund for Nature
ZANU (PF)	Zimbabwe African National Union (Patriotic Front)
ZERO	Zimbabwe Energy Research Organisation
ZIMPREST	Zimbabwe Programme of Reform for Social Transformation

Average exchange rates, Zimbabwe dollar : US dollar

1997 (4th quarter)	Z$14.550 : US$1
1997 (1st quarter)	Z$11.198 : US$1
1996	Z$10.175 : US$1
1995	Z$ 8.665 : US$1
1994	Z$ 8.148 : US$1
1993	Z$ 6.610 : US$1
1992	Z$ 5.094 : US$1

Source: Economic Intelligence Unit.

Contents

Introduction

1.1 What this report is about

This report is about policies affecting people and forests in Zimbabwe. It aims to understand what important factors make policy work or not work. Zimbabwe has many policies which potentially affect the way people treat woodlands and forest resources[1]. Some of these policies are mere pronouncements which seem to have no impact, or few links with what people actually do. Others have considerable impact, for good or bad. Some of the good policies may be "working" - that is, they achieve, in practice, a sustained balance of environmental, economic and social goals which is desirable to the stakeholders involved.

"Policy", as a term used in this report, is thus understood to involve process as well as content. Policy processes include both policy making and policy implementing; setting goals and actual practice.

The report presents the findings of a study carried out between 1995 and 1997 by people from a range of institutions and disciplines in Zimbabwe. It forms part of a wider project - *Policy That Works for Forests and People* - coordinated by the International Institute for Environment and Development (IIED) (see front inside cover).

Zimbabwe's policy arena has been dynamic and changing, in particular since the economic reform programme began in the early 1990s. In response, organisations dealing with forestry have had to change the way they do business, and the nature and quality of people's livelihoods linked to woodlands is changing. In the late 1990s, policies, laws and the institutions involved in their formulation and implementation continue to be in a state of flux. This study aims to spread the understanding of policy in practice and makes some targeted recommendations for improving policy processes.

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[1] The terms "forests" and "woodlands", and "forest resources" and "woodland resources", are used somewhat interchangeably in this report except where a more specific meaning is given (see section 2.1 for definitions of vegetation types).

Following this Introduction, the report is structured to present findings for each of the study's objectives, which are:

- to *profile forests and people*: the extent, distribution and condition of woody cover; the main uses and values of forest, plantation and woodland; the existing tenure regimes; the stakeholders and their explicit or apparent priorities for woodlands and forest resources (see section 2);

- to *review the framework* of national strategies, policies and laws that influence forests and people (see sections 3 and 4);

- to *analyse the evolution* of the most significant policies - their linkage to actual forest resource management; the stakeholders involved; the decision-making processes; and the winners and losers (see sections 5, 6 and 7);

- to *identify key lessons* on policies and policy processes that work (see section 8); and

- to *recommend* how to build on these lessons (see section 9).

We hope that this report will provoke thought and action from policy makers and opinion makers at various levels, including: national planning and sectoral planning bodies; rural development and extension agencies (government, non-governmental and private sector); policy researchers seeking to bridge gaps between policy and practice; and local authorities.

1.2 Existing work on which this study builds

In 1991 the World Bank and the Zimbabwe Forestry Commission cooperated in a review of the status, use and future of Zimbabwe's woodlands and tree resources. The review (Bradley and McNamara, 1993) concluded with a comprehensive set of policy recommendations. An important focus for the "Policy That Works" study was to examine the context and origins of these recommendations, and to assess the extent to which they have been adopted or put into practice. Where this "up-take" of recommendations has been either strong or weak, lessons may be learned about the internal organisational reasons and the external political and economic reasons why this is so.

Much has changed since the early 1990s, including the information base for policy. In recent years, a range of government, NGO and academic bodies have contributed information and analysis which have moved policy debates forward. Areas of importance to policy for forests and people in which key studies have been made include:

Photo: David Reed

- forest resources status (Gondo and Mkwanda, 1991; Forestry Commission, 1997);

- woodland usage, household economies and indigenous resource management (Gumbo *et al*, 1990; Scoones, 1990; Wilson, 1990; Matowanyika, 1991; McGregor, 1991; Nhira and Fortmann, 1993; Pierce and Gumbo, 1993; Scoones and Matose, 1993; Clarke, 1994; Campbell and Mangono, 1994; Matose and Clarke, 1994; Cavendish, 1996; Campbell, 1996; Clarke *et al*, 1996b);

- forest industrial issues (Mushove, 1991; Arnold *et al*, 1993);

More than half of all Zimbabwe's woody plant species are found in the isolated relicts of evergreen montane rain forest near the eastern border with Mozambique, such as here in Chirinda Forest

- valuation of forest resources (Campbell *et al*, 1991; Mujakachi, 1993; Hot Springs Working Group, 1995; Gwaai Working Group, 1997; Mukamuri *et al*, in press);

- land and tenure issues in natural resource management (Moyo *et al*, 1991; Land Tenure Commission, 1994; Moyo, 1995);

- law and natural resource management (Mohamed, 1994; Ncube and Nkiwane, 1995);

- institutional arrangements for natural resource management (Murombedzi, 1990; Thomas, 1991; Murphree, 1993; Martin, 1994; Cousins, 1995; Katerere and Mohamed-Katerere, 1996); and,

- shared resource management approaches (Matzke and Mazambani, 1993; Thomas, 1993; Nhira and Matose, 1996; Matose, 1997).

This study aims to build on this knowledge base by assessing the extent to which some of this information has influenced policy debates, and, in a wider context, by focusing on how policy in practice has changed.

1.3 The process of the study

This study was carried out between 1995 and 1997 as a collaborative initiative between the Centre for Applied Social Sciences (CASS) of the University of Zimbabwe, and the Zimbabwe Forestry Commission (FC). The International Institute for Environment and Development (IIED) provided information and analytical support, and channelled the funding for the study from the Netherlands Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the United Kingdom Department for International Development. The study team was led by Calvin Nhira, Lecturer in Social Ecology at CASS. The other members of the team are: Sibongile Baker, Manager of the Specialist Services Unit of the FC's Extension Services Division; Peter Gondo, Manager of the Extension Services Division; J.J. Mangono, Energy Economist at the Department of Energy, Ministry of Transport and Energy; and Crispen Marunda, Plantations Research Coordinator of the FC's Research and Development Division. Frank Matose, Research Officer at the FC, also made important contributions as a team member in the early stages of the study.

Many other individuals have contributed to the work, through individual consultations and interviews, participation in workshops held through the course of the study, and as members of the project advisory group. They are listed in Annex I.

Key issues and objectives for the study were identified through a national workshop in October 1995, and a study work plan was produced shortly afterwards. Over the course of the succeeding months, information was gathered through literature reviews, interviews and consultative meetings with key individuals located in key organisations for forestry policy development. In addition, fieldwork on local-level priorities for woodlands and forest resources was carried out in three communities (see below). The insights arising from these activities were then debated within the study team and advisory group. Reports were written up at five stages of the work and these were sent for peer review and the comments incorporated. These five documents form a detailed background report of which *Contesting Inequality in Access to Forests* - represents a synthesis[2]. Policy

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[2] The five sections of the detailed background report cover the following issues: Section I is a situation analysis of the status of forests and people in Zimbabwe. Section II focuses on intersectoral linkages covering the forestry, livestock and wildlife sectors and general macro-economic policies. An attempt is also made to trace the evolution of both economic and governance policies from the pre-independence era to date, and to assess their impact on livelihoods related to forests and forest products. Section III describes an attempt by the study team to generate social-economic and environmental-ecological indicators for sustainable forest management in Zimbabwe. Section IV draws out lessons on the institutional practice of policy and the extent to which lessons from practice are institutionalised. Section V presents a diagnosis of the impact of current policy directions on both human livelihoods and the forest resources, and a set of recommendations for improving policy content and process.

briefings have also been developed for specific groupings of policy-makers[3]. A national workshop will be held in 1998 to launch and discuss the findings of the study.

We believe that through the process of the study, particularly through repeated consultation and discussion with a range of active "opinion-formers" and members of the formal policy-making community, some "space" for resolving key issues has opened up in the policy debate on forests in Zimbabwe. Some of the members of the study team are employees of the key agency in forestry and will play their part in optimising the use of this space and the impact of this study. We hope that our report adds some momentum for bringing about more inclusive processes of policy development and practice, and that others will contribute energy to improving these processes over the next few years.

1.4 A reference point: the study team's "vision" for forests and people in Zimbabwe

During the study, an attempt was made by the study team to define our "vision" for a mutually supportive future for forests and people in Zimbabwe. The effort was in part inspired by a call made during 1996, from an alliance of NGOs, for a "national vision on sustainable woodland management" (Gumbo, 1996) (see sections 2.4 and 6.6). It was also prompted by the study's need to generate desirable forest and people-related criteria by which a policy could be said to be working well. The team's effort in putting elements of a vision together is discussed here as a way of introducing some key issues pursued in the report.

The team took the following steps:

• Review of secondary material, from Zimbabwe and elsewhere, on initiatives to develop priorities, principles and criteria for forest management. This included analysis of two initiatives in Zimbabwe which, although limited in scope, have developed sectoral criteria and indicators for sustainability: the Canadian Government-assisted Ministry of Environment and Tourism effort to develop an Environmental Impact Assessment policy; and the UNDP-supported Department of Natural Resources initiative on District Environmental Action Plans.

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[3] The five detailed background reports and the policy briefings are available from CASS, FC and IIED at the addresses given inside the cover of this report.
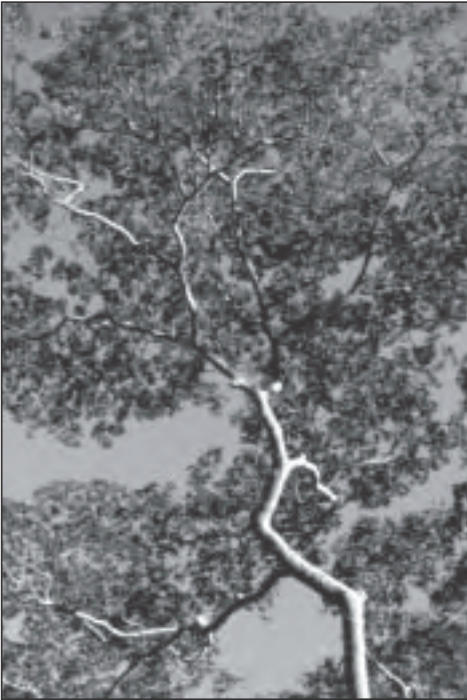
Brachystegia species are predominant in miombo woodland, found in the centre and east of the country

- Definition of the study team's "vision" for forests and people. This consisted of a range of elements in two broad groupings: social-economic, and ecological-environmental elements. These were each differentiated across land tenure categories. For communal and resettlement areas, the social-economic elements highlighted included: the need for additional land, provision of infrastructure and services, improvement in farming efficiency, the need for institution building, employment creation from forest-based enterprises, and increases in household welfare. With respect to commercial farms, the elements emphasised equity, efficiency and increased welfare of farm workers, while for plantations and indigenous forest reserves the emphasis was on their contribution to livelihoods in neighbouring areas. Ecological-environmental elements reflected concerns for soils, water, grass, forest quality, biodiversity, wind control, catchment areas and land use conversion.

- Discussion of the vision and its elements, using Participatory Rural Appraisal methods, within three communities in Mashonaland West province: two locations in Zvimba communal area which are near small-scale farms; and Two Tree Resettlement Scheme which is surrounded by large-scale commercial farms.

- Workshop discussion of field exercises, with experts from outside the study team.

These steps have allowed the study team to develop and modify its vision for forests and people in Zimbabwe and have converted a number of its elements into areas - "policy foci" - where policy change may be required. *Our vision is of forest management integrated with other land uses and focused on equitable rural development, which ensures forest resources are also secured for future generations*. This is unpacked into a set of general objectives, grouped in three broad categories: investment in forest management integrated with other land use; investment in rural development which conserves forest resources; and creation of an enabling framework for equitable and sustainable forest resource use.

Investment in forest management integrated with other land use
- investment in forestry and related agricultural industries that deliver social benefits;
- collaborative forest management involving capabilities of different stakeholders;
- integrated environmental management, supportive of ecosystem and water catchment integrity, and incorporating environmental impact assessments;
- biodiversity conservation taking into account traditional forest-related knowledge.

Investment in rural development which conserves forest resources
- priority to reducing poverty;
- investment in infrastructure and services;
- social security for commercial farm workers;
- credit availability for local-level enterprise;
- human resource development and capacity building of local institutions for natural resource management;
- promotion of alternative energy sources.

Creation of an enabling framework for equitable and sustainable forest resource use
- land redistribution and security of tenure (communal, resettlement and commercial farms);
- devolution of responsibility and effective powers to local governance institutions;
- promotion of gender equity;
- recognition of local knowledge systems;
- incorporation of environmental concerns in other sectors, e.g. mining;
- incorporation of forest values in national planning;
- extension and research which support the above policy foci.

1.5 The gap between vision, policy and practice

The team's development of a vision, and its subsequent modification through discussion with community members and others, can be used to highlight a number of issues. For example, one key implication is the urgent need to reverse the underdevelopment of communal and resettlement areas and to emphasise the importance of access to land, sustainable land use and investment in physical and social capital.

Yet Zimbabwe is already well-stocked with policy pronouncements. As we

shall see, when the elements of the team's vision are set alongside some of the main existing policy statements there is much in common.

An initial review suggested that existing policy statements cover the ground suggested by the vision. For example, current formal policy in a number of sectors that impact on forests emphasises capacity building, reduction of rural-urban differentials and reduction in unemployment. Only two of the policy foci listed above were thought to be missing altogether from policies in all sectors: social security for farm workers; and incorporation of forest values in national planning. Furthermore, it was noted that while *formal policy* statements may be lagging behind in key areas, a number of organisations have *operational policies* and working procedures that begin to address some of these policy foci. For example, forestry extension agencies are beginning to prioritise local capacity in their extension work.

Some catching up with newer operational policy is therefore in order, particularly with respect to the legislative framework. More fundamentally, however, whilst policy statements are reasonably comprehensive, practice is another matter. Government seems to have limited ability to get policies producing results.

In summary, the vision lines up quite well with prevailing policy pronouncements, but why is the vision in general not being achieved? We suggest that this is because the process of policy-making and implementing is not currently up to the job. People within the current set of institutions face a number of internal and external constraints, whilst other people - other "stakeholders" - who have the potential to turn vision into reality are not sufficiently involved in shaping the vision and converting it into practice. This hypothesis underpins the analysis in the following sections.
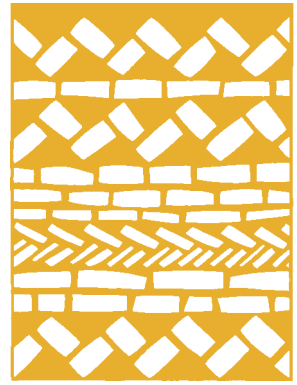
Forests and people in Zimbabwe - some facts

2.1 Forest/woodland area and type

Woodlands cover 53 per cent of Zimbabwe's total land area, whilst bushlands cover a further 12.7 per cent (Forestry Commission, 1997). Figure 2.1 gives a summary of the vegetation cover by vegetation cover type and definitions of these types, while Figure 2.2 shows the distribution of this cover.

The Forestry Commission divides woody vegetation into five main ecological categories, of which the woodland and bushland areas are characterised by the dominance of one or more species, namely:

- closed natural forest (montane or riparian);
- miombo woodlands (dominated by *Brachystegia spiciformis* in association with *Julbernardia globiflora*);
- teak woodlands (dominated by *Baikiaea plurijuga* in association with *Pterocarpus angolensis* and *Guibourtia coleosperma*);
- mopane woodlands (dominated by *Colophospermum mopane*); and
- acacia/combretum/terminalia bushland (dominated by *Acacia* spp., *Combretum* spp. and *Terminalia sericea*).

The distribution of these woodland types is shown in Figure 2.3 (with the exception of closed natural forest - the small area of this forest can be seen in Figure 2.2).

Studies of woodland cover give little indication of the changing distribution of woody biomass availability, as forest and closed-canopy woodlands are transformed into agricultural lands or heavily coppiced and

Figure 2.1 Vegetation Cover in Zimbabwe

Woodland: dense, medium, open:
20,788,270 ha (53.2%)

Bushland: 4,970,430 ha (1.76%)

Wooded/bushed grassland: 1,203,530 ha (3.08%)

Grassland: 687,730 ha (1.76%)

Cultvated land: 10,734,090 ha (27.47%)

'Other':* 519,700 ha (1.33%)

Total National Territory: 39,075,700 ha

Definition of vegetation types

Vegetation Type	Canopy cover	Tree height
Natural forest: moist deciduous[+]	80-100%	>15m
Plantation forest[+]	80-100%	<1 to >15m
Woodland	20-80%	5-15m
Bushland	20-80%	1-5m
Wooded/bushed grassland	2-20%	1 to >15m
Grassland	<2%	<1 to >15m
Cultivated land	n/a	n/a
'Other'*	n/a	n/a

Notes:

+ Natural Forest: moist deciduous: 11,720 ha (0.03%) and Plantation forest: 156,300 ha (0.4%), not shown in pie chart.

* Includes: Rock outcrop and Mine dump 78,150 ha (0.2%), Water body 300,880 ha (0.77%) and Settlement - including suburbs/parks 140,670 ha (0.36%).

Source: Gondo and Traub, 1993; Forestry Commission, 1997.

Figure 2.3 Distribution of woodland types in Zimbabwe
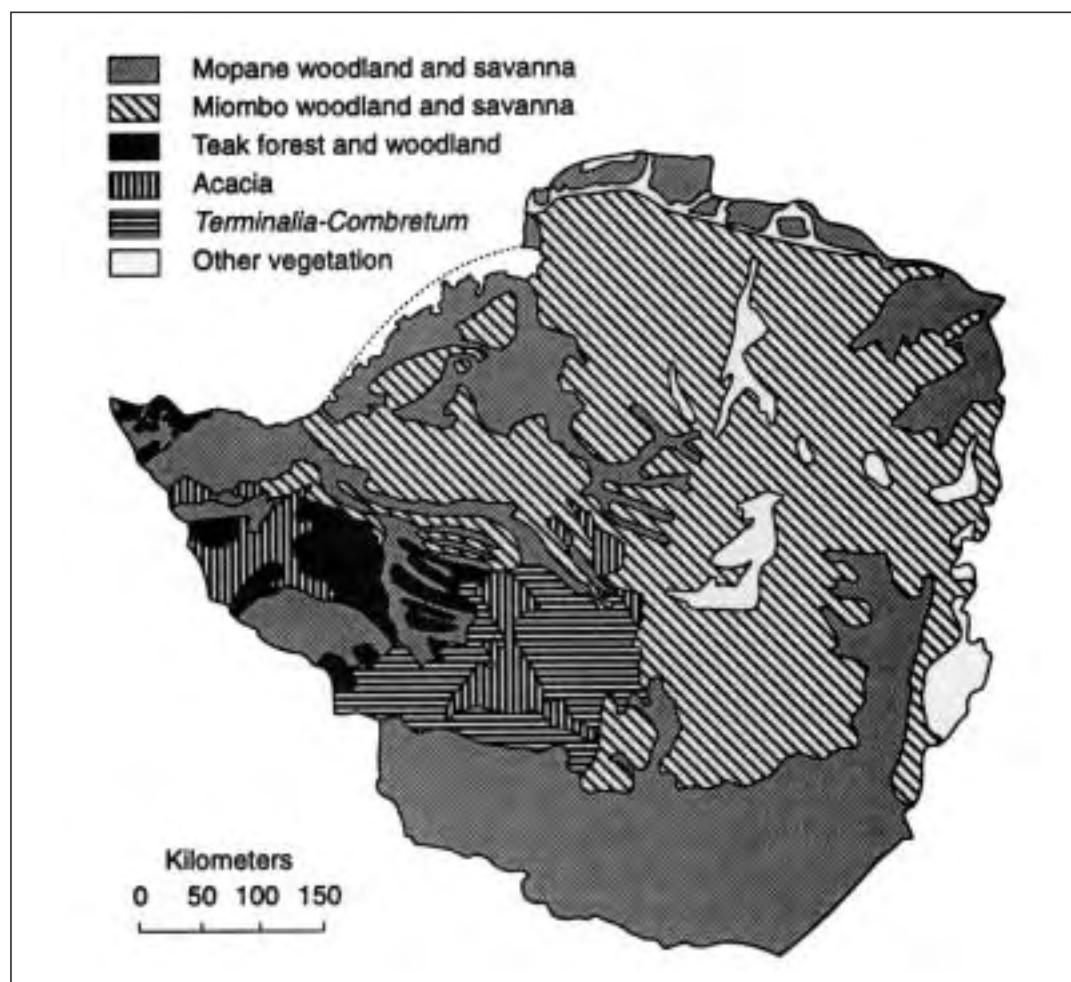
pollarded woodland sites, trees in fields or trees in home areas. For example, as mature woodland is transformed into coppice or pollarded woodland, the total biomass productivity per unit area increases although the standing biomass declines (Scoones and Matose, 1993). Generally, large fruit trees are retained after land clearance, but other trees may be heavily cut, thus increasing browse and woodfuel production. Other trees may be managed in particular ways for particular products (see section 7.3).

Biodiversity within forest and woodland types is considerable, and they include a high proportion of Zimbabwe's nearly 6,000 vascular plants, 190 species of mammal, 634 bird species, 156 reptiles and 54 species of amphibian. Whilst Zimbabwe has relatively few endemic species (i.e. those which do not also occur in other countries), it has core populations of many (IUCN, 1992; SARDC, 1994).

2.2 Distribution of land, people and woodlands

The distribution of land, people and woodland across the major land tenure categories is outlined in Table 2.1. The picture painted is one of inequitable access to land and woodlands. About 74 per cent of Zimbabwe's rural population, or a little over half of the total national population, lives in the communal areas. These areas cover 42 per cent of the land area and contain about 43 per cent of the country's woodland and scattered trees. A further 6 per cent of the rural population lives in the resettlement areas which occupy about 8 per cent of the land area. The commercial farms occupy 31 per cent of the land area, support 19 per cent of the rural population, and host about 30 per cent of woodland.

Table 2.1 Distribution of land, population and woodland area in Zimbabwe

	Land Tenure Category[a]			
Characteristic	**Communal land**	**Resettlement land**	**Commercial land**	**State land**
Land area 1) million ha 2) % of total land area	1) 16.36 2) 42%	1) 3.79 2) 8%	1) 12.45 2) 31%	1) 6.97 2) 18%
Farming potential (and Natural Region[a])	Poor farmland. 74% of communal land is in Natural Regions IV and V	Mixed, spread over Natural Regions. 56% of resettlement land is in Regions II and III	Good farmland, spread over Natural Regions. 63% of all Region I and II land is commercial land	Poor farmland. 89% of state land is in Natural Regions IV and VI
Population[b] 1) total 2) density 3) % of rural population	1) 5,352,304 2) 32/km² 3) 74%	1) 426,687 2) 11/km² 3) 6%	1) 1,346,753 2) 10/km² 3) 19%	1) 38,806 2) <2/km² 3) <1%
Woodland area[c] 1) million ha 2) % of total woodland	1) 10 2) 43%	1) n.a. 2) n.a.	1) 7 2) 30%	1) 6 2) 26%

Notes:
a. See box 2.1 for explanation of land tenure categories and Natural Regions
b. The total population in 1992 was 10,412,548. Of this, the rural population was 7,224,828 (69%), and the urban population was 3,187,720 (31%)
c. The figures for woodland area by tenure category are rough estimates given by McNamara (1993) and include "woodland, forests and trees" - i.e. including scattered trees. These estimates are contentious - others use considerably lower figures for communal land and considerably higher figures for commercial land. One study, for the Forestry Commission in 1985, gave a total woodland vegetation area of 15.96 million ha broken down by tenure category as follows: communal land 20.3%; "private" land 43.1%; state land 34.4% (Coopers and Lybrand, 1985). More accurate estimates are expected to be available from the Forestry Commission in 1998.
Source: Central Statistics Office, 1992; Thomas, 1992; Ashworth 1990 cited in Bradley and Dewees, 1993; McNamara, 1993; and assessments by this study

Box 2.1 Categorising the land area in Zimbabwe

There are two commonly used ways of categorising the land in Zimbabwe: by "natural region"; and by land tenure (Katerere *et al*, 1993 and Moyo, 1995).

a. Natural Regions
These regions are based on soil types, rainfall and other climatic factors. They have also been called "agro-ecological zones", and form the basis of land use planning efforts by government agencies.

- **Natural Region I** covers about 700,000 ha in the Eastern Highlands and has relatively low temperatures and high rainfall. The region is characterised by forestry, fruit and intensive livestock production. Plantations of tea, coffee and macadamia nuts are also found. All of Zimbabwe's closed forest area is found in this region.

- **Natural Region II** has moderately high rainfall (750-1000mm) and is found mainly in the north-east of the country. It is intensively farmed for crops and livestock. Miombo woodland is the dominant vegetation type.

- **Natural Region III** covers some 7,290,000 ha in the centre of the country and is characterised by erratic rainfall (650-800mm) and severe mid-summer dry spells. This is a semi-intensive farming region with marginal conditions for maize, tobacco and cotton crops. The majority of the less degraded miombo woodland is found in this region.

- **Natural Region IV** covers about 14,780,000 ha mostly in the west and central part of the country. The region has a fairly low annual rainfall (450-650mm) and is subject to periodic seasonal droughts. The predominant farming practice is livestock production. This region contains areas of miombo, Acacia-Combretum-Terminalia, and mopane woodlands, as well as all the area of teak woodlands.

- **Natural Region V** covers some 10,440,000 ha in the south, south-east and north-west of the country. This is an extensive farming region with very low and erratic rainfall (below 500 mm). The region is best suited to cattle or, more recently, game ranching. The dominant vegetation type is mopane woodland.

b. Land tenure categories
Four main categories of land tenure have been commonly used. These categories are distributed unevenly among the Natural Regions, reflecting the legacy of colonial land distribution:

- **State land** consists mainly of national parks and other wildlife areas, gazetted forest reserves and state farms"

- **Communal lands** were formerly Tribal Trust Lands in the colonial period. They belong, ultimately, to the state, and are based on a usufruct tenure system"

- **Resettlement lands** were introduced after independence in 1980 to relieve the increasing popula-tion pressure in the communal lands and to redress landlessness amongst households displaced during the independence war. These areas are based on a leasehold tenure system"

- **Commercial land** consists of large-scale commercial farms (formerly European areas) and small-scale commercial farms (formerly African Purchase areas) which are on a freehold tenure system.

The utility of classification based on these tenure categories may require review following the eventual outcome of current developments with land legislation (see sections 4.2 and 5).

Figure 2.4 Natural Regions
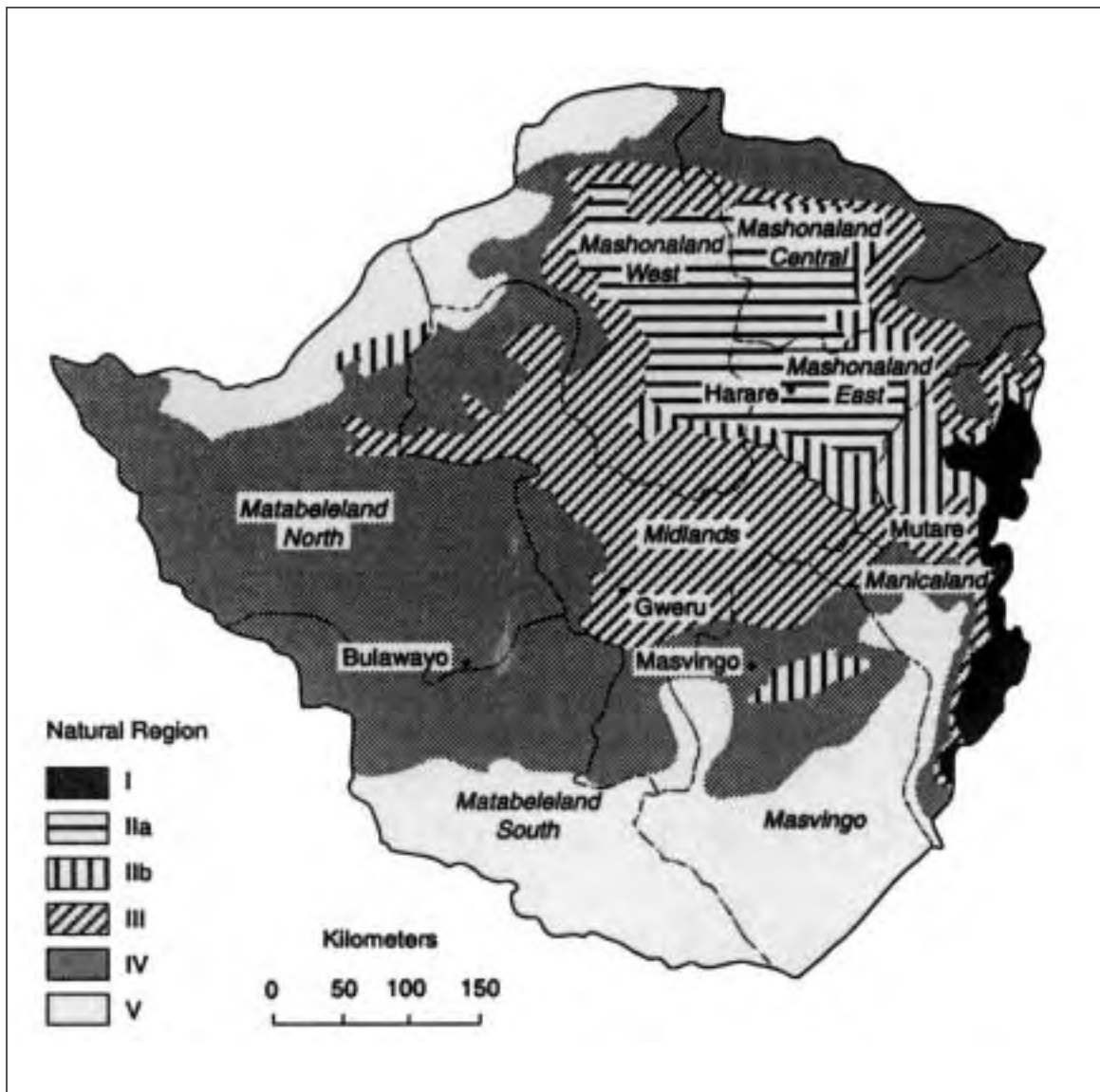
Source: After Mujakachi, 1992, in Bradley and McNamara, 1993

Table 2.2 provides a breakdown of population density according to Natural Region and land tenure category. In this case, the commercial category has been subdivided into large-scale and small-scale. It can be seen that the "good" farmland areas (Natural Regions I and II) host higher densities of population than the "poorer" farmland areas (III, IV and V) across all tenure categories, but that this is most extreme in the communal lands where densities are up to 58 persons per square kilometre. Even in the poorest areas of communal land (Region V), densities are higher than on the most intensively farmed commercial lands. Population density in some freehold commercial areas is as low as 3 persons per square kilometre.

Table 2.2 Population density distribution by Natural Region and land tenure category

Natural Region	Land Tenure Category			
	Communal	Large-scale Commercial	Small-scale Commercial	Resettlement
	no./km^2	no./km^2	no./km^2	no./km^2
I & II	58	20	17	18
III	47	7	12	13
IV	24	3	8	12
V	21	4	7	3
Mean	32	10	11	11

Source: Central Statistics Office, 1992

About 74 per cent of the communal lands are predominantly located in agro-ecological regions of low potential (Natural Regions IV & V). In general, woodland cover in communal areas has been heavily depleted and there are perceived deficits in some areas. The imbalance in the distribution of forest resources is exacerbated by the fact that the resources in forest reserves, national parks and other state lands are not accessible for public use. This is due, in practice, to a combination of two main reasons: firstly because the regulations in these areas are generally in favour of protection rather than utilisation of forest resources, and secondly because these areas are far from the main sources of demand.

State-owned national parks and wildlife reserves, for which the Department of National Parks and Wild Life Management is responsible, cover approximately 6,000,000 ha[4], whilst the Forestry Commission is primarily responsible for managing some 940,000 ha of land. Twelve per cent of this is composed of plantations which are largely located in the Eastern Highlands, and the other 88 per cent consists of forest reserves or "demarcated indigenous forests".

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[4] Exact figures for the area under national parks and wildlife reserves are debated. National parks alone are estimated to cover 4,975,000 ha or 12.5 per cent of national territory.

Crude "guestimates" of biomass, or standing volume, in woodland areas have been made (Table 2.3). These guestimates are based on extrapolations to large areas of land from biomass estimates from a relatively small collection of sources. A detailed study of biomass across all woodland types is yet to be carried out[5].

Table 2.3 "Guestimate" of total wood stocks of indigenous forests* and woodlands

Land tenure category	Wood stocks (million tonnes)
Communal land	104
Resettlement land	11
Commercial land	252
National parks & wildlife reserves	269
Forest reserves	1
TOTAL	636

* plantation forest not included
Source: Hofstad (1993, citing Hosier, 1986:61-62)

2.3 Forest resource uses, use patterns and values

2.3.1 Forest resources in rural economies

Trees and other forest resources play a key role in rural economies and household production in Zimbabwe. Products utilised include: grazing and browse, medicines, wild foods (including honey, mushrooms, insects and fruits), fuelwood, leaf litter, craft materials, construction materials and industrial timber. Services provided include catchment area protection and providing a habitat for wildlife. The contribution of forest products and services to food security and the basic well-being of rural households is particularly significant among the poor households in communal and resettlement areas. A number of studies have demonstrated that poor communities in communal areas depend heavily on forests and forest products at various times of the year, and are vulnerable to reduced supply or access to these products (e.g. Matose, 1994; Hot Springs Working Group, 1995; Clarke *et al*, 1996).

Commercial utilisation of forest products includes a range of small-scale enterprises which are often under-reported in surveys (Brigham *et al*, 1996). One study in the communal areas found that 14 per cent of surveyed

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[5] See chapter by Frost (1996), and other chapters in the edited volume by Campbell (1996), for a recent discussion of biomass production in miombo woodlands

households sold handicrafts, 9 per cent sold wild fruits and 7 per cent sold herbal medicines (Campbell *et al*, 1991).

Woodland services in the form of habitat for wildlife are particularly important in the CAMPFIRE project areas and wildlife conservancies (see section 4.7). Finally, one of the major uses of woodland throughout the country is for conversion to cultivation. Many of the rural livelihood strategies linked to forest and woodlands mentioned above are pursued in combination with agricultural land use.

2.3.2 Forest resources in the national economy

Zimbabwe's relatively small but well-developed forest industry contributes approximately 3 per cent to the GDP. The industry employs about 25,000 people directly and about twice this number in downstream industries. The bulk of the industry is focused on commercial softwood plantations and associated timber processing activities. Commercial and industrial plantations, covering about 115,000 ha, produced about 1,245,300 m^3 of roundwood in 1995/6. About 71 per cent of this production was rough sawntimber, 9 per cent was used in pulp and paper mills, 8 per cent for particle and fibreboard and 3 per cent for blockboard, plywood and veneer. Pole and charcoal production were also significant. Plantations are primarily in the high-rainfall eastern edge of the country and consist mostly of exotic species: pines (predominantly *Pinus patula*), eucalypts (*Eucalyptus grandis*), and wattle (*Acacia mearnsii* - a "naturalised" but exotic species), the latter grown primarily for its bark which is used to produce tannin.

Indigenous hardwood production has been concentrated on the Zambezi teak forests, which occur on the Kalahari sands in the Western part of the country, and on two species in particular: mukwa (*Pterocarpus angolensis*) which is used in furniture manufacture, and teak (*Baikiaea plurijuga*), which is used for railway sleepers and parquet flooring. Commercial harvesting of these indigenous hardwoods has declined from 44,000m^3 in 1990 to about 22,000m^3 in 1996, due to state measures to limit harvesting and to an overall depletion of the stock of these species. The contribution of indigenous hardwoods to the forest industry now represents only about 1 per cent of production.

Agriculture and forestry are firmly linked. Agriculture contributed 12 per cent of GDP in 1993[6], and agriculture is the major source of foreign currency earnings, averaging about 40 per cent of the annual total. Agriculture also provides the major source of employment - supporting about 70 per cent of the population (perhaps one million households in communal areas,

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[6] Contributions to GDP by the other sectors of the economy are as follows: manufacturing 30 per cent; services 23 per cent; utilities 21 per cent; mining and quarrying 6 per cent; construction 2 per cent; electricity and water 2 per cent (1993 figures). It should be noted that forests and woodlands also contribute to these sectors in various ways.

resettlement areas and small-scale commercial farms). Furthermore, about 50 per cent of manufacturing sector output is dependent on agriculture for raw materials. The major inputs into the agro-industries are maize, wheat, fruits, vegetables, coffee, sugar, flour, cotton lint, vegetable oils and oil seeds.

2.3.3 Deforestation and its direct causes

The annual rate of deforestation in Zimbabwe has been estimated at 1.5 per cent of the total woodland area (Gondo and Mkwanda, 1991)[7]. There are various *direct causes* of deforestation. These may be distinguished from *underlying causes*, some of which stem from policies examined later in this report. The major direct causes of deforestation are:
- agricultural expansion which is estimated to clear 70,000 ha per year;
- infrastructural development (dams, roads, power lines);
- industrial uses, notably brick making and tobacco curing;
- over-grazing by livestock and wildlife;
- firewood and construction material collection (NB these last two are more "gradual" than other causes).

There has been extensive deforestation in the Zambezi valley, resulting from settlement and clearance for livestock rearing following the eradication of tsetse-flies in the late 1980s (see section 4.6).

The levels and rates of deforestation vary by land tenure category, according to varying population pressures and the status of the resource prior to pressures being applied.

Deforestation in *communal areas* is mostly associated with heavy grazing and clearance for agriculture stemming from high population concentrations. Agricultural expansion in some areas leads to encroachment into fragile lands such as steep slopes and stream banks, with consequences which may include soil erosion and a decline in water quality. Fuelwood for cooking and heating and other household energy needs, such as beer-brewing and brick-making, may also contribute to forest degradation. However, although woodland cover has declined considerably in many communal lands, the changes in woodland productivity present a more complicated picture, as woody biomass is increasingly sourced from coppiced and pollarded trees in agricultural lands and scattered woodland sites (see section 7.3).

The situation in *small-scale commercial farms* is quite complex and does not exhibit a clear-cut pattern. The major uses of forest resources are collection of

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[7] Estimates of deforestation in Zimbabwe, like estimates of forest and woodland cover, vary widely between sources. In large part this is because definitions of "forest" and "woodland" vary. The Zimbabwe Forestry Commission figures used in this report (see Figures 2.1 and 2.2) are not comparable with, for example, FAO figures which are based on more restricted definitions of forest and woodland. FAO (1997) records Zimbabwe's total forest area at 8,710,000 ha in 1995, and an annual rate of deforestation between 1990-95 of 0.6 per cent.

Figure 2.5 Communal lands with major woodland clearance
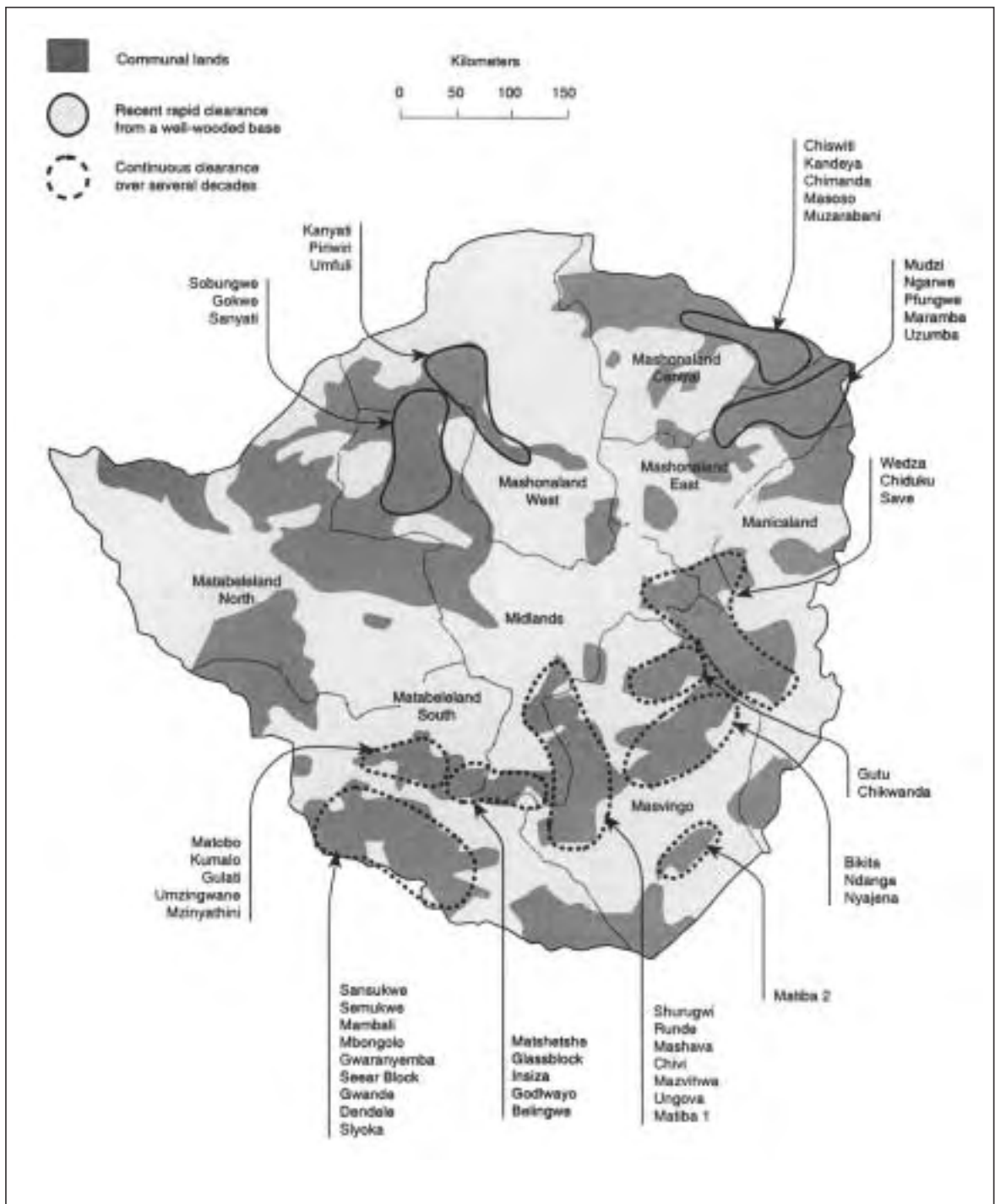
Source: Whitlow 1988a; du Toit and others 1984; Millington and Townshend 1989; in Bradley and McNamara, 1993

construction materials and, in small-scale farms near urban and mining areas, semi-commercial firewood gathering to supplement agricultural incomes. Agricultural expansion, and consequent clearing of woodland, occurs especially on farms where several families live. Yet many argue that, in general, small-scale commercial farms are under-utilised.

Large-scale commercial farms show little expansion of cropping land and thus little pressure on the existing woodlands, which are used for grazing under managed regimes. However, there is extensive tree-cutting on some tobacco-producing commercial farms and on farms near urban and mining areas.

The situation in *reserved forests and national parks* (see section 4.7) is fairly stable. Commercial timber stocks in the reserved forests were heavily mined in the early part of this century and remain much reduced. There is a little localised deforestation in reserved forests and national parks as a result of high wildlife concentrations. Human populations are small (see Table 2.1), and mostly consist of the resident staff of the agencies implementing conservation management of these areas. However, in some areas adjacent to resource-poor communal areas, there are "encroachment problems" with associated localised illegal settlement (see section 6.3).

Forest resources in *resettlement areas* are used for provision of construction materials and are generally being cleared for agriculture. Firewood is a by-product from the cleared fields, and instances of illegal harvesting and sale of firewood are quite common adjacent to resource-poor communal areas.

2.4 Institutions and stakeholders

A range of institutions are linked to forests and woodland management in Zimbabwe. These include state agencies, private sector bodies, NGOs, academic departments, development assistance agencies ("donors"), local institutions and alliances of various kinds. The aim here is to briefly describe each of the main institutional groupings, both formal and informal, which have "stakes" - i.e. rights or direct interests - in forests and woodlands. Subsequent sections will analyse the interactions, cooperation and conflict between these "stakeholders".

State institutions with significant mandates concerning forests and woodlands are:

• Department of Natural Resources (DNR) which acts as a secretariat for the

Natural Resources Board (NRB) under the Ministry of Mines, Environment and Tourism (MMET - formed from Ministry of Environment and Tourism [MET] until 1997). The roles of DNR are advisory, regulatory and supervisory in relation to all natural resources;

• Department of National Parks and Wild Life Management (DNPWLM), which is also under MMET. DNPWLM roles include protection, conservation and utilisation of wildlife wherever it occurs;

• Forestry Commission (FC) is also under MMET. The FC is the state body specifically mandated to provide advice on, and control, management and rational exploitation of, forest resources;

• Ministry of Local Government, Rural and Urban Development (MLGRUD), has key roles related to forests through its oversight of local authorities; and,

• Department of Agricultural, Technical and Extension Services (Agritex) which by virtue of its agricultural extension role in communal areas also tends to have major influence over woodlands.

There is a mixture of state institutions with both general and resource-specific functions. This has been a recipe for some conflicting roles and duplication of activities. A general characteristic of these agencies has been to emphasise regulation and control in resource management. Creation of an enabling environment for local communities to exercise control and management of their resources has only recently emerged as a worthwhile endeavour. While a further, but gradual, shift can be anticipated in this direction, rigid control over the use of state land can be expected to remain predominant.

Faced with shrinking budgets, some state institutions have sharpened their recognition of the potential benefits of association and have begun to build stronger linkages with each other and with other non-state institutions. These linkages tend to be episodic and to rely on relationships between individuals, and are generally only formalised at levels where implementation of projects demands it.

Non-governmental organisations (NGOs) have proliferated since independence in Zimbabwe. Following an early emphasis on relief and disaster work, many NGOs focused their attention onto rural development in general. Since the mid-1980s, there has also been an increase in environmentally-oriented NGOs. Given divergences in definition of what constitutes an NGO, and how to group them, it is difficult to present a figure

for the number of active NGOs. However a recent review of environmental and rural development NGOs with a clear linkage to forest resources listed about 60 organisations. There is huge variation amongst these NGOs. Examples of well-established NGOs, divided here into two main types, include:

Field-based forestry and training NGOs
- Southern Alliance for Indigenous Resources (SAFIRE) - runs a number of social forestry projects and is active in training in participatory rural appraisal methodologies;

- Environment and Development Activities (ENDA-Zimbabwe) - has been involved since the 1980s in developing approaches to woodland management and extension;

- Biomass Users' Network (BUN) - has been active on alternative energy sources and woodland management;

- COOPIBO - is a Belgian NGO with lengthy experience in social forestry in several particular districts;

- Silveira House - provides a widely-used "training for transformation" course on institutional development at village level.

Information dissemination and advocacy NGOs
- ZERO - A Regional Environmental Organisation - is an indigenous NGO which aims to influence policy development through regular publications on woodland management issues;

- Wildlife Society - is a membership-based organisation promoting conservation; traditionally its membership is drawn from white commercial farmers;

- Southern African Research and Documentation Centre (SARDC) - is a well-resourced organisation which raises awareness, particularly in the media, on environmental issues.

Field project-oriented NGOs tend to focus on developing models of good practice for tree planting, woodland management and land use planning. Whilst most of their activities are location-specific, some also join the information and advocacy-oriented NGOs in aiming to influence policy by: urging state functionaries to adopt certain approaches; complementing government training and extension efforts; or provoking debate through criticism if necessary (see section 6.6).

There are increasing numbers of NGOs developing relations with the state, with the private sector and among themselves. Some of these alliances are motivated purely by the need to access funding (commoditisation of NGO work is a feature in this context), but others aim to complement and add value to each other's work and to seek a stronger voice on mutual issues through association. The cohesion of these alliances tends to rely on key individuals. Examples of relatively recently formed NGO alliances include:

• Association for Sustainable Land Use, which unites about 20 NGOs with a mission to share information and skills, to seek funding jointly and to lobby for sustainable land use; and

• Working Group for Woodland Management, which is a collaboration between SAFIRE, ENDA-Zimbabwe, BUN and ZERO designed to pursue field-project activities which link to policy advocacy, with the aim of generating a national vision for the place of woodlands in national development (see section 6.6).

Academic bodies interested in forestry matters, outside the Forestry Commission's own Research and Development Division of the Forestry Commission, tend to be concentrated at the University of Zimbabwe. The Institute for Environmental Studies has conducted research on the contribution of agroforestry to soil fertility, livestock and rural livelihoods, and on local level valuation of forest resources. Agroforestry research has also been undertaken by the Department of Crop Science. Research into the micro-political and social issues of forest management has been done through the Centre for Applied Social Sciences (CASS).

Individual opinion-leaders, linked to organisations of various kinds, have had enormous impact on the development of ideas and practice on environment and forest resource management. These individuals are often on the cutting edge of their field, and through professional, peer-group and other informal networks are able to initiate new projects, or infuse new conceptual thinking into policy. Characteristically, they have several roles with different formal institutions at the same time, or move through jobs in different institutions over time (see section 6.6).

Government-NGO alliances. State institutions and NGOs are beginning to realise the benefits or necessity of association. There is a variety of reasons for this; cost sharing and access to funding is certainly high amongst them. Two recent examples of these alliances are:

• Environmental Liaison Forum - an umbrella organisation for

environmental NGOs, currently involving about 20 NGOs and government departments. The Forum has initiated standing committees on particular issues, recommendations from which are expected to be targeted primarily at government.

• CAMPFIRE Collaborative Group - which consists primarily of DNPWLM, CASS, Zimbabwe Trust (a national extension NGO), WWF (an international environmental NGO) and the CAMPFIRE Association (an association of wildlife producer communities and districts). The group has effectively fed research and advice from a range of areas into the CAMPFIRE programme (see section 4.7). The Group is currently exploring the potential for expansion to other natural resource management activities beyond wildlife, including forest resources.

Donors, international NGOs and regional organisations have been active in a number of forestry-related fields. In the 1980s and early 1990s, government social forestry programmes relied on donors, notably the World Bank, DANIDA and SAREC, for up to 70 per cent of the funding. More recently, support from these and other bilateral and multilateral donors and international NGOs has focused more on policy reviews, research, education and capacity building. Support tends to be on a programme or project basis, often within the framework of international and regional conventions and agreements to which Zimbabwe has acceded.

Private sector enterprises in the forest industry are generally relatively small-scale units by international standards. However, the wood products processing industry is dominated by three enterprises: the Forestry Commission and two private companies - Border Timbers and PG Industries. Timber processors and manufacturers are represented in the Timber Council (TC), whilst plantation timber producers have another private sector association, the Timber Producers' Federation (TPF). In terms of the myriad small-scale commercial producers of charcoal, crafts and other forest products, information on numbers and types of organisation is scarce.

In 1996 there were only two concessionaires harvesting indigenous timber in the forest reserves, whilst in the communal areas a further nine logging concessions were operating. The processing of indigenous timber is under the control of a few large companies, notably PG Industries, which effectively controls prices for timber from the concessionaires.

Production from the small-scale plantations sector appears to be increasing although accurate production statistics are not available. This appears to be stimulated by improved prices and potential for growing trees on land

unsuitable for crop production. Large plantation owners and timber processors are also increasing their interest in outgrower schemes with small-scale growers in the face of declining availability of prime land for plantations. Recently mining companies such as BHP (platinum mining) have begun to consider contracting rural communities to raise eucalyptus for mine props.

Since the early 1990s, the TC and the TPF have lobbied for the separation of the Forestry Commission's roles which have traditionally allowed it to be both player and referee in the industry. This lobbying has played a part in the successive measures towards privatising the commercial arm of the Commission (see section 6). The industry is also playing an increasing role in funding research, particularly on tree breeding, through annual levies on its members.

The industry has experienced something of a boom since the mid 1990s, largely because of favourable exchange rates which have increased demand for timber in certain regional and international markets. This has, in turn, encouraged the adoption of international standards in plantation timber growing and harvesting, with forest management certification often in mind. The TPF and several individual companies have developed draft forest management guidelines, while PG Industries has asked the Forestry Commission to produce management plans for some of the commercial indigenous forests. A national level forest certification initiative involving the Forestry Commission is also under consideration.

Beyond the forest industry there is a range of private sector bodies with significant influence in forestry matters. A number of agro-industries impact directly on woodlands, for example the use of fuelwood by the tobacco industry. Some of these enterprises, and some general commerce associations, are prominent in their efforts to promote environmentally-sensitive technologies and are supporting some activities of environmental NGOs.

Local institutions. During the colonial period, chiefs and other lineage leaders were accepted by the state as the appropriate local institutions for land and resource management in the communal areas, apart from a period in the 1960s when these functions were transferred to government agents. With independence in 1980, natural resource management powers were transferred to District Councils, later to become elected Rural District Councils (RDCs). State resource control was also vested in elected Village Development Committees (VIDCOs) and Ward Development Committees (WADCOs). These VIDCOs have been ineffective, due to a lack of popular legitimacy and few resources to monitor and police the resource base.

Many natural resource statutes assign duties and responsibilities to local authorities, with the intention to allow matters to be resolved locally. Yet all the statutes omit to establish the means by which local authorities should exercise their decision-making powers. A commission of inquiry into land issues - the Land Tenure Commission - which reported in 1995, recommended substantial institutional re-orientation, including a renewed emphasis on traditional authorities (see section 5).

The modern political authorities (RDCs, WADCOs and VIDCOs) have one set of development priorities, many of them linked to generating revenue for their own operations. Meanwhile, the remaining traditional authorities tend to be concerned with measures that will strengthen their own power base. Various other groups within communities are preoccupied with improving their own livelihoods. This creates a third set of development priorities. Rarely do these priorities and interests coincide.

Community institutions are thus in the invidious position of both fragmented membership and little formal power to influence policies and projects directly. However, their membership may influence policies indirectly, by "voting with their feet" often with damaging, or at least inefficient, outcomes. For example they may settle illegally on state or private land, "poach" forest resources or refuse to cooperate with government or NGO-initiated programmes.

2.5 Summary

Zimbabwe is endowed with considerable forest resources of various types spread throughout the country. However, the land hosting these resources is very unevenly distributed amongst the population. The majority of the best farmland, and much woodland, is found on commercial farms holding only 19 per cent of the rural population. Meanwhile, 74 per cent of the rural population is confined to the communal areas, which constitute 42 per cent of the land, and this land is mostly of the lowest farming potential in the country. Many livelihoods are linked to woodland resources in the communal areas - where concentrations of people create great pressures on the resource.

A wide range of government institutions have roles which have significant influence over people's behaviour towards woodlands. These roles are often conflictual, and their roles are evolving. NGOs are fast proliferating and the private sector is increasingly focused on establishing and harvesting plantation timber. However, local institutions capable of steering forest management have suffered from the vicissitudes of government approaches to local governance and are currently in a weak position.
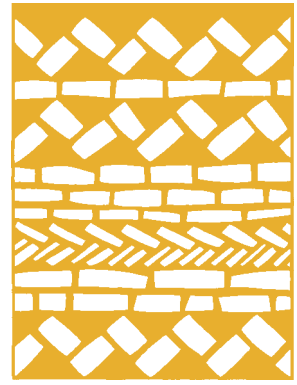
Evolving national development strategies

Many policy influences on forests and people can be traced from the broad strategies and themes informing approaches to national development in the years since independence. These strategies and themes have been shaped by a range of pressures internal and external to Zimbabwe. These factors are illustrated conceptually in Figure 3.1. In the following section we analyse this evolving post-independence "macro-level" stage on which policy stories are enacted.

Government's main planning statements in this period have included: the Transitional National Development Plan 1982-85; the First Five Year National Development Plan 1986-90; and the Second Five Year National Development Plan 1991-95. In terms of national strategy, these plans fall into two distinguishable periods: the "growth with equity" period, and the "structural adjustment" period. These broad development approaches have given rise to particular themes for rhetoric and action during this period. Three of these themes are described in the section below: land distribution, sustainable development and poverty alleviation.

3.1 "Growth with equity" - the 1980-90 period

Government's objectives in the *Transitional National Development Plan (TNDP) of 1982-85* were to: achieve an economic growth rate of 8 per cent; attain and maintain full employment; and attain a general improvement in economic and social welfare. Mechanisms specified for achieving these objectives included:

• redistribution and development of land and resettlement for the maximum number of families possible over the plan period;

Figure 3.1 Factors shaping policy and practice
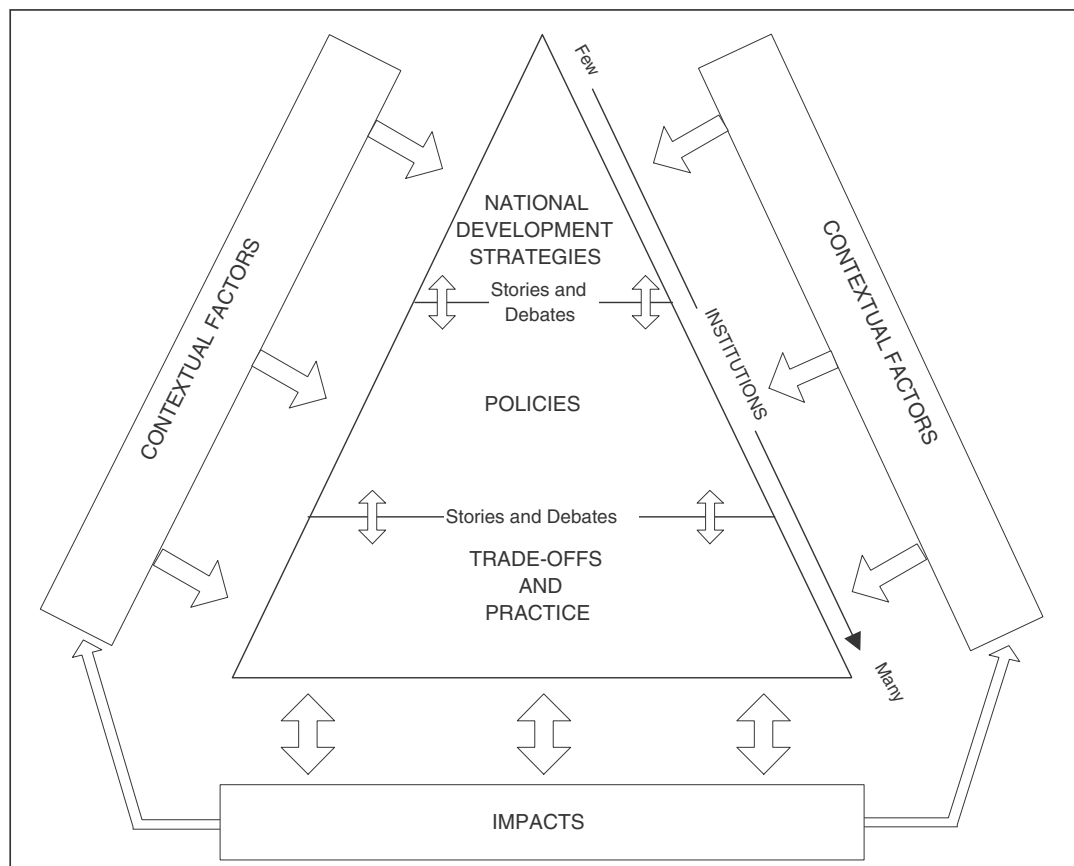
- training of manpower at all levels of skills and responsibility; and
- extension of the physical and social infrastructure in the communal areas, to ensure that peasant farmers have ready and adequate access to marketing facilities, extension services and credit, and so can increase their productivity.

The TNDP emphasised rural agricultural development, including some incentives for communities to ensure efficient utilisation of common resources, notably grazing land, forest areas, woodlots and water.

The *First Five Year National Development Plan 1986-90* (FFYNDP) continued the thrust of the transitional plan, with Government committed to a "democratic, egalitarian and socialist" development path. The broad objectives were:

a. transformation and control of the economy and economic expansion;
b. land reform and efficient utilisation of land;
c. raising the standards of living of the entire population, in particular the peasant population;
d. enlargement of employment opportunities and manpower development;

e. development of science and technology; and

f. maintenance of a correct balance between the environment and development.

The FFYNDP highlighted regional development, prioritising regions which are seriously underdeveloped such as the Zambezi Valley, and natural resource management, stimulated by increased international and national awareness of environmental issues. Land redistribution was seen as one way to alleviate the population pressure in the communal lands. The Plan anticipated settlement of about 15,000 families per year, backed up by services to the resettlement schemes, particularly extension and credit to ensure that agricultural production was improved.

3.2 "Structural adjustment" - the period since 1991

In a change of economic philosophy, the *Second Five Year National Development Plan (incorporating Economic Reform Programme) 1991-1995* (SFYNDP) notes that:

> *"The strategies followed in the past were not successful in achieving objectives... this new Economic Reform Programme aims to achieve all-round economic recovery. It is expected that during the first half of the Plan period, this Programme will cause temporary high inflation and a rise in unemployment, followed by sustained growth in GDP, employment opportunities and export earnings facilitating trade liberalisation".*

The focus on market liberalisation, budget cuts, removal of parastatal subsidies and privatisation, implied a period of worker retrenchment from non-competitive industries and a reduction in the civil service in order to reduce government deficits. Priority was placed on investment in the productive sectors, with some corresponding reduction in public investment in social and environmental sectors, removal of subsidies on foodstuffs and agricultural inputs and promoting tradeables. Emphasis on foreign currency-earning export products implied a greater move towards more efficient (sometimes mechanised) modes of production in the commercial agricultural sector. Promotion of tradeables gave impetus to the commercial forestry sector, which subsequently showed an increase in timber exports.

Government's first economic reform programme is being followed up with the Zimbabwe Programme of Reform for Social Transformation (ZIMPREST) which has the same general aims. Experience thus far is mixed, and much debated. On the negative side, Zimbabwean commentators have noted reduced financial

allocations for social and environmental concerns and have argued that this is leading to the inability of statutory agencies to regulate exploitation of natural resources. Other trends appear to include reduced environmental accountability stemming from attempts to provide a non-restrictive investment climate, and the exacerbation of poverty in urban and rural areas arising out of reductions in social expenditure and lay-offs from the formal employment market. The latter is tending to increase the population dependent on the land which is coupled with an increase in commercially-oriented extractive activities in the woodlands.

3.3 "Land distribution"

Inequitable land and resource distribution in Zimbabwe is key to most policy issues related to forests and people, and is at the root of many problems suffered by communal land inhabitants. For example, the so-called "population problem", when examined in terms of land holdings, reveals itself to be a land and resource distribution problem. Table 2.2 illustrated population densities as high as 58 persons/km^2 in communal lands and as low as 3 persons/km^2 in the large-scale freehold areas.

Inherited patterns of land allocation impose enormous pressures on resource use in the communal areas, with spill-over effects such as "squatting" and "resource poaching" by communal farmers on neighbouring lands (state forests, parks, commercial farms, resettlement areas). Policy choices about forestry are thus conditioned by the history of land allocation and distribution. In other words the choices that can be made about forests, woodlands and trees depend on who you are, and where you are with respect to land quality, tenure, population density, etc.

Since independence approximately 62,000 families have been resettled on some 3.3 million ha of land, transferred - on a "willing seller, willing buyer" basis - from commercial farms (Palmer, 1996). This is well below the target set at independence - to resettle 180,000 families. Lack of finance is the main constraint claimed by Government. Whilst strong political pressures for large-scale distribution of white-owned estates persist, about 4,000 whites still retain about 35 per cent of the country's total arable and ranch land (Hill, 1994). In late 1997, the government took a dramatic decision to seize a large proportion of this land for re-allocation. Some of the dynamics and dilemmas in this development are discussed in section 5. Overall, it remains the case that resettlement schemes alone are unlikely to reduce substantially the pressure on communal lands in the near future (see section 5).

3.4 "Sustainable development"

"Environmentally sustainable development" came into common parlance at national level from the mid-1980s. This stemmed from sporadic international debates since the early 1970s, with a notable milestone in the publication in 1980 of the World Conservation Strategy (IUCN/UNEP/WWF, 1980). In response to this, and drawing on the government's objectives as enunciated in the FFYNDP, Zimbabwe's National Conservation Strategy (NCS) appeared in 1987. The goal of the NCS was to integrate sustainable resource use within social and economic development programmes. However, the NCS does not have an implementable action programme. It was perceived as something of a "blueprint" and did not attract much donor support.

Today, it is difficult to discern any significant implemented activity which stems from the NCS. It has not been presented for adoption by government through Parliament even though a Parliamentary Select Committee on the environment was established in response to the strategy. However, more recently a small secretariat has been supported by the World Conservation Union (IUCN), the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and the Department of Natural Resources to backstop a District Environmental Action Planning (DEAP) programme. This initiative, which aims to encourage local participatory planning efforts and seek funding for projects, is currently in a pilot phase in a limited number of districts. Its instigators hope that these local efforts will build gradually into a national programme in tune with the spirit of the original NCS.

Meanwhile the broader theme of sustainable development has become common currency in Zimbabwe. The theme was brought to international attention by the report of the World Commission on Environment and Development which defined it as "development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs" (WCED, 1987). The agreements made during and following the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED) in 1992, to which Zimbabwe is signatory, further strengthened this rhetoric.

However, it would be difficult to argue that Zimbabwe is currently close to pursuing a sustainable development path. As outlined above, rural people forced to remain on inadequate land understandably continue to prioritise their survival needs above any negative consequences on the natural resource base. In these circumstances, moving towards sustainable development would require investment in natural capital formation far in excess of the commitments currently made by government and the international community. In addition, it is increasingly recognised in Zimbabwe that

sustainable development will require equal attention to institutional and social capital elements such as redefining property rights, broader participation and building capacity at a range of levels. That these elements are still more in the domain of rhetoric than reality shows how far there is to go before "sustainable development" might become an achievable target.

3.5 "Poverty alleviation"

The era of structural adjustment has brought a contemporary national development focus on poverty alleviation. The proponents of structural adjustment claim that the short-term pain of the process will eventually subside under the longer-term benefits of a more dynamic and robust economy. Meanwhile the poor performance of the economy, the down-sizing of government, and commercialisation of parastatals coupled with the inadequacy of the Social Dimensions Fund[8] particularly in the countryside where the population is least able to cope, have certainly led to increasing poverty.

In 1994, the World Bank's annual World Development Report dropped Zimbabwe from the middle-income country list in to the low-income bracket. The following year saw the World Bank promoting the idea that government should focus on activities which strategically reduce poverty. Analysis in the preparation of the resulting Poverty Alleviation Action Programme suggested that, under some circumstances, increasing poverty has a negative impact on the natural resource base because rural populations rely more and more on extractive activities. A particular focus in the Programme is therefore on activities which strategically reduce poverty, where it is hoped that gains made will have environmental spin-offs. However, the Poverty Alleviation Action Programme, as developed in 1996, is yet to take off.

3.6 Impacts of national development strategies on forests and people

The post-independence anticipated economic growth rate of 8 per cent, was never realised. Growth rates in both 1985-90 and 1991-95 averaged under 4

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[8] The Social Dimensions Fund (SDF) was set up by the Government of Zimbabwe with contributions from the Government and the World Bank. According to a study by the Zimbabwe Confederation of Trade Unions, by December 1994, only 7,278 of a total of 30,000 who had been retrenched since 1991, had been assisted by the SDF. Some 93 projects worth Z$ 68.9 million had been supported, but this heavy outlay had created only 4,228 jobs. The SDF had also disbursed Z$ 52.3 million towards social safety measures, Z$ 35 million for school fees, and Z$ 0.7 million in food money.

per cent. Prior to independence, public investment was concentrated in the large-scale commercial farming areas. Post-independence, public investment in the communal areas was increased. Achievements in health and education were lauded internationally. The main road system remains impressive although the feeder-road network into remote parts is still poor. Considerable investment in marketing outlets was made, although this was skewed towards areas of high crop production. The area under irrigation was also increased slightly. However, there has been very little private investment in the communal lands, and investment levels in general remain much-criticised by the many who argue that the 70 per cent of Zimbabwe's population who live in these areas deserve better.

A range of negative impacts of structural adjustment in Zimbabwe is widely perceived. It is estimated that the labour force in the commercial agricultural sector has declined, whilst an increase in the number of job-seekers, on the market as a result of retrenchment, lay-offs and industry's limited capacity to absorb school leavers, has fuelled urban-rural migration. These trends could be expected to lead to an increase in the population dependent on agriculture. High interest rates and high agricultural input costs tend to mean that agricultural output can be increased only through land expansion, often through conversion of woodland in the resettlement areas and small-scale commercial farms. An increase in land under export crops may be accompanied by a reduction of the area under food crops which, in turn, may compromise food security if, for example, export crops and strategies fail.

Furthermore, farmers in the communal areas on the whole are excluded from production of tradeables due to lack of technical skills and extension services, poor marketing facilities and high input costs. They continue to rely heavily on the natural resource base for their livelihoods. In some areas there appears to be much greater exploitation of woodland resources for small-scale commercial purposes, e.g. craft products, woodfuel, mopane worms, wild fruits and medicinal plants (Value of Trees Working Group, 1997).

3.7 Role of forests in national development strategies

Forests have not held a prominent position in terms of stated government aspirations for national development in the period since independence. Forest resource management seems to be low on the pecking order although it was part of the central "growth with equity" aim of sustained yield of natural

resources. However, agriculture has clear national priority over forestry, and over other (overlapping) land uses, notably wildlife. The absence at this macro level of a clear vision for forestry in national development (see section 1.5), and questions such as "at what level, and by whom, should the 'national interest' in forests be defined", are issues returned to in sections 5, 6 and 7.
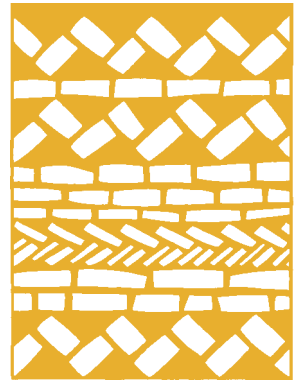
3.8 Summary

Since independence, the government has promoted national development in two broad phases. In the early 1980s, "growth with equity" - founded on a large-scale redistribution of land - was the national strategy. By the late 1980s, slow progress on land redistribution and a stagnant national economy rendered this an empty slogan. The second phase - "structural adjustment" - began in the late 1980s and today remains the central paradigm at national level.

Three guiding themes have been evident within these two broad strategies. The first is "land distribution" - a fundamental policy issue which circumscribes many other areas of policy. Who you are, and where you live with respect to land quality and tenure affects the choices available about forests and trees. Since late 1997, the land allocation issue is back in the headlines. The second policy focus is "sustainable development", which emerged in the early 1990s as a core theme in government rhetoric and debate. This drew on international momentum and national initiatives to incorporate some environmental concerns into thinking in all sectors. The third focus is "poverty alleviation", which appeared in the mid 1990s as a response to the widespread dissatisfaction with the immediate effects of structural adjustment on livelihoods and employment.

The sustainable development and poverty alleviation themes for forest and woodland use have particular implications for land distribution. To some extent, arguments for "sustainable development" have been used to legitimise the existing inequitable land distribution and approach to land use, and to avoid the core dilemmas in land reform, whilst "poverty alleviation" is focused on those who bear the main brunt of the "temporary" negative effects of structural adjustment - the communal lands population.

Forests and woodlands have not enjoyed a prominent role in any of these national development strategies and themes. Indeed, the lack of a national conception or "vision" of the role forests play in development - both currently and potentially - is an underlying cause of ambiguous and conflicting approaches to forest and woodland management.

Policies and legislation influencing forest management

In this section we discuss the key policies in the forest sector and other sectors which influence forest and woodland resource management. Some of the major influences on forest resource management have resulted not from strictly forestry-related policy and legislation, but from more general land-use planning and administration interventions. It has been increasingly recognised in recent years that land use policies have in the past failed to take into account the interlinkages between woodlands and agricultural production, and the indirect contribution of forest and woodland resources to the national economy (McNamara, 1993). However, greater incorporation of these interlinkages in policy is yet to occur. (Some of the reasons for this are analysed through case studies of particular policy contests in sections 5, 6 and 7).

The "policies" which concern us here are the collection of policy statements, laws and operating strategies of government agencies which have a direct bearing on forest resource use. We begin by noting the key laws which constitute a major part of the "policies" of various sectors, and these are subsequently discussed in the sub-sections, along with any important formal policy statements in these sectors. It will be noted that many of these policy statements tend to repeat the letter and spirit of the legislation.

4.1 Current legislation influencing woodland resource management

Much of the legislation pertinent to the use and management of forests and woodlands was inherited at independence in 1980 and reflects the dualistic

nature of the colonial period, i.e. laws favouring voluntary self-policing and investment in the commercial private lands, whilst in the communal areas state enforcement and regulation was the rule. This dualism is reflected in a number of post-independence Acts, outlined in Table 4.1, and policy developments discussed below.

Table 4.1 Key laws that influence woodland and forest resource use in Zimbabwe

Key Law	Main Themes and Provisions
Land Apportionment Act 1930 and Land Tenure Act 1970	Created the Native Reserves (or Tribal Trust Lands - later to be re-named the Communal Lands). Marked the translocation of indigenous people to high-concentration settlements on marginally productive land.
Natural ResourcesAct 1942 (amended 25 times, although never substantially)	Provided for highly interventionist regulation of natural resource use -based on perception that land apportionment policy will fail if land management is not imposed. Natural Resources Board administers the Act with powers to enforce (with little capacity and questionable technical prescriptions). Allows for formation of Natural Resource Management Committees with powers to levy taxes, and seek grants and loans. Provides for establishment of Intensive Conservation Areas (ICAs) in commercial areas, based on voluntary conservation measures (in contrast to the regulatory framework imposed on Native Reserves).
Forest Act 1948 (amended 1982)	Provided for the establishment of Forestry Commission (FC) (in 1954) to take over from the Department of Forestry in the Ministry of Agriculture. Provides two mandates for FC: as forestry authority, to protect and conserve forests for the benefit of nation (including control, management and leasing of state forests), and regulate and supervise timber extraction by private landholders and concessionaires; and as forest enterprise, to set aside and manage land for production/industrial forestry.
Native Land Husbandry Act 1952	Sought compulsion and regulation as the route to land use planning and natural resource management. Response to perceived impending crisis of land use in the Tribal Trust Lands. Provided for enforced land use planning involving consolidated village lines with grazing areas and arable blocks with individual tenure. Abandoned in 1960s following nationalist opposition.
National Parks and Wildlife Act 1975 (amended 1982)	Bestows proprietorship of wildlife to owners and occupiers of alienated land. Designates these owners and Rural District Councils (RDCs) "appropriate authorities" for wildlife, with rights to decide how to use the wildlife resource and benefit from revenue generated. Has been the legal basis for CAMPFIRE schemes (see section 4.7).
Communal Land Act Councils 1982 (amended 1985) (superseded Tribal Trust Lands Act 1969)	Control of communal lands placed under the President through Rural District (RDCs) rather than chiefs or headmen. RDCs allowed to develop land use plans which override customary land claims, and empowered to make orders to control cutting of trees. Political institutions also created at ward (WADCOs) and village (VIDCOs) levels.

Key Law	Main Themes and Provisions
Communal Land Forest Produce Act 1987 (superseded Native Reserve Forest Produce Act 1928)	Restricts use of forest products in communal lands to "own use". Provides for RDCs to grant cences to concessionaires to cut trees for commercial purpose restricts movement of produce from one communal area to the other, prohibits use of forest products from protected forest areas and reserved tree species, prohibits removal of trees from within 100m of river banks.
Rural District Councils Act 1988 (superseded Rural and District Councils Acts)	Provides for RDCs to enact by-laws to regulate natural resource use, issue licences for commercial extraction of wood products, declare Natural Resource Management Committees to enforce Natural Resources Act, and be responsible for long-term planning and development.
Land Acquisition Act 1993	Provides for expropriation of commercial farm land under a system of designation of under-utilised land. Attempts to create a transparent legal and administrative framework for acquiring selected lands with minimal legal contest by clearly articulating the reasons for land designation.
Mines and Minerals Act Chapter 2105, 1996 (revised)	Confers absolute rights to land for mining. Establishes that mining is not subject to impact assessment or land reclamation.

Source: Mujakachi (1993); Thomas (1993); Scoones and Matose (1993); Scoones (1996); and this study.

As observed by Scoones and Matose (1993) much of this legislation is today both constraining progress towards more sustainable woodland use, and out of tune with contemporary practice and needs. Multiple jurisdictions over the utilisation and management of natural resources further compounds this lack of clarity.

4.2 Land policy - allocation, use and tenure

The translocation of indigenous Zimbabweans to marginally productive land was made law through the Land Apportionment Act of 1930, further entrenched by the Land Tenure Act of 1970. The desire to regain land from which they had been evicted was one of the chief reasons why indigenous farmers supported guerrilla fighters in the bitter 1970s war for independence. Yet the situation did not change radically following the attainment of independence in 1980. Today, there is still heavy pressure on land in most communal areas and this continues to have long-term implications for the political stability of the nation. Pressures and initiatives on land tenure and distribution are taken up further in section 5.

Land use planning has been the major focus for land policy since the 1920s. The drive to centralise villages, begun in the 1930s and codified in the Native Land Husbandry Act of 1952, was based on the assumption that

sustainable forms of agriculture and livestock rearing could only occur with effective planning. The centrepiece of the policy was a vision of the farming landscape based on linear settlements, dividing an area of individual (male-owned) plots on the upland area and paddocked grazing in the lowlands (Scoones, 1996). Technical solutions aimed at good crop husbandry and land management were then introduced. Some of these solutions were based on highly questionable assumptions and failed in their apparent aims, others led to rapid depletion of the natural resource base. The allocation of individual arable plots led to excessive subdivision of land into many small uneconomic units.

However, colonial administrators had additional motives for these policies. They centred on the need for more effective control and collection of taxes in the rural areas. The creation of village settlements, under the authority of a headman in charge of project development and collection of taxes, enabled this control. The land use restrictions imposed led to insecurity and resistance to land management, as they were viewed by local people as another way of alienating them from their land and limiting their access to natural resources. Although many of these prescriptions were abandoned with the nationalist movement in the 1960s and 70s, some analysts have noted that the post-independence land use planning exercises in Zimbabwe have much in common with previous initiatives (Cousins, 1992; Scoones, 1996). These land use policies are based on similar technical rationales as their predecessors - rationales which are today beginning to be challenged (see section 4.6).

Tenure in commercial farms is private and generally secure (see section 5). In many areas there is a commitment to conservation and protection of natural resources, through groups originally established to manage Intensive Conservation Areas (see Table 4.1). However, as with resettlement areas and indigenous forest reserves, forest and wildlife resources have been the subject of considerable "poaching" by neighbouring communal area residents.

Tenure arrangements in communal lands are complex, and are derived from national and local policy and legislation, and interrelationships between different groups at the local level (e.g. migrant peasants, established households and urban-based elites). Tenure may be further sub-divided into privately-allocated plots to which inhabitants have usufructory rights, areas of open access, land leased or subject to agreement with a defined group such as timber concessionaires (see section 7), community-based groups, schools and clinics, and common property regimes where groups of people assert rights of ownership, use and management.

Tenurial rights to woodland and tree resources are based broadly on the land tenure categories, although within communal areas they are also influenced

by *de facto* practices, which include those based on traditional practice. Such practices may involve the annexing of areas of open access by individuals, the designation of certain areas as sacred, and locally-based rights of access and use (see section 7.3). Woodland rights regimes, as defined by the Communal Areas Forest produce Act and Forest Act, have seriously compromised the ability of communal land inhabitants to go beyond subsistence management (see Table 4.1 and section below).

The institutional dynamics between traditional authorities (*kraal* heads and chiefs) and modern political institutions (RDCs, WADCOs and VIDCOs) often result in a paralysed situation in which there are no effective tenure-holding institutions effectively controlling or managing resource usage. Conflicts over access to scarce resources are common.

Many observers conclude that the history and current state of the communal tenure system, with its weak property rights provisions and laws based on command and control, have a negative impact on the status of natural resources.

4.3 Forest policy

The exploitation of indigenous timber resources began to be controlled at the turn of the century when the Bulawayo to Victoria Falls railway line was constructed. At that time, it was recognised that techniques used for timber harvesting were wasteful and that there was a need to regulate the activities of the various concessionaires. This concern led to the appointment of one J. Simms who was given the task of reviewing the situation in Matebeleland with a view to making concrete recommendations on forest resources exploitation and management. In his report of 1910, which is regarded as having initiated colonial forestry in Zimbabwe, Simms recommended controls on forest exploitation and the setting up of managed forest reserves (Judge, 1993). He also identified possibilities for the development of exotic plantations in the Eastern Highlands and recommended the appointment of a forestry officer. The first forest officer, J. Henkel, was eventually appointed in 1920. Henkel recommended the establishment of a forestry department, which was duly created within the Ministry of Agriculture.

Until the late 1940s, forestry extension relied largely on the goodwill of local agricultural extension officers and their administrators who serviced the Tribal Trust Lands (now the Communal Lands). Forestry secured minimal funding and the agricultural extension service as a whole suffered

from being shuffled several times between host ministries (Banks, 1981). The Forestry Department acted in an advisory role to the administrators and agriculturalists with the aim of promoting the planting of exotic tree species in plantation settings, which was a technical model imposed on many British colonies at the time.

The Forestry Commission was established in 1954 as a parastatal organisation under the Ministry of Lands (it was subsequently moved to the MET). The Forestry Commission's mandate under the Forest Act covers:

• control and management of state forests;
• protection of private forests, trees and forest produce;
• control of the cutting and taking of timber;
• conservation of timber resources;
• regulation of compulsory forestation of private land;
• regulation and control of trade in forest produce; and
• creation of an institutional framework for the above.

The main thrust of forestry policy and government investment was on industrial forestry. Reservation of further areas of indigenous woodland was also undertaken, with the objectives of sustained wood production, protection of water catchment areas, maintenance of soil cover and provision of a habitat and browse for wildlife. The forest reserves were established in Matabeleland in the west of the country and included hillsides, sandy soils and catchment areas where it was argued that further disturbance would have had severe environmentally erosive effects.

Management principles for the reserved indigenous forests included commercial exploitation on a sustained yield basis, increased productivity of the forests through management for "minor" forest products, increasing the value of forests as protection areas to conserve soil and water, and developing the amenity value of the forests.

These principles did not spread to management of other woodlands outside the reserved forests, especially in the communal areas. Instead the approach was largely based on enforcement of natural resource laws and implementation of projects with a limited technical focus, mainly woodlots of exotic species (Scoones *et al*, 1993).

The Ministry of Internal Affairs drew up a forest policy in 1968 for Tribal Trust Lands which was intended to promote, through African Councils, the establishment of nurseries and woodlots to provide fuelwood and poles. Forestry extension was now to be carried out by agricultural extensionists

Figure 4.1 Forest reserves and plantations managed by the Forestry Commission, shown in relation to the communal lands
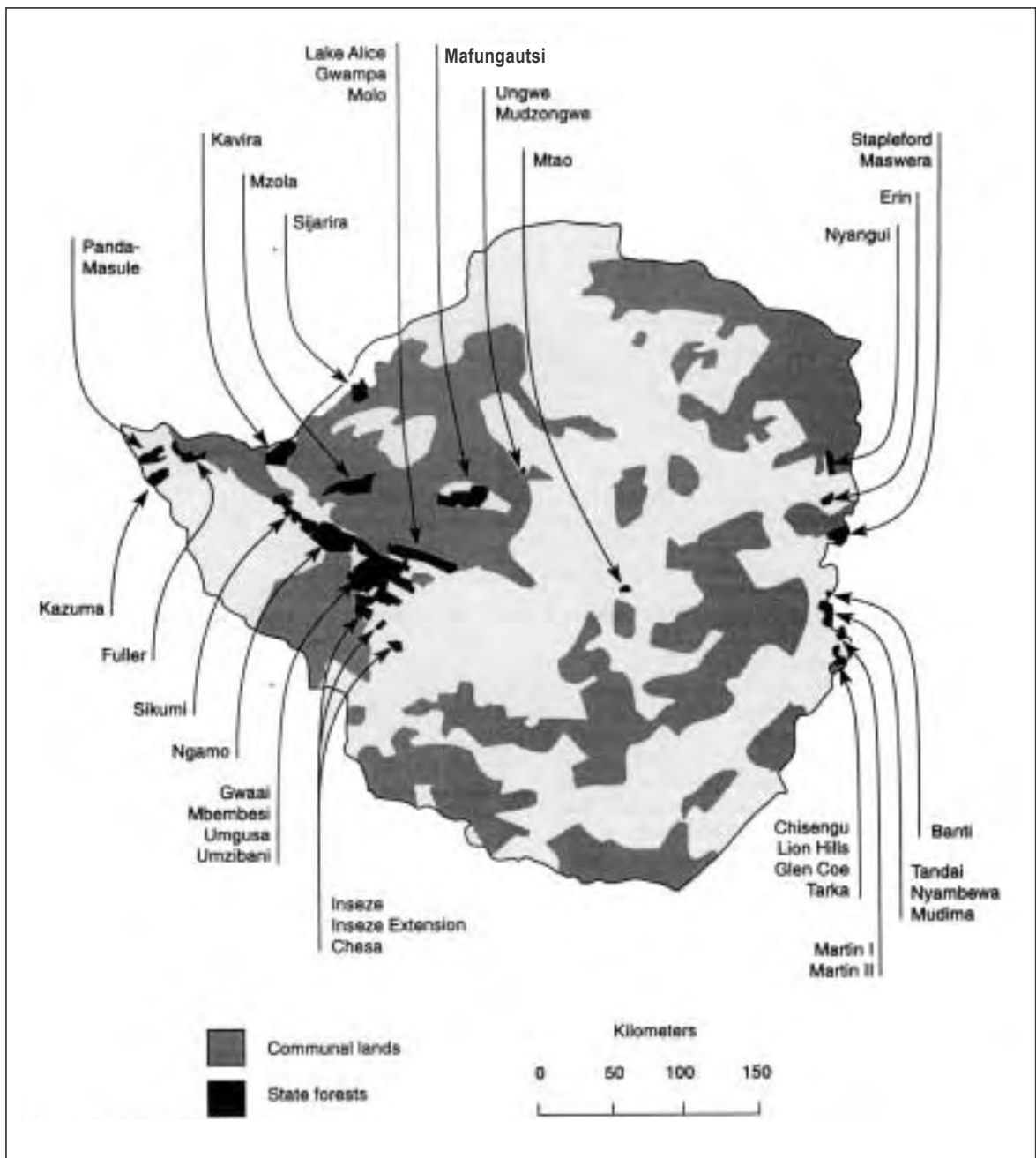
with advice from the Forestry Commission at provincial and headquarters levels. This policy was put into operation in 1978, when the Department of Agriculture was created under the Ministry of Lands and Natural Resources.

Plantation forestry did not take off in the Tribal Trust Lands. Reasons given

Commercial plantations of pine (*Pinus patula*) in the high-rainfall Nyanga district in the east, where the Forestry Commission afforested large areas. Softwood plantations cover about 115,000 hectares. The majority of roundwood production is used for sawntimber

by the Forestry Commission included: lack of land, lack of tenure security, frequent changes in status of the extension service and lack of investment or inadequate funding (Zimbabwe Forestry Commission, 1987). The woodlots that were established during this period mainly produced poles which were sold to local inhabitants rather than for fuelwood even in areas which had been identified as suffering from acute fuel shortage. Individual woodlots were the best managed, whilst the council woodlots were the worst (Banks, 1981).

There have been some major changes in emphasis in Zimbabwe's forest policy since independence. The national "Growth with Equity" policy documents placed high priority on rural development and employment, domestic self-sufficiency and the sustained yield of natural resources. A revised "operating forest policy" statement was circulated within the Forestry Commission in the early 1980s. The major differences with previous policy statements were in its emphasis on forestry for the people, inclusion of communal lands as a specific target area for forestry development, and the lifting of restrictions previously placed on the expansion and development of the Forestry Commission's commercial activities in competition with the private sector.

However, in most other respects the policy statement essentially re-stated the provisions of the Forest Act and, conversely, did not result in changes in the legislation or in other key policies influencing forestry related activities. These policies and laws continued to concentrate on regulation and control, with functions still concentrated within the technical and regulatory departments of government and at the district level. Two key forestry acts from the colonial period, the Forest Act and the Communal Lands Forest

Produce Act, *were* amended in the 1980s, but essentially retained their original provisions. The Forest Act favours private land holders, to whom it provides guidance on how to apply for permission to cut trees on their land, whilst forbidding people in communal areas to harvest woodland and forest resources on a commercial basis. The Communal Lands Forest Produce Act places restrictions on the use of forest products in communal areas, confining them to subsistence or own use.

Powers to utilise forest resources commercially and retain the revenue accruing are given to the Rural District Council. Thus, whilst the FC's operating policy puts emphasis on forestry for the people and advocates participation in forest resources management and benefit sharing by local people and communities, the legislative framework does not enable this to occur.

It is clear from Table 4.1 that most statutes relating to forestry are based on a command and control approach. The Acts are generally very old, and none have been revised to suit current environmental and social concerns except for superficial semantic changes. The statutes also fragment responsibility amongst several government departments and ministries. Thus, whilst primary legal responsibility for developing and conserving forests and woodlands falls to the Ministry of Mines, Environment and Tourism, other ministries, such as those of Lands and Agriculture, Transport and Energy, Local Government and others also have mandates affecting woodlands. This means that considerable coordination is required to ensure consistent approaches; a feat rarely achieved. It also means that any emerging policy initiative regarding forests and woodland management must be referred and agreed to by all these bodies. However, the degree to which outdated formal policy and legislation is actually a hindrance to the emergence of new approaches is arguable. This is discussed in section 6.

4.4 Decentralisation policy

Post-independence attempts to decentralise authority to state-created local institutions in the communal areas tended to reinforce the state and party-political orientation of the local institutions. This enabled the state to re-establish itself in rural areas and to increase surveillance over the rural population.

New institutions for development administration were set up through the Prime Minister's Directive on Provincial Administration and Provincial Governorships of 1984. There was a heavy emphasis on "development"

functions at the local level, whilst governance functions were to be the monopoly of district councils and district administrators (later to become Rural District Councils). In theory, development plans were to be channelled up the hierarchy of development committees where choices would be made about what should be implemented, funds would be allocated and plans channelled down the hierarchy again for implementation. In practice, the lowest structures did not have budgets or taxation powers, nor were they legal entities, and therefore their plans did not usually see the light of day (see de Valk and Wekwete [1990] for an extended treatment). Financial resources continued to be channelled through government line ministries and district councils.

The new institutions, VIDCOs and WADCOs, had in part been created in order to sideline "traditional" authority structures such as chiefships, which had been perceived as having sided with the colonial state. Thus, these new institutions also faced resistance from the chiefs.

Structural adjustment brought a new decentralisation thrust, emphasising transfer of central government functions to RDCs, with the stated objectives of reducing the size of central government and bringing its functions closer to the population. The Rural District Councils Act of 1988 provides a framework for decentralising natural resource use and management by giving RDCs the authority to manage and regulate the utilisation of natural resources in areas under their jurisdiction, through the application of land use and conservation by-laws. However, where this has been attempted to date, RDCs have tended to adopt model by-laws promoted by the government's agricultural extension organisation (Agritex), under the Communal Land (Model Land Use and Conservation) By-Laws of 1985, without making amendments to them. These model by-laws have tended to be prescriptive and out of tune with local realities, defeating the point of a by-law approach.

However, there is great potential for using by-laws which are designed and enforced by local institutions, if space is created to enable them to do so (see section 7.3). The potential for resource management functions to be devolved from RDCs to community levels in order to involve the actual resource users in resource management has been demonstrated in the case of wildlife by the CAMPFIRE programme (see section 4.7).

In general though, the devolution process has been *ad hoc*, and caught up with many political dynamics. A coherent plan for the financial survival of RDCs, or for consideration of their very different natural resource inheritances, is yet to be produced. The lack of resources and capacity within the RDCs and lower organs to manage forest and woodland

resources is a major weakness of the devolution process. The transfer of responsibilities to RDCs without a concomitant transfer of the requisite capacity and budgetary allocations has met with some resistance, and in some cases has led to heavy exploitation of forest resources in a bid to raise revenue for the RDC. Central attempts to regain control of over-harvesting were part of the reason why the export of mukwa (one of the main commercial timber species) was banned in 1988, and timber concessions guidelines were modified in 1989 and 1994 (see section 7). Whilst a new RDC capacity-building initiative aims to surmount some of these difficulties, the general situation in decentralisation of rights and responsibilities to local authorities and their sub-structures remains in flux.

4.5 Agriculture policy

Colonial agricultural policy was firmly based on the dual economy division of the sector, with the peasant sector existing side by side with the commercial sector. This had a direct effect on the natural resource base. Whilst the drive to create a national agriculturally-based economy led to clearing of woodlands to make way for cropping land in both sectors, the process differed in the two sectors. In the communal areas, increasing concentrations of people on land with poor soils and unreliable rainfall has tended to result in continued clearing of woodland as extensive forms of farming are the only practical option. Large commercial farms on the other hand, after a period in which new farm land was opened up, have tended to employ "modern" intensive farming methods resulting in far less subsequent woodland clearance.

One of the instruments that the pre-independence governments effectively utilised was pricing policy, which discriminated against crops produced in communal areas. This ensured that prices for communal land crops were kept low in order to perpetuate a population dependent on exporting its labour to commercial farms, and to mining and other sectors. This policy also resulted in communal land farmers clearing larger areas in order to produce sufficient crops to retain income.

After independence these policies were changed somewhat. Communal area farmers could get access to agricultural loans at subsidised rates for inputs such as fertilisers and improved seed varieties. The effect was to increase crop output in communal areas. However, the onset of structural adjustment combined with severe drought in 1991/2 and some subsequent years meant removal of subsidies and greater economic marginalisation of the majority of farmers in communal areas.

Agricultural extension policies - steered by Agritex - were also focused historically on crops and practices in the commercial areas. Post-independence, the focus shifted to the communal areas, yet the technical options offered, and more importantly the means of delivering them, have been insufficient to transform agricultural production in a way which might take pressure off woodland resources.

While the long-term effects of structural adjustment are not yet apparent, and are much debated, three current trends relevant to forest resources have been noted:

• farmers are clearing woodlands in search of more agricultural land to maintain their production levels since they are unable to afford agricultural inputs;

• redundancies in the formal employment sectors are leading to more people relying on agriculture for survival; and

• more people are relying on extractive activities which are increasingly becoming commercialised (Brigham *et al*, 1996; Campbell and Byron, 1996; Matose *et al*, 1996).

Commercial farmers have enjoyed a relatively supportive agricultural policy framework since independence. Government has continued to subsidise this sector in terms of agricultural extension services, subsidised infrastructure and access to markets and capital. This has also resulted in a relatively stable state of affairs for the natural resource base in these areas.

4.6 Livestock policy

Cattle have long been at the core of agricultural production systems in Zimbabwe, in both communal and large-scale commercial areas, although for rather different reasons in each case. Whereas colonial policy sought to improve breeds and "modernise" practices for beef production in both commercial and communal areas so that the country's beef could compete in both domestic and export markets, it was only in the commercial areas that this made much sense. In the communal areas, where about 60 per cent of the country's cattle are located, the value of cattle is principally based on live animals delivering draught power, milk and manure rather than beef sale value. Beef offtake levels have generally been low in the communal areas, reflecting these alternative functions. Despite various schemes (the failure of the Native Land Husbandry Act of 1952 has already been noted),

the reluctance of communal area farmers to part with their animals was a source of great frustration to colonial authorities (Scoones, 1996).

Cattle numbers increased slowly in communal areas from the mid 1980s to early 1990s but were hit by a severe drought in 1992, and recurring drought conditions in recent years have limited recovery. On commercial farms, cattle numbers have been decreasing since the mid 1980s in large part due to falling beef prices. Diversification into game farming and ranching has been a feature in the large-scale farms (see section 4.7).

As with agricultural policy generally, livestock policy today reflects the history of the dual economy. It continues to emphasise commercial beef production in communal areas by exhorting the development of "proper management systems" including improvement in efficiency of livestock production, improvement of marketing services, increasing livestock exports, etc. (Zimbabwe Government, 1992).

There is a range of subsidies in the livestock sector. Collectively these represent a major "policy distortion" by masking the livestock sector's true value to the national economy, i.e. the sector appears to be more important than it perhaps is. Many powerful interests in the sector support the perpetuation of the *status quo*.

The other main thrust of government livestock policy has been attempts to reduce environmental degradation perceived to be caused by overgrazing.[9] This has been the rationale for the imposition of several central directives over the years, such as destocking and controlled grazing systems based on rotating herds around fenced paddocks. These interventions remain controversial and of variable impact.

Trees in grazing areas are vital as sources of dry-season browse and as stabilising influences on the turnover of nutrients. Campbell *et al* (1991) found that 60 per cent of households surveyed in a study felt that having trees made it possible to keep more livestock. They also noted that small-scale farmers in the past have been reluctant to cooperate with government initiatives to clear bush and woodland because of heavy dependence of livestock on browse, particularly in Natural Regions IV and V. It is increasingly recognised that woodland, cattle and cultivated land are inseparable, as they have been for decades. Yet it remains to be seen whether policy in practice is capable of considering cattle, crops and woodlands as an interconnected system.

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[9] See Scoones (1996) for a discussion of livestock policy in Zimbabwe in historical context. He questions the "imminent environmental collapse" rationale on which many livestock policy interventions have been based, arguing that most evidence for this falls into two types; firstly anecdotal reports; and secondly, quantitative data that has been selectively interpreted.

Box 4.1 Tsetse eradication and land settlement in the Zambezi valley - local conflict and woodland clearance

In the early 1980s human and cattle populations in the Mid-Zambezi Valley were relatively low - in part due to the endemism of the tsetse fly and the disease it carries, trypanosomiasis. At that time, the Tsetse and Trypanosomiasis Control Branch (TTCB) of the Department of Veterinary Services (DVS) started a large-scale operation to eradicate tsetse fly and to control trypanosomiasis. This was later scaled up with European Community (EC) support for a campaign involving both aerial insecticide spraying and the deployment of thousands of odour-baited insecticide-treated targets. Limitations were also put on cattle movement into, and within, the area.

Following this programme, after extensive planning, the Mid-Zambezi Valley Rural Development Project (MZVRDP) was initiated by the Department of Rural Development and Agritex in 1987. Its objectives were to increase commercial agricultural production, protect the fragile environment and provide a resettlement zone for 3,000 farming families from other communal areas in Zimbabwe. It was thus intended to be a model planned resource use resettlement project, and was to be implemented through a decentralised administration (Derman, 1990). The project ran, with various extensions, until 1996.

It was unusual for a resettlement project in that it involved resettling the existing population as well as settlers from elsewhere. It involved the identification of arable and grazing blocks and "villagisation" blocks for settlement (a model very similar to that imposed elsewhere under the Native Land Husbandry Act in the colonial era). It also aimed to bring other benefits such as boreholes, schools, clinics, etc. However, planners underestimated the numbers of original residents involved, and paid little attention to their local expertise in appropriate farming practices for the fragile ecology of the area - depriving them of their practice of cultivating riverine fields and effectively riding roughshod over traditional boundaries set by long-term negotiation amongst valley residents. This, together with limitations placed on livestock numbers, resulted in growing resistance to the project's planning prescriptions.

By the mid 1990s the eastern valley had been transformed from a verdant zone to a deforested, dust-filled region with thousands of new farms (Derman, 1997). A remarkable shift has been made from a complex system of cultivation combined with natural resource management to one with primary reliance on maize and cotton. Cotton in particular requires extensive land areas and pesticides, and in effect mines the soil. Such a system is highly vulnerable. Some scholars argue that the Mid-Zambezi Valley ecology cannot sustain crop production of this kind for more than a few years. Once the land has lost its fertility, new areas are likely to be opened up and the woodland cleared. Accelerated encroachment onto neighbouring National Parks is also likely.

This case illustrates the perils of planning based on purely external technical prescriptions. It suggests that effective woodland management options in communal and resettlement areas are more likely to be found where local expertise and governance are brought centre-stage.

4.7 Wildlife policy

In its most recent wildlife policy statement, the government claims that wildlife can underpin the country's development, given its high and escalating value (Government of Zimbabwe, 1992). Wildlife rearing is clearly considered a legitimate form of land use, and the main thrust of the stated policy is on ensuring mechanisms for equitable opportunities to benefit from this for communal land residents and emergent black entrepreneurs, whilst conserving biological diversity. Wildlife policy therefore focuses on protection, conservation, and promotion of wildlife as a sustainable form of land use in non-park areas, and devolution of management responsibilities to "appropriate authorities" outside the parks estate. The latter two policy mechanisms have been demonstrated to be economically and ecologically viable over the past three decades (Price Waterhouse, 1994).

Multiple agencies exert their influences and authority over wildlife resources in different ways. The DNPWLM has overall legal authority for the custody of wildlife; the RDCs, through "appropriate authority" granted to them by the latter, also have authority over the resource. Operators of safaris and tourist ventures are granted rights under concessions and other arrangements with RDCs, while communities exercise their influence through "traditional" rights to specific territories based on complex tenure and belief systems.

These multiple rights and forms of authority tend to be "ambiguous, overlapping and competitive" (Hasler, 1993), and have posed major challenges for devolving management responsibilities for wildlife in communal lands through the CAMPFIRE programme. None the less, CAMPFIRE has allowed increasing numbers of communities to benefit from significant wildlife revenue over the last few years and the programme has been much vaunted as a success story for both wildlife and local livelihoods (see Box 4.2).

Government has recently stated its concern to ensure that wildlife tourism in the parks estate benefits "indigenous" entrepreneurs, as well as the long-established white-run enterprises, while also ensuring that the DNPWLM retains revenue to support its operations. However, some commentators have noted that "indigenisation" as currently configured is likely only to benefit certain elite sections of the black population. Until such time as community entrepreneurs and other groups organise around the issue, this is likely to remain the case.

Box 4.2 The CAMPFIRE programme - a summary, and some lessons

CAMPFIRE - the Communal Areas Management Programme for Indigenous Resources - originated in the mid 1980s, but had its official inception in 1989. The programme was conceived by the DNPWLM in recognition of the potential pressure on the increasingly scarce natural resources in communal lands. Conceptually it seeks to place the proprietorship of natural resources in communal lands with local communities, based on the supposition that through direct benefits derived from their management of these resources, communities would perceive a vested interest in their conservation.

The legal mechanism through which CAMPFIRE operates is the granting of "appropriate authority" to Rural District Councils under the Parks and Wildlife Act (1975, amended 1982). This allows revenues derived from wildlife (through safari operations, hunting concessions and trophy fees) to be accrued by the Council, rather than being diverted to the central treasury. This increases incentives for councils to invest in revenue-earning activities and to develop joint ventures with safari operators, professional hunters and others. Technical support is offered by the DNPWLM or NGOs involved in CAMPFIRE implementation, notably Zimtrust.

The original CAMPFIRE document acknowledged "the programme would involve forestry, grazing, water and wildlife" (Martin, 1986, cited in Thomas, 1993). It is not surprising that wildlife has dominated the programme since that time, as it is the resource with the greatest potential for conflicting with human livelihoods in communal areas on the one hand, and for generating considerable financial returns on the other.

Since inception CAMPFIRE has engaged more than a quarter of a million people and now operates in some 32 districts in the country. These districts are predominantly those adjacent to national parks where people and animals compete for scarce resources. However the programme is beginning to diversify into broader natural resource uses.

CAMPFIRE continues to evolve fast, with many problems. There appear to be four main lessons from the successes and failures of CAMPFIRE (Murphree, 1993; Thomas, 1993; Scoones and Matose, 1993; Martin, 1994):

- vest proprietorship of natural resources in recognised groups below the district level (RDCs have often resisted this - seeking to retain revenues - but CAMPFIRE has had more success in districts where this has been done);

- incorporate incentives for management in legislation and ensure that benefits accrue to the respective communities (this is necessary to overcome "the bureaucratic impulse to retain authority" [Murphree, 1991];

- provide practical support to increase the planning and management capacity of local communities based on appropriate technical information (experience has shown that the unit of proprietorship

should be small and have a long-standing collective identity. A demand-led draw on government or NGO support for resource management skills unavailable locally is vital); and

- promote multi-sectoral agency involvement and participation (the programme has been dogged by inconsistent collaboration between the various government agencies and other parties vested with responsibilities for natural resources).

The relative influence and views of the different actors in the CAMPFIRE story are continually evolving as the programme itself progresses. The programme has its fans and its critics. Some of the main lessons of CAMPFIRE were picked up by the 1993 Forestry Sector Review (see section 6.5) and the 1994 Land Tenure Commission (see section 5.2). The degree to which the CAMPFIRE programme has broadened to include forest and woodland resources, and the potential for further extension of the approach in this area, is discussed in section 7.3.

Government is also concerned that "conservancies", which are increasing in size and number, should be guided by government policy. Such a policy is yet to materialise (see Box 4.3).

Box 4.3 Conservancy politics

Conservancies, as currently conceived in Zimbabwe, are collaborative management arrangements between two or more large-scale commercial farm owners for ecological and economic purposes under civil contract (Murphree and Metcalfe, 1997). Conservancies therefore differ from private game ranches, which do not (necessarily) have these collaborative or ecological objectives. Nevertheless, the development of conservancies has been closely associated with the introduction of game ranching, as well as the translocation of the endangered black rhino and other wildlife species onto private commercial farms during periods of drought. The perception is certainly growing that conservancies for wildlife management are a viable land use strategy. However, the establishment of conservancies has provoked heated debate centred on a number of issues, including:

- *Economic viability*. Various studies have purported to show that wildlife ranching, involving both non-consumptive tourism and sport hunting, can economically outperform cattle ranching (Price Waterhouse, 1994; Choto, 1996). It has also been implied that conservancies for wildlife management are automatically good for woodlands because mixed wildlife herds are more efficient and lenient users of the bush/grass system than uniform cattle herds (du Toit *et al*, 1984). Others have argued that the conditions under which these assertions may hold true are quite specific.

- *Land use*. Government departments, including the DNPWLM, have argued that conservancies should be confined to areas of low agricultural potential i.e. natural regions IV and V, with regions I to III reserved for conventional agriculture to ensure the nation's food security. Pro-conservancy arguments point to the variable micro-environment which might permit wildlife stocking even in regions I to III.

- *Wildlife ownership*. Wildlife is considered a state resource in Zimbabwe, but "proprietorship" over wildlife has been given to private owners (and to other "appropriate authorities" - [see CAMPFIRE Box 4.2]) under the Parks and Wild Life Act 1975. However, some argue that conservancies are serving to subvert common property policy and turn wildlife into a private resource, particularly where animals are bought to increase stocks.

- *Equity of benefits*. Benefits to communities living alongside the conservancies appear to be insignificant, or at best unclear at present. Conservancies are also being called on to share benefits with communal lands adjacent to them. Others have predicted negative effects of "welfarism" where conservancies have held out benefits to local communities (Choto, 1996). Recent proposals for development of a large conservancy in the Save Valley included establishment of a trust to run the conservancy, representing both communal land dwellers and the commercial farmers on a 50-50 basis (Save Valley Conservancy Trust, n.d.).

- *Land distribution*. It is also suspected that large-scale commercial farmers are using conservancies to counter land redistribution under the land reform/resettlement programme, given that it will then be difficult to disaggregate the land which would be managed as one unit.

Government agencies and non-governmental groups are strengthening calls for a clear policy on resource ownership and distribution of benefits. Since conservancies are currently confined to private property regimes, they tend to be market driven. A single policy for all wild resources outside government estates might allow conservancies to be set up in communal areas as well as private land, and include all resources, not just large animals (Y. Katerere, 1997. Personal communication).

However, many of the above issues would apply equally to conservancies that were partially or primarily concerned with management of woodland resources. Whilst some evidence, albeit mostly anecdotal, points to the establishment of conservancies leading to better management of forest resources, issues of land use and equity of rights and benefits are likely to remain intractable.

4.8 Tourism policy

Removal of exchange rate controls under the structural adjustment programme appears to have encouraged tourist numbers, particularly from South Africa, to rise over the last five years in Zimbabwe.

Tourism and woodlands are linked in several ways. For example tourist routes, particularly in the south of the country, have seen a great increase in the demand for craftwork, much of which is woodland-based (Value of Trees Working Group, 1997). Meanwhile, the emergence of "eco-tourism" of the non-consumptive photographic kind under the CAMPFIRE programme, if sustained, is likely to favour conservation of the natural resource base,

provided those benefiting from tourist income are also in a position to look after the resources.

Tourism potential is playing a new strategic role in defining the future of government institutions responsible for forests. Whilst the need to secure water supplies through catchment

Highveld game ranch, Imire. Game ranching for the purposes of photographic tourism or sport hunting is a growing trend amongst commercial farmers, as cattle ranching is rendered less profitable by the fall in beef export prices

forest protection - the original core rationale for state management of forest reserves - was unquestioned by scientists for much of this century, the complexity of catchment hydrology and the role of trees within this is now only beginning to be understood in many woodland types (Hough, 1986, cited in Scoones and Matose, 1993). Furthermore, timber stocks in many reserves have long since been heavily depleted, so the rationale for national timber self-sufficiency based on these forest reserves is equally questionable. Consequently, government forest agencies are increasingly looking to the potential of tourism and wildlife management as a revenue base.

It is evident that forest agencies are increasingly accepting that forests have multiple legitimate uses, of which conservation is but one (Y. Katerere, 1997. Personal communication). It is equally clear that the political imperative to hold on to the revenue generating potential of tourism in the face of structural adjustment is central to the way the MMET and the Forestry Commission are shaping their policy and management approaches. The interest in collaborative forms of forest and woodland management for state-controlled forest resources can be viewed in the light of both of these trends (see section 6.2).

4.9 Other formal policies with some influence

- *Environmental impact assessment policy.* Currently the government is pursuing a number of environmental law reforms including the development of Environmental Impact Assessment legislation. The EIA Policy (1994, revised 1997) is meant to complement any such laws should they be enacted. It calls for clear quantification of costs in monetary and environmental terms for any development projects, especially large-scale infrastructure investments. If implemented, this policy may limit unnecessary clearing of woodlands in development projects. It is envisaged that the policy should be implemented in such a way that it complements (rather than duplicates) existing planning procedures (MMET, 1997).

- *National biomass energy strategy*. This is still in draft form. Biomass energy is used by the majority of households nationwide, and by rural industry. The main objective of the strategy is to achieve a sustainable level of fuelwood utilisation. The strategy aims to tackle problems in two main areas: socio-economic problems arising from shortages of biomass; and environmental problems resulting from reduced biomass availability. Efficient conversion and use of fuelwood is to be promoted. The strategy calls for the development of demand-side management measures, e.g. the introduction of appropriate appliances, and for increasing the supply base through afforestation and agro-forestry activities. Socially acceptable fuel-switching activities will be promoted in fuelwood deficient areas. It is also suggested that afforestation projects will need to be part-funded by government or donors because of the limited potential for cost recovery. The debate about the "fuelwood crisis" is described in sections 6.2 and 6.6.

4.10 Summary

A wide range of government policy statements, laws and operating strategies have some influence on people's practices and behaviour towards forest and woodland. Some of these influences are apparently intended by the stated policy (e.g. transfer of formal control over natural resources to Rural District Councils). Other influences appear to be unintended "side-effects" (e.g. the liquidation of natural resources by Rural District Councils to generate revenue). Some policies, expected by their progenitors to have much impact, have had very little e.g. the resistance to livestock de-stocking policy in communal lands. The degree to which outdated formal

policy is actually a hindrance to the emergence of new approaches may, in practice, be limited.

Laws define and uphold a major part of the policy of various sectors (notably land allocation and use, and forestry), and formal policy statements in these sectors often merely repeat the letter and spirit of the legislation. The collection of formal statements and laws, which constitute policy within and between sectors which affect forests, is often ambiguous and contradictory (e.g. FC operating policy emphasises local participation and local benefit in forest resource management, yet forestry legislation in theory prevents this).

Table 4.2 summarises the impacts of key policies on woodlands and woodland-based livelihoods in the main land tenure categories. The key areas of policy are listed roughly in order of their overall degree of impact. Thus we consider land allocation, use and tenure policy to have a greater overall influence on woodlands and woodland-based livelihoods than forest policy, which in turn has had more influence than decentralisation policy, and so on. However, as noted above, these policies - and more importantly their direct and indirect effects - are often interlinked in practice.

Figure 4.2 visualises the main strategies, themes and policies described in sections 3 and 4, and some of the interlinkages between them. The figure also attempts to show the range of other factors shaping policy-making and practice. These include the external, contextual factors which often put boundaries on the range of decisions which are possible, the institutions within and between which policy debates and practice occur, and the stories and arguments which shape policy decisions.

Sections 5, 6 and 7 examine some of these internal and external factors as they have played out in case studies of particular areas of policy. We aim to throw light on:

- the way policy themes have emerged historically;
- the organisational forms in which policies have been constructed and implemented;
- the actors involved in policies and their room for manoeuvre, the informal linkages and roles of key individuals, and the "stories" told about forests (e.g. the way problems are framed, and actions are justified); and,
- key issues of power and legitimacy.

Table 4.2 Impacts of key policies on woodlands and woodland-based livelihoods in the main

	Land Tenure Category		
Key Policy	**Communal areas**	**Resettlement areas**	
Land allocation, use, tenure	High population densities on poor land. Strict regulatory frame-works: land use planning interventions (about 1930 to 1960) centralised villages, confused local institutional structures, led to major clearance of woodland for arable production and transformed forest areas to heavily coppiced and pollarded woodland	Planned settlement, but poor level of institutional commitment to land use planning, leads to forest asset stripping by residents and neighbours	
Forestry	Regulation of forest products: "own use" only. Permit system benefiting RDCs, a disincentive to local management (Communal Lands Forest Produce Act). Forestry extension focused on small eucalyptus woodlots and (recently) natural woodland management	As in communal areas. FC has formal control over cutting but has no capacity to monitor	
Decentralisation	Regulatory: licences for any extraction. Land use plans erode local autonomy. RDCs: many responsibilities but lack of resources and capacity for woodland management. Potential for devolved management eg. through by-laws	Land use plans not done through participation of locals, absence of viable local institutions	
Agriculture (pricing and extension)	Removal of subsidised inputs by structural adjustment. State withdrawal not matched by private sector, lack of information on markets. Increased woodland clearing to maintain agricultural livelihoods	As in communal areas	
Livestock	Grazing schemes - isolated success stories, need for designs which take into account multiple functions of cattle in production system. Close linkage between livestock and woodlands unrecognised in policy	Tsetse eradication - opened up large areas in Zambezi valley for settlers, but poor land manage-ment, top-down planning initiatives, worsening status of livelihoods	
Wildlife	Regulation and granting of "appropriate authority" to RDCs for sustainable use of wildlife. CAMPFIRE a success, making significant contribution to livelihoods in areas where game abundant	Little impact	
Tourism	Expansion of eco-tourism ventures in CAMPFIRE areas where game numbers low for safari hunting. Increase in wood-craft production	Little impact	
Rural infrastructure development	Pace slow, huge demand for investment, limits productive potential	As in communal areas	
Economic structural adjustment and trade *	Decline in livelihoods with: loss of services; increased input prices; making room for those laid off from the formal employment market. Increased reliance on woodlands by poorest. New state pro-grammes to strategically address poverty?	As in communal areas	

Note: * Economic structural adjustment and trade are included in the table to show their specific impacts as "policies". Section 3 described the influence of structural adjustment as a general "strategy" which influences how all the other policies are shaped.

land tenure categories in Zimbabwe

Large and small-scale commercial farm areas	Indigenous forests (state reserves)	Industrial plantations (state and private)
Low population densities on good land, extensive holdings in large-scale sector. Private, relatively secure tenure (although recent compulsory acquisition by state). Remaining areas of woodland often managed under Integrated Conservation Areas. Voluntary regulation	About 1 million ha set aside as forest reserves, mostly in Matabeleland (in addition to 4.9 million ha of national parks). Isolated conflicts with communal area neighbours over access to resources	Limited to Eastern Highlands. Isolated conflicts with land-hungry
Guidance and voluntary regulation. Weakly applied FC restrictions over cutting. Ban on export of mukwa and modification of timber concession guidelines in 1988 and 1994	Forestry Commission has full powers to manage, but increasing conflicts with other users hence attempts to co-manage with neighbours	FC in process of relinquishing role of regulator on private lands
Grants, loans and taxes favouring conservation through Intensive Conservation Areas. (See communal areas for RDCs)	Potential for selective co-management with neighbouring communities being explored	Owned and run by companies, companies thinking of promoting outgrower schemes in communal areas
Government continues to subsidise agricultural extension. Shift to horticultural products and non-traditional agricultural exports as beef prices low	Declining agricultural livelihoods in neighbouring communal areas leads to increased pressure on woodland resources in reserves	Declining agricultural livelihoods in communal areas leads to interest in outgrower schemes
Cattle numbers falling due to low beef prices. Isolated examples of sharing pastures with communal areas residents	Grazing for communal area residents one of elements contained in co-management largely to reduce fuel-load	As in indigenous forests
Establishment of private game ranches and conservancies as beef prices low. Favours woodlands	Wildlife management objectives incorporated by the FC. Some safari hunting concessions	Little impact
Photographic safaris and game ranching. Favours woodlands	FC looking to tourism revenue from reserves as timber stocks no longer sufficient for significant revenue	Little impact
Government continues to subsidise. Potential for more demand if land further sub-divided	Reserves mostly quite remote from much infrastructure	Likely to encourage outgrower schemes
Liberalisation - removal of restrictions on foreign currency, import licenses and import duties - leading to increased competition and investment. Gains for those who can reorient production strategies quickly.	Reduced funding for forestry management	Relative boom in wood industry -growth in roundwood production. Impetus for development of standards for sustainable forest management

Figure 4.2 Strategies and policies influencing woodlands in Zimbabwe
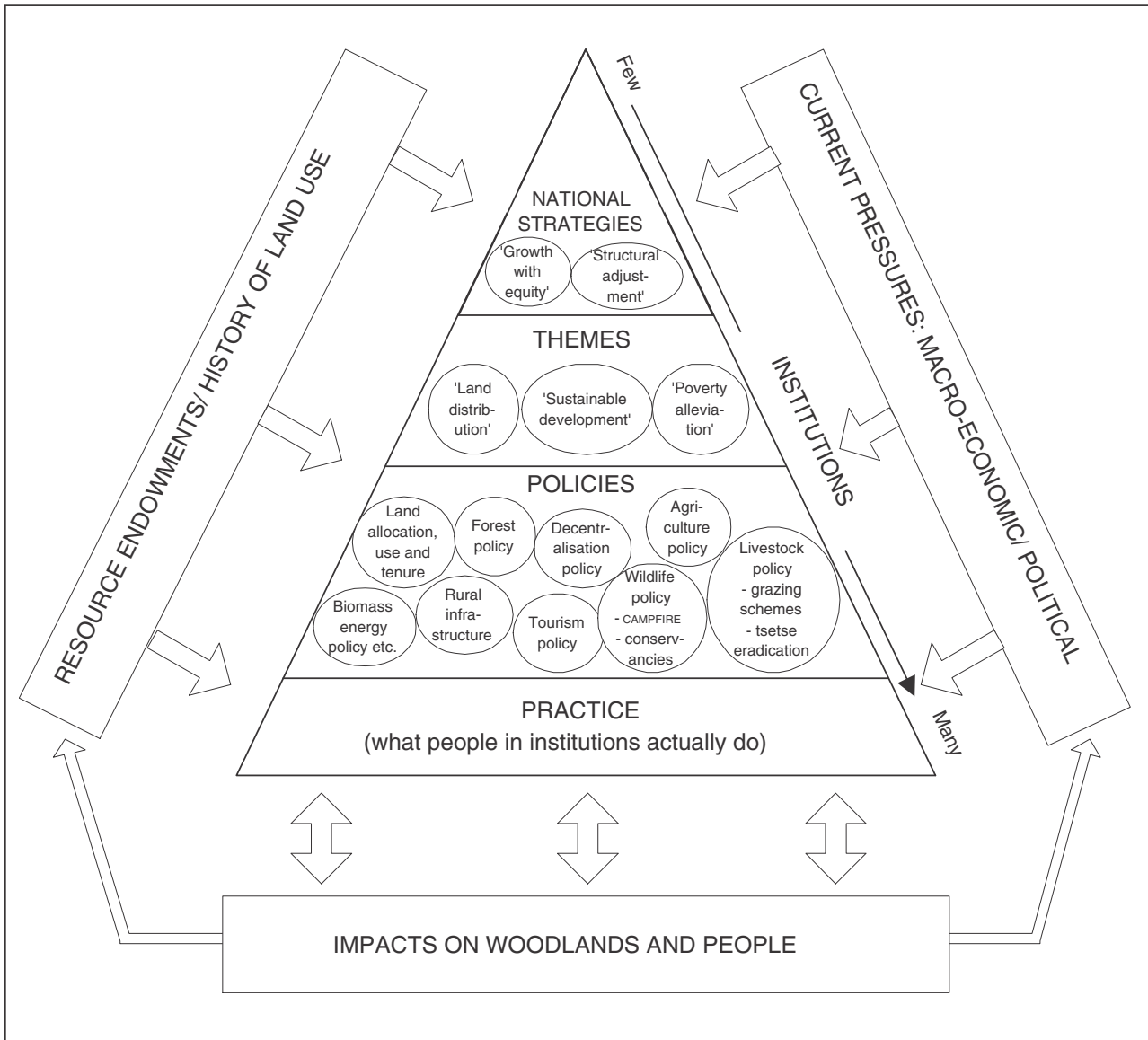
Slow progress with land reform and resettlement

5.1 The "land question" remains

The centrality of "the land question" (Moyo, 1995) to consideration of forest and woodland management issues has been described in sections 3.3 and 4.2. Moyo (*ibid*.) has described the government's "liberal and step-wise" approach to meeting land hunger. The popular expectation for an equitable land redistribution programme following independence has not been fulfilled, while the mostly white commercial farmers have continued to be the main beneficiaries of economic reform. Inertia on the part of government to introduce reform in this period suggested a tendency to acquiesce to the *status quo*, or to allow *de facto* land privatisation to occur. Following a relative lull in public debate in the late 1980s, the 1990s have seen a renewed public interest in land reform.

Yet the slow progress of resettlement programmes is not for want of mechanisms to start them. The 1992 Land Acquisition Act provided for expropriation of commercial farm land under a system of designation of under-utilised land. The Land Acquisition Act of 1992 and the subsequent designation of land for acquisition provoked acrimonious debate on land reform at various levels (Moyo, 1995). The commercial farming lobby sought to divert attention from the basic questions of the viability of livelihood systems on communal land and access to land, by utilising dubious environmental arguments. Indeed, the passing of the Act was itself much delayed, in part as a result of a campaign by the commercial farmers who argued that resettling communal land farmers on this land would be tantamount to committing environmental suicide (Scoones, 1996).

5.2 Commissioning answers in the mid-1990s

In 1993, in the most significant government action since independence to comprehensively address land tenure issues, a Commission of Inquiry into Appropriate Agricultural Land Tenure Systems was appointed.

Box 5.1 The Land Tenure Commission: the process

As a consultative policy development process, the methodology employed by the Land Tenure Commission is instructive. The Commission received written submissions, commissioned technical papers, and held oral hearings and consultations in various locations around the country with civil servants, politicians, civic organisations, NGOs, community leaders and, to a lesser extent, community members.

However, a number of NGOs take the view that rural society as a whole, and women in particular, were not adequately represented (the 12 land commissioners included only one woman) and that the Commission was not nearly consultative enough in its deliberations. Women's groups submitted a range of evidence and recommendations, including a key proposal that land should be automatically inherited by the surviving spouse rather than passing directly to male heirs (Zimbabwe Women's Resource Centre and Network, 1996). The Commission did not accept this.

Moyo (1996) has made several criticisms of the way government constituted the Commission and how it carried out its work.
*   The constitution of a Commission was long overdue given the salience of land issues, it having come 15 years after independence;
*   the commissioners were predominantly "traditional" leaders (chiefs and *kraal* heads) and "capable" farm leaders, and were dominated by conservative opinion;
*   the Commission was steered away from considering land distribution *per se*, and from probing the scale and extent of land grievances by its terms of reference; instead it focused on forms of land tenure;
*   emphasis was on collecting "expert" views rather than the views of the general population;
*   although isolated workshops consisting of government bureaucrats were held, the recommendations were not debated nationally.

Notwithstanding, the Commission's recommendations appear to be widely acclaimed, with many government personnel expressing their support. Some NGOs have also noted that, whilst needing further elaboration, the proposals provide a framework which - if implemented - would be conducive to improved decentralised woodland management (Zimbabwe Working Group for Woodland Management, 1996).

However, government action has been slow in coming despite endorsement of the recommendations by the Cabinet. A new land bill is now being drafted, but few people believe that government currently has the capacity and resources to carry through the Commission's recommendations. Some NGOs have called for a wider national debate to secure an adequate balance of different policy interests and forms of tenure, and to ensure greater transparency in order to avert ill-considered changes. Thus some NGO-convened workshops have been held to debate the recommendations and attempt to influence the proposed legislation, as well as to press for more concerted action from government.

The Commission reported to government in October 1994, although publication of the report was delayed until September 1995. The Commission's report made radical recommendations on tenure, covering both commercial and communal areas. The Commission's recommendations have far-reaching implications for rural governance in communal lands, by partially restoring the powers of traditional chiefs, while aiming to democratise village political life.

The recommendations for communal areas also sought to avert the risks of permanent transfers of freehold title to private individuals being sanctioned by chiefs. However, critics argue that customary systems are not adequate to protect the interests of women, the poor and vulnerable, and that traditional councils are dominated by men, and open to manipulation by private interests, including their own. Some contend that local government bodies, or lands boards, should continue to have their place alongside customary authorities in local land management systems for communal areas. The Commission recommendations did not address these issues.

Response to the Commission's findings has been slow in coming. A new Land Bill is reportedly in preparation, with repeals of the Chiefs and Headmen Act, and possibly the Rural District Councils Act, also being mooted. The intention of a new Land Act would be to consolidate land and natural resource legislation. It is also reported that the new Act would institute an agricultural land tax so as to encourage commercial farmers to give up some of their land, provide for regulations on minimum farm sizes, adopt a one-owner one-farm principle and prohibit ownership of land by foreigners and companies (The Herald, 1997a).

Since negotiations on independence began, the Zimbabwean government has argued that the British government has a responsibility to pay for land acquired from commercial farmers for redistribution, since these lands were originally seized by British colonialists from indigenous Zimbabweans when the country was under white-minority Rhodesian rule. Under the 1980 Lancaster House agreement with Britain, the Zimbabwean government committed to refrain from forcibly procuring private farmland until 1990. In return, Britain agreed to share the costs of buying some land sold voluntarily - on a "willing buyer, willing seller" basis - for redistribution. British government contributions over the period have been estimated at £30 million (US$50 million) (The Economist, 1997).

Since the predominantly white commercial sector currently enjoys freehold title to Zimbabwe's most productive land, considerable incentives are required in order to encourage "willing sellers" to supply the market with sufficient

land for acquisition and re-allocation by government. An agricultural land tax represents one such means to persuade land owners to relinquish excessive or under-utilised holdings. Government has discussed the possibility of introducing a land tax at various times since 1980. The Land Tenure Commission recommended that introduction of such an agricultural land tax be based on both farm size and potential productivity (see Box 5.2).

Box 5.2 The Land Tenure Commission: the findings

The Land Tenure Commission reported to Government in late 1994. The Commission noted a number of serious problems with the current system of land tenure, notably with respect to legal and administrative issues. The Commission recommended a modification of the categories of land tenure. Five categories were recommended:

- state land - land owned and used by the state
- freehold - land held under title deed
- traditional freehold - arable and residential land allocated under customary law
- communal - commonly owned land under customary law
- leasehold - land leased by the state to a non state party

In terms of the existing land tenure categories, the Commission's recommendations can be summarised:

For *communal areas*, the Commission recommended a stepped-up programme of resettlement through increased land purchases from the large-scale commercial farming sector. The Commission also proposed the recognition of traditional tenure arrangements, and drew on the CAMPFIRE experience to propose the abolition of the imposed WADCOs and VIDCOs, which had proved obstructive to the development of community-based natural resource management under CAMPFIRE, and their replacement by an elected village assembly, based on customary fora known as *Dare* (Sishona) and *Inkundla* (Sindebele). These village assemblies would administer land and other matters. With regard to land inheritance, it was recommended that widows should retain the land rights they held while their husbands were alive (although in practice this often leaves women at the mercy of the husband's relatives). The Commission also called for greater efforts in redirecting investment to communal areas in terms of infrastructural development and extension of credit, particularly for agricultural activities.

For *resettlement areas*, the Commission recommended the creation of decentralised local institutions which would have the same powers as the local institutions in communal lands, the provision of long leases with an option to purchase, the individualisation of collective resettlement models and the provision of investment facilities and incentives.

For *commercial farming areas*, the Commission recommended:
- stricter monitoring of land and natural resources in the small-scale sector
- smaller sizes of farms in the large-scale sector - so that the farms can be used more intensively
- the promotion of equity by facilitating new entrants into the sector
- similar support mechanisms as the above tenure categories
- an agricultural land tax to be introduced, based on both farm size and potential productivity.

The Commission did not deal in any detail with state lands such as indigenous forest reserves.

5.3 A "once and for all" answer in the late 1990s?

A government policy paper produced in September 1996 identified three target beneficiary groups for land redistribution:

- the landless and residents of overpopulated, congested communal lands;
- successful peasant farmers with limited resources, wishing to enter small-scale commercial farming;
- indigenous citizens with the resources to invest in large-scale commercial agriculture.

However, some observers questioned the extent to which Government has been delivering resettlement benefits to the first of the above target groups. The focus for resettlement programmes, in recent times, has noticeably turned to favouring the more successful peasant farmers for whom secure individual tenure of self-contained farms is the most attractive option. Since prime land is likely to be distributed to members of the black elite investing in commercial farming, there is widespread concern that the programme will do nothing to address the structural inequalities in the distribution of land and wealth in Zimbabwe. Critics argue that if a community-based programme is to succeed in meeting the needs of the landless and the vulnerable, and the needs of women, then there should be adequate provision for resettlement of functional, interdependent communities, and for inheritance and subdivision of land amongst heirs. It has also been argued that the issue of subdivision of land is the major hindrance in settling land disputes in forest reserves.

Although yet to be realised, it is understood that the British government is in favour of a donor consortium to support three components of a renewed resettlement programme, aimed at the first two of the above-mentioned target groups:

- a community-based programme targeted at those living in congested communal areas, involving secure individual tenure of residential plots and arable lands surrounding village settlements, with communal management of pasture and woodlands (very similar to systems of customary tenure in the communal lands);

- a self-contained units scheme for communal area farmers wishing to enter small-scale commercial farming, based on a similar model to the above; and,

- for natural regions IV and V, where water is scarce and livestock

dominates the farming system, an approach for communal management of grazing land based on a model considered successful in Botswana.

In November 1997, the Zimbabwe government took a unilateral decision to solve the land question "once and for all" by seizing almost half of the land held by large-scale commercial farmers. Subsequently, the Minister of Lands and Agriculture, under the provisions of the Land Acquisition Act, announced a list of 1,503 farms, constituting a total area of some 5 million ha, that were to be compulsorily acquired (The Herald, 1997b). The owners of the farms had 28 days in which to lodge any objections to the designation, after which they would be expected to vacate the farms within four months. Subsequently, the Ministry of Lands and Agriculture was inundated with objections, some of them from indigenous large-scale farmers.

The President called on the British government for financial support for this land drive. However, in late 1997 the British government stated that the Zimbabwean government proposals did not meet the requirements of Britain's new White Paper on international development which requires British aid to be focused on eradicating poverty. In a communication, the British government stated that the scheme could only be supported if it ensured that "a proper land register was established, that the process of acquisition and resettlement was open and transparent and that resettlement schemes were economic and would benefit the poor" (The Economist, 1997). In early 1998, the International Monetary Fund, World Bank and several bilateral donors imposed conditions on new loans to the effect that the Zimbabwean government commit itself to a proper system of allocating land, including negotiated land compensation and offering credit to small farmers. The government appears to have accepted these conditions, whilst the European Union has offered to hold an international donors conference on land redistribution.

The actions of the Zimbabwean government in attempting to answer calls for more thorough land redistribution have raised many questions about both the process of acquiring the land and, after that, the process of redistributing the land. It is possible that resistance from commercial farmers may result in a drawn-out process which ultimately reduces the area of land acquired substantially. The mechanism by which government compensates the farmers and the source of finance needed are yet to be clarified. With regard to redistribution, considering the range of social groups involved, this can be expected to be a highly charged political process. In addition, there is the question of what will happen to commercial farm workers.

Resettled farmers will need massive support to develop viable local institutions and to enable viable production levels. These issues will be particularly important in determining whether woodlands and trees on re-allocated farms are cleared or managed (see Box 5.3).

Box 5.3 Woodland resource use in resettlement areas - and the implications for woodlands of more concerted land reform

Resettlement scheme areas tend generally to be better endowed with woodlands than communal areas. However, experience to date shows that natural resources in resettlement areas tend to be quickly depleted once resettlement is implemented. Commercial timber extraction from resettlement areas, although illegal, may be orchestrated either by scheme residents or by "poachers" from neighbouring communal areas (Nhira and Fortmann, 1993). There appear to be several main underlying causes for this woodland resource depletion:
- inter-sectoral confusion over responsibilities;
- lack of clarity over the role of trees in top-down land use planning;
- inadequate community institutional mechanisms; and
- insecure tenure.

Government agencies control resettlement schemes, yet roles are often unclear, and capacities weak. The former Ministry of Lands and Water Resources had rules of use monitored by government personnel which differed from one scheme to another. However, government cutbacks have constrained most state activities in the schemes, and in general they have not been able to support infrastructure development, service provision and credit availability. There is very limited capacity to support woodland management - one forest extensionist per district. While there is often an interest and desire among communities to enhance management of tree resources they may only see the extensionist once in three years (Pippa Bird, 1998. Personal communication).

Monitoring or control of natural resource use by government agencies has also been negligible. Community institutions are generally ill-developed in resettlement schemes, largely because of Government's top-down land planning and administration system in these schemes. In the absence of community institutions to which management responsibilities can be devolved, state regulations tend to be anathema to the settlers.

Tenure in resettlement schemes is based on permits. In theory, permits can be revoked if a settler is found to be unproductive or does not abide by the conditions of settlement and resource use. In practice, Government has not exercised this power, yet the system leads to feelings of insecurity on the part of the settlers. Households have been known to split so that they can maintain their rights in a communal area as insurance against eviction from a resettlement scheme.

Settlers' rights may also conflict with indigenous claims, particularly in the case of trees and woodland resources, to which former owners may have granted local communities usufruct, in line with their historical claims (see Box 4.1). Bruce *et al* (1993) report considerable tensions between the spirit mediums (the traditional guardians of the land) and "newcomers" in resettlement zones, as they appeal to different sources (customary and modern law) to legitimise their claims to trees and forest products.

These impacts on woodland resources in resettlement schemes pose major challenges for the sustainability of woodland resources in Zimbabwe under a more comprehensive (and currently still hypothetical) land reform. Land re-allocation by itself is insufficient; in addition:

- the enabling roles of external institutions need to be sorted out;
- land use planning needs to be based on local capabilities;
- tenure security needs to be addressed; and
- local institutional mechanisms need support.

These issues are taken up in section 8.

5.4 Summary

Woodland management issues are closely linked to "the land question". After a relative lull in public debate in the late 1980s the work of the Land Tenure Commission, convened in 1993, represented a major step forward. Despite criticisms of the Commission's process and products, it recommended radical, and in our opinion largely positive, changes in tenure and rural governance systems in both communal and commercial areas. However, the government has been very slow in its response.

Furthermore, resettlement, as currently pursued, is no substitute for agricultural and economic development in the communal areas. Concern is growing that without greater participation of all sections of society in policy development, new land policy may reinforce inequalities by concentrating too much on productive smallholder development and too little on allocation of land to those who need it for survival.

Recent moves towards large-scale land re-allocation seem to be *ad hoc* and raise more questions than they answer, including those related to financing, and the ability of government to support the settlers. To date, the process has been motivated more by concern for short-term political solutions than concern for long-term equitable rural development. Poverty eradication has taken a back seat to wealth accumulation by a few.

Poorly supported land re-allocation may exacerbate some of the main underlying causes for woodland depletion, including: inter-sectoral confusion over responsibilities; lack of clarity over the role of trees in top-down land use planning; insecure tenure; and inadequate community institutional mechanisms. Land re-allocation by itself is insufficient; in addition:
- the enabling roles of external institutions need to be sorted out;
- land use planning needs to be based on local capabilities;
- tenure security needs to be addressed; and
- local institutional mechanisms need support.

Changing visions and dilemmas for the state role in forestry

In this section we examine the mysterious territory between policy and practice in state forestry, and the extent to which outcomes (and, ultimately, impacts on forests and people) can be illuminated through the use of two sources of explanation:

- internal Forestry Commission (FC) dynamics which relate to the "fit" between organisational functions/mandates and actual structures, mechanisms and institutional culture;

- external factors and "macro" influences such as economic structural adjustment, market pressures, donor priorities, civil society demands and international commitments.

We start by discussing these external and internal influences in the evolution of the main FC functions in recent years. Then we focus on strategies to finance public forest goods and services in the face of declining budgets and structural adjustment, and the changes in policy and institutional mechanisms that have taken place.

6.1 Current roles of the Forestry Commission

Currently, the FC can be seen as having three main roles: regulator, adviser and enterprise (or referee, coach and player). Execution of these roles is operationalised through two main sections - the Commercial and State sections. State authority (regulatory and advisory) functions of the FC deal primarily with conservation and management of forests, woodlands and

tree resources, through three main divisions: the Forestry Extension Services, the Indigenous Resources and the Research and Development Divisions.

A number of conflicts in roles can be seen within this basic format. Being charged with regulating the use of the resources which it is also charged with managing is a major one. This conflict becomes glaring at field level, where the officers who draw up management plans are also responsible for the prosecution of those transgressing forest regulations. As Katerere *et al* (1993) note laconically, "it generally becomes difficult for an organisation to police itself objectively". Similar conflictual roles, and the trade-offs that result, are evident in the debates over public versus private ownership and single authority versus partnership approaches. These conflicts and trade-offs, in relation to the institutional rethinking and structural changes within the Forestry Commission, are examined in the following sections.

6.2 Evolving approaches to forest management

The Forestry Commission "owns", on behalf of the state, all demarcated forests (see Figure 4.1 and section 2.2). The demarcated forests are managed for the protection of watershed conservation, ecological diversity and forest produce. The activities and management of resources in these forests include grazing, wildlife management, timber harvesting, safari operations and lately resource sharing with communal neighbours.

Commercial indigenous hardwood production has been concentrated on two species, mukwa (*Pterocarpus angolensis*) and teak (*Baikiaea plurijuga*), with some lesser contribution from other species such as mchibi (*Guibourtia coleosperma*). Timber has come from three main sources: state-demarcated forests mainly in Matabeleland North, communal forest areas under the control of Rural District Councils (mainly Gokwe, Lupane, Nkayi and Tsholotsho) and private farmlands.

Indigenous timber exploitation for export was stopped in 1989, as were all logging operations in state forests so that the FC could "take stock of the remaining resources, establish sustainable levels of production and develop a new management programme to achieve desired production" (Arnold *et al*, 1993). Present hardwood production comes principally from communal areas, where the operations of timber concessionaires are fraught with conflict (see section 7).

Since 1989, the attention of the Indigenous Resources Division has focused on developing tourism potential and photographic safaris in the forests that it manages. This is currently run by a tourism business arm of the FC - Ngamo Safaris.

All land and trees held by the FC as demarcated forest reserves are subject to tenurial pressure because local communities press their claims to use the land and trees or other forest products, by virtue of their proximity or historical connection to the land (Fortmann and Bruce, 1993). Habitations in the reserves - regarded as "squatter" settlements by the overall policy and legal framework - and "poaching" of various forest resources are common features of some of these forests, particularly in Matabeleland North. The "human encroachment" problem in Matabeleland, which contains most of Zimbabwe's forest reserves, differs from the rest of the country in that the main agricultural system is extensive livestock rearing. Resettlement programmes have yet to take off in earnest in Matabeleland.

Of the sixteen reserved forests managed by the FC's Indigenous Resources Division, only five of them are without problems of "human encroachment" (as used by the FC this broadly refers to problems ranging from illegal collection of minor forest products to livestock grazing and illegal settlement). The number of households within these reserves is estimated at 20,000 and it is generally no longer possible for the FC to apply the laws on forest protection. There are also, reportedly, many political and business interests exploiting the situation to gain access to free grazing and timber (Yemi Katerere, 1996. Personal communication).

In attempts to take action on illegal settlers, the Indigenous Resources Division has on occasion prevailed on various politicians, particularly the district and provincial hierarchies of the governing political party and government agencies who have supported eviction of settlers from the forests. However, such support has rarely materialised in practice. For example, during the 1980s the government stated its commitment to move people out of the forests, despite Matabeleland being a war zone for much of the decade. Following the signing of the Unity accord between the ruling party ZANU(PF) and opposition party PF(ZAPU) in 1987, settler communities were able to exert some pressure on party political bosses by demanding some of "the fruits of independence" in exchange for a vote. Thus, little support for forests evictions has been forthcoming from the district and provincial organs of the unified party and government. It has also been reported that, in some cases where "local communities" make representations to use forest reserves, the real movers are influential large-scale livestock owners who are linked to party political bosses in the provinces.

Yet the Cabinet has a standing policy to disallow "squatting" anywhere in the country. Any process of settlement has to be through the formal resettlement programme or the officially-sanctioned land use planning programmes. Using this principle and in light of government unwillingness to act on the illegal settlers, the FC has attempted to pursue two strategies.

The first strategy involves *relocation of forest inhabitants* to parts of the forest deemed less likely to be adversely affected by settlement and agriculture. Such relocations have been carried out in a number of forests, although in others - notably Gwaai and Mbembesi forests - the strategy has been resisted by the original forest inhabitants (Alexander and McGregor, 1996). The FC has undertaken some analysis of the existing settlement patterns in the reserves. Mushove has shown that settlement in Mzola forest reserve tends to follow micro agro-ecological zones in the forest which are more permissive of agriculture (Patrick Mushove, 1997. Personal communication). This implies that, if perceived as a locality-specific problem, solutions could be reached which take account of current utilisation and demands made of the forest.

The second strategy involves *getting state land redesignated as communal land* to be used for resettlement of forest inhabitants. If examined in a general way, there is certainly a much higher proportion of land committed to forests in Matabeleland than anywhere else in the country. However, the FC has argued for caution in this strategy, since much of these reserves are characterised by soils of the Kalahari sand type where, unless extensive land holding is permitted, there is little prospect of achieving high agricultural production. Nevertheless, the FC has recommended the de-gazetting of parts of the affected forests if the total forest area is maintained, i.e. if a commensurate area is gazetted elsewhere. These recommendations have yet to find favour with central government and can be considered unlikely to do so given the current land situation.

In summary, these strategies have had limited success, and the Indigenous Resources Division still has to come up with comprehensive and credible ways of dealing with the problems of "human encroachment". It is understood that a Forest Squatters Committee has been convened which will recommend action with regard to forest residents (it is likely to oppose eviction). The Committee appears to have recognised that, for as long as the FC does not address these issues, it will continue to have little legitimacy in the eyes of the communities. Indeed, it can be argued that the FC cannot achieve its mandate with the current approach. These problems are a reflection of the lack of a clear policy on the objectives of forest reserves in relation to their contribution to social, economic and ecological values. (Section 7.3 describes some more recent experiments by the FC to tackle these issues).

6.3 Evolving approaches to forestry extension: from "woodfuel crisis aversion" to "community natural resource management"

Promotion of rural afforestation and improved management of indigenous woodlands, education on social forestry issues and information dissemination are among the Forestry Extension Services Division's major activities. This Division is also responsible for monitoring and supervision of timber concessions held by private contractors and cooperatives in communal areas and on state forest land. This control involves demarcation, felling and logging supervision, measurement for royalty purposes and fire protection operations.

The role of the FC in commercial farming areas has tended to be confined to issuing felling and clearance permits, and undertaking farm inspections. Extension strategies were focused on advising Intensive Conservation Area (ICA) committees on good forestry practices (see Table 4.1). These ICA committees, on which FC and Department of Natural Resources officers sit, are generally all in commercial farming areas, and are now incorporated into the District Natural Resource Management Committees. They are widely recognised as being effective in terms of woodland conservation.

In the pre-independence era, rural forestry extension primarily focused on developing woodlots for "native" (later Tribal Trust Land and African) councils. This was the job of agricultural extension staff, and was manifested in sporadic attempts at afforestation of "native reserves", primarily with *Eucalyptus* since indigenous trees were considered unproductive.

Within the FC, extension and research were oriented towards timber plantations, whilst forest management initiatives in reserved forests focused on timber production for private mills. Timber concessions were granted in some reserved blocks and other woodlands in the communal areas under District Councils. Local people have been largely alienated from these arrangements since the late 1960s. As a consequence, these arrangements were largely resisted by local people at the time, and represent a precursor to contemporary struggles between the state and settlers on reserved forest land.

After independence, reafforestation with exotics was resuscitated under the Rural Afforestation Programme (RAP), launched with World Bank funding in 1983. The programme's rationale was contained in reports, notably a study

published by the Whitsun Foundation in 1981, which identified a "woodfuel crisis" in the communal areas.

The RAP established Forestry Extension Services within the FC and covered sixteen districts involving the establishment of subsidised district nurseries. The programme was initially steered as a technical exercise by an old FC bureaucracy inherited from the pre-independence era, in which black Zimbabweans could only be found at the forest ranger level. In the mid-1980s, a new expatriate General Manager with a Zimbabwean understudy attempted to give the programme a stronger development orientation, in line with the broader national "Growth with Equity" strategy.

In general, the extension programme in the 1980s focused firmly on technical packages or messages, combined with the enforcement of existing rules. Retrospectively, the programme was widely criticised (McGregor, 1991; Zimbabwe Forestry Commission, 1987; World Bank, 1991; Scoones *et al*, 1993). The critique focused broadly on:

- there was little available land on which the woodlots could be established;
- scale of the area planted was insignificant;
- cost of nursery establishment was prohibitive;
- focus on woodfuel and *Eucalyptus* was misdirected since the anticipated economic rate of return was based on the false assumption of an impending woodfuel crisis;[10]
- there was a lack of attention to management of existing woodlands;
- FC personnel were too few and inappropriately trained and assigned to service the communal areas adequately

As recognition of these criticisms spread in the late 1980s and early 1990s, changes began to be introduced, including:

- a planning unit within the Extension Services Division and a social forestry unit within the Research and Development Division were established;

- decentralised nurseries owned by individuals, local groups and organisations began to replace centralised nurseries which were owned by the Forestry Commission and were expensive to run;

- attempts to increase the choice of species, to match them to community

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[10] This led to the assessment of economic and financial values in terms of coal energy substitution costs and inflated assumptions about market prices of wood fuel

Officers of the Forest Extension Services Division beside a *Eucalyptus* woodlot. Much of the work of the Division in the 1980s focused on promotion of afforestation with exotic species, chiefly *Eucalyptus.* Following limited uptake and management of these packages the emphasis in the 1990s has changed towards more flexible approaches which give greater recognition to local people's tree management practices and resource needs

demands, and to demystify the process of tree planting through the use of locally available inputs were made;

- "resource-sharing" arrangements, including incorporation of livestock grazing and wildlife utilisation schemes, were experimented with in some indigenous reserves adjacent to communal lands (see section 7.3).

Funding for the restructured programme passed from the World Bank to DANIDA in 1990 and a further shift towards participatory approaches in social forestry began. Management functions were decentralised through the establishment of provincial forestry extension offices. An institution-building programme concentrated on upgrading the skills of upper level extension personnel through academic rural development studies, and recruitment favoured personnel with rural development experience.

"Enhancing local initiatives" has become the watchword with the forestry

extensionists, who espouse approaches involving consultation with a greater range of forest resource users and woodland managers. Presently the Forestry Extension Services Division is developing new programmes for indigenous woodland management. Whilst the Division's knowledge base on the management of indigenous tree species, forests and woodlands is sparse, there are expressed intentions to support indigenous knowledge systems and management practices.

However, funding for Extension Services is very tight. The Division continues to receive some revenue from a few of its nurseries and timber sales from urban plantations, and to charge silvicultural fees to concessionaires operating in communal lands. But it has handed over timber depots in the communal lands to the FC's Marketing Division, since it was considered that these were being inefficiently run and were diverting effort from extension activities (Yemi Katerere, 1996. Personal communication). The ongoing dilemmas about the type of state role and financing of forestry extension is examined further in section 6.5.

6.4 Evolving approaches to commercial activities

Not much change has been evident in the FC's approach to plantation management. The emphasis continues to be on research into improvement of exotic tree species, more efficient methods of harvesting, ways of handling diseases and pests, and seed provision so that the industry in general can maintain its viability.

In the late 1980s, the role of the Commercial Division was redefined so that the focus was not just on growing trees for the private sector but also on adding value to its products. A separate Marketing Division was created in 1992. After the World Bank/FC Forestry Sector Review process (see section 6.5), which endorsed this thrust, the Commercial Division made considerable investments such as the acquisition of the most up-to-date kiln technology.

Of late, the industry in general has been supporting the entry of small-scale processors and manufacturers and has begun to consider supporting plantation development in the communal areas in response to high demand for timber. An emerging issue is the demand for plantation management and forest product certification. The industry association's response thus far has been to develop forest management guidelines for its members.

6.5 Financing state forestry roles in the face of declining budgets

6.5.1 Internally driven debate: the FC from the mid-1980s to 1991

While the FC's responsibilities have increased over the years, notably with the development of extension functions since independence, the level of funding from government has decreased, particularly since the mid-1980s. Throughout the 1980s, profits from the FC's commercial activities were used to subsidise state activities. State forestry had previously included exploitation of merchantable timber in the indigenous forests, but by 1988 it was recognised that sustained economic exploitation was no longer possible and harvesting was stopped, with the exception of a few timber concessions with long-term agreements. Meanwhile, the FC was setting itself up as a key player in plantation development and wood processing. Pressures consequently increased for the FC commercial arm to compete with the private sector. A number of changes in FC strategy were made in 1988:

- Human Resources and Corporate Planning Divisions were introduced with the hope of generating a "business culture" in the FC;
- cross-subsidies between divisions were stopped, with the aim to ensure viability of each division through retention and re-investment of revenue generated;
- state forestry programmes were to be tailored to available funding, irrespective of national demands;
- donor funding was to be sought for state activities; and
- greater decision-making leeway was given to the FC board.

As government put the squeeze on spending under the structural adjustment programme, these internal reforms exposed those divisions which relied heavily on state funding. At present, government finances only the salaries, overheads and selected capital items for state forestry programmes, while any recurrent budgets and other capital items have to be funded by donor agencies.

As the FC became more commercialised, private timber interests protested at the degree to which the FC was both a referee and a player in the marketplace. FC managers accepted the criticism since its regulatory functions were also becoming compromised. FC management made a proposal to government for legislative changes to enable the establishment

of a forestry company responsible for its plantations under the Companies Act. The FC argued against full privatisation of its proposed forestry company, because it feared take-over by one of the few large conglomerates which dominate the industry. It also proposed that a state forestry institute retain the research, extension, indigenous resources and training divisions under the Forestry Act. The proposals were not seriously considered by government at the time.

6.5.2 Donors push change: the World Bank/FC Forest Sector Review 1991-93

The Forest Sector Review, begun in the latter half of 1991, was "intended to assist the government of Zimbabwe in addressing some of the difficult policy reforms and institutional changes that are needed to enable the Forestry Commission to provide more effective support to rural and commercial forestry" (Bradley and McNamara, 1993:v). The Review was conceived as a joint World Bank and Forestry Commission study - a peer evaluation, in which the consultants hired would review "the status, use and future of Zimbabwe's forest, woodland and tree resources" (*ibid*:iii). The World Bank was evidently keen to assess its earlier support for the FC's efforts in social forestry, and to make an in-depth study of an area of Africa's savanna woodlands - a "neglected" part of the "Bank's forestry lending portfolio" (*ibid*:v). Swedish and UK government funding also supported the work.

Both foreign and local consultants were involved, led by a team from within the FC, and joined by a senior research fellow from the Stockholm Environment Institute and a senior forestry specialist in the Agriculture Operations Division of the Southern Africa Department of the World Bank. The Review process was based on review papers and policy proposals written by experts drawn from: various sections of the FC; departments of the University of Zimbabwe; the Zimbabwe Institute of Development Studies; universities in the USA; the World Bank; the Oxford Forestry Institute; and the International Institute for Environment and Development. Many of the foreign consultants had conducted research previously in Zimbabwe and were aware of many of the locally relevant issues. The consultants also benefited from being able to draw on a substantial body of existing material produced by national researchers.

The consultants formed the core of several teams, divided according to themes identified in the terms of reference. The teams held wide-ranging consultations with staff in the FC, donors represented in Zimbabwe, national NGOs, scholars working on similar issues, government

Forestry Commission research trials with promising African species such as *Acacia albida* **are revealing a range of possibilities.** *Acacia* **may be suitable as a multi-purpose farm tree because it provides good fodder and soil fertility, which** *Eucalyptus* **does not, and in addition it is a better fuelwood**

departments, representatives of the private sector, and local community leaders. Drafts of the papers produced by the various teams were reviewed at in-country workshops, which brought together all the consultants and key people from government. The papers were later brought together into a book titled *"Living with Trees: Policies for Forestry Management in Zimbabwe"*, published by the World Bank in 1993 (Bradley and McNamara, 1993).

The Review's policy prescriptions reflected its cross-sectoral analysis, which in many areas was quite comprehensive, and went beyond the mandate of the Forestry Commission. On land issues, for example, the recommendations to some extent anticipated those of the 1994 Land Tenure Commission (see section 5). On institutional restructuring, the Review recommended that the FC remain essentially as it was. However the Review urged better linkages with other extension services, and dialogue through an inter-ministerial working group with NGO participation to work on: a) clearer demarcation of the service and commercial functions, and b) the adoption of policy reforms to improve efficiency and profitability of FC commercial operations (McNamara, 1993:7). With respect to the latter, the Review also picked up an earlier proposal made by the FC to the MET in 1989 for government loans for plantation development to be translated into equity.

The review's main policy prescriptions are summarised in Table 6.1, where answers are also given to the question: what action has been taken on these recommendations since 1993?

Many of the 1993 Forest Sector Review's recommendations still have relevance in the late 1990s, and some have strong contemporary advocates. Yet it can be seen from the summary in Table 6.1 that uptake of the Review's recommendations has been patchy. Whilst in general the recommendations pertaining to the FC were adopted by FC management, a coordinated action programme to pursue their implementation has not been forthcoming, nor have the resources required to implement the proposed policy directions been clearly identified. The following sections shed some light on the external and internal factors which help explain why this might be so.

Table 6.1 Main recommendations of the Forest Sector Review: what uptake since 1993?

A. Main recommendations on law, local institutions and land	Degree of uptake of the recommendations since 1993
Legislative Reform • repeal of the Communal Lands Forest Produce Act; • legal recognition of local institutions for natural resource management; • legal mechanisms for channelling financial incentives for management to local institutions.	• proposals made by FC for legislative change stalled, perhaps because government anticipates more comprehensive change in land law.
Strengthening Local Institutions • local institutions to be able to make binding agreements with other parties; • increase capacity of local institutions to plan and manage their natural resources; • provision of extension and training; • promotion of resource sharing with RDCs in communal lands, and with FC on state land; • development of local institutions in resettlement areas; • coordination of institutions operating at local level, especially NGO inputs.	• local institutional agreements in part dependent on tenure change - not yet enacted; • some state extension agency staff able to provide valuable training and capacity support - but generally not oriented to this, and few state resources; some good NGO projects; • pilot resource sharing project set up (see section 7.3); • FC works through District Development Committees to provide other agencies with information about FC programmes.
Land Use Planning • land use planning processes to be made more participatory in resettlement areas.	• planning in resettlement schemes still top-down; concentrated on crop and livestock production; little headway made on management of natural resources.
Land Tenure Policies • incentives for investment in woodlands coupled with more secure tenure in resettlement areas; • provision of access for communal and resettlement area households to woodlands in commercial areas; • removal of restrictions on subdivision of land in commercial areas.	• shrinking budgets constrain change; • resistance from commercial farmers to access agreements with communal lands inhabitants - but conservancies may provide one route for this; • land subdivision awaiting changes in legislation.

B. Main recommendations for the Forestry Commission	Degree of uptake of the recommendations since1993
Forest Research • legal, tenure and institutional arrangements conducive to local management; • tapping local interest in management; • woodland productivity; • agroforestry species and methods; • evaluation of past woodlot experiences.	• increase in research on: diseases and pests; domestication of exotics; management of indigenous species; • FC's Social Forestry Unit has conducted much analysis on problems in all land tenure categories - but "social" research reliant on donor funding; • private sector has withdrawn research funding.
Forestry Extension • FC extension service to increase cooperation with other extension agencies; • increase broader technical orientation and facilitation skills of staff.	• regular FC attempts to bridge sectoral limitations by inviting personnel from other agencies to become involved in its initiatives; • FC attempting indirect extension approach - training Agritex extension staff and groups of farmers; some attempts to collaborate with NGOs; • staff increasingly familiar with participatory methods.
Forestry Education and Training • retrain existing staff towards integrated resource management, community development and client driven extension; • more specialisation possible in degree programmes; • explore potential for regional rural forestry training programmes and natural resource management in schools.	• staff retraining has been sporadic and opportunistic.
Plantation Resources • reduce pine rotation for most timber products; • improve silvicultural practices; • continued industrial plantation research.	• draft guidelines for plantation management developed; • research is on-going.
Forestry Commission Commercialisation • government loans for plantation development to be restructured as equity; • issue title or long leases to FC plantations to enable future joint ventures; • diversification of land activities to increase cash flow; • examine options for privatisation of FC industrial operations.	• diversification through tourism promotion in indigenous forest reseves; • options for privatisation under consideration (see section 6.5)

Forestry Commission Restructuring • form interministerial working group, with NGO participation, to work on: a) clearer demarcation of service and commercial functions, b) adoption of policy reforms to improve efficiency and profitability of FC commercial operations.	• sporadic dialogue with central government agencies and multi-lateral financial institutions (see section 6.6).
Financing • form FC working group to assess implications of an increased level of investment in woodland management and agroforestry in 1996-2000 Development Plan.	• investment plans centred on dialogue with donors, notably DFID, DANIDA and GTZ.

Source: McNamara (1993:1-9) and this study.

6.5.3 Disputing institutional options: 1994 to the present

At about the same time as the Forest Sector Review, international finance institutions began increasing the pressure for government as a whole to begin seriously addressing reform of government service organs and parastatals. Consultants were hired under a broad Public Sector Reform Programme to find ways of further reducing public subsidies in forestry. They proposed that:

a. a "state forestry institute" should be funded by a combination of government, donors and internal fund generation;
b. the Extension Services Division of the FC should be merged with other government extension services;
c. government should have a minority shareholding in a hived-off forestry company, with private investors consisting of insurance companies and the National Social Security Authority holding the majority of shares.

These recommendations appear to have been broadly endorsed by Cabinet. The FC was then asked to flesh out the proposals. In addition, the MET asked the FC to further explore mechanisms for:

• private sector participation through funding research;
• commercialising training; and
• commercialising the Indigenous Resources Division.

On commercialising indigenous resources, FC management was reluctant, arguing that the "national interest" is not well served by opening the door to potential over-exploitation of timber. However, the FC has proven amenable to tourism development in the reserves under various schemes. For example, one recent agreement involved the leasing of one of the

indigenous forest reserves to a private tour operator, with responsibility for management of the reserve remaining with the FC.

The FC developed a draft Cabinet paper, in consultation with other government agencies and the Ministry of Finance, which was produced in 1997. Notable positions and reactions in this process included:

• differences within FC management were played up by press reports, with the Commercial Division allegedly pushing for full-scale privatisation while other divisions tended to resist;

• the MET charged that FC management appeared to be trying to protect the *status quo*;

• the National Economic Planning Commission asked the FC to package up certain proposals to attract investors;

• the World Bank resident office argued against the capitalisation plans for the proposed forestry company - again on the grounds that government should not have majority shareholding. It also wanted land for earmarked replanting of plantations to be put out to tender;

• the private timber industry also wanted plantation land, since its processing capacity exceeds current raw material supply;

• the Ministry of Finance's stated position is that parastatals should commercialise, better still privatise, and shed their regulatory functions.

Table 6.2 summarises the key options that have been mooted or promoted by different parties in recent times for reform of the state role in forestry.

As of 1998, the debate on reforming the structures of the FC parastatal in the face of declining budgets and structural adjustment, is by no means concluded. This seems to suggest that disagreement is still widespread on what the state role in forestry should be. New legislation passed in early 1998 makes provision for privatisation of the FC's plantation estate, although the details are not available at the time of writing. This appears to pave the way for a split between state activities and commercial activities, but is less likely to involve further significant role changes. None the less, it is clear that significant change has been taking place within the FC, as tables 6.1 and 6.2 outline. The following section describes the factors promoting and constraining this.

Table 6.2 Key options for organisational reform of the state role in forestry

Organisational option	Status	Advantages	Disadvantages
Full or partial privatisation of FC's Commercial Services Division into forestry company	Under consideration	• Allows development of "good business culture" and competitive strength in the company • Enables quick decision-making in the company (FC senior management required to use cumbersome three-tier consultation process: Board of Commissioners, MET, and Ministry of Finance) • Allows FC to concentrate on coherent mandate for developmental/social forest functions	• Tensions amongst the current public sector workforce over better pay and conditions likely in the company • Removal of the potential for commercial activities to fund developmental/social activities • May require staff redundancies to promote efficiency • Company could be taken over by private conglomerate
Extension Services charge user fees/run consultancy service e.g. for project design/ management	Under consideration	• Increased cost-recovery for extension • Plantation and commercial farm sectors can afford it	• Poor rural communities cannot afford it
Extension Services transformed into a central (civil service) department. (This option is incompatible with the other options)	Not being considered seriously?	• Emphasises extension as a state social responsibility (government plans reportedly to close the salary gap between civil servants and parastatal employees)	• Reduction in salaries in line with civil service - possible inefficiencies; not favoured by current staff
Donors and government support extension activities (FC remains a parastatal); cost-sharing with NGOs?	Current situation (minus explicit cost-sharing arrangements)	• Allows the FC to out-source its services • Reduces dependence on state funding • Allows FC to learn from others	• Divergence of perspectives between FC management, donors and NGOs • Doubts about FC as the most effective extension delivery agency?
Extension Services merges/closely collaborates with other government extension agencies	Partially adopted. DANIDA pushing for this	• Greater pooling and efficient use of resources for extension • More integrated "messages"	• Visibility/importance of forestry in public opinion may be lost (if subsumed under e.g. crop production)

Organisational option	Status	Advantages	Disadvantages
Commercialise Indigenous Resources Division eg. outsource management, lease tourism facilities and grazing	Partially adopted, eg. one forest reserve leased to tour operator	• Much scope for increased revenues from tourism • Allows revenue-sharing with communities currently in conflict with FC • More efficient and effective tourism operations	• Potential for over-exploitation of resources • Loss of FC control
Charge out research activities	Under consideration	• Private sector gets the research it wants	• Non-paying research reliant on donor funding
Training Division charges higher fees and raises revenue from its facilities	Under consideration	• Reduce dependence on state funding • Clear demand for this from the large-scale private sector	• Facilities geared towards cash generation rather than forestry learning

6.6 The steering role of FC management - and the influences on it

The management of the FC has played a central role in steering internal changes over time. Below we try to identify the factors which explain this, how these are changing and the influence of other actors on the FC management and policy.

Key changes for which FC management seems to have provided the driving force throughout the late 1980s and early 1990s include:

• rural afforestation becoming more development-oriented;
• commercialisation of the FC enterprise activities; and
• the process of internal restructuring.

Explanatory factors appear to include:

The FC's pragmatic attitude towards enforcing outdated legislation whilst pushing for reforms. Recognising that a number of Acts were a potential hindrance to the emergence and implementation of new approaches to forest extension and local woodland management, FC management effectively chose not to enforce the provisions of outdated legislation, whilst trying to develop better models and proposals for reform.

Low level of knowledge about FC operations amongst other government bureaucrats. Other agencies thus lacked the basis on which to interfere or

argue. However, they also lacked the ability to understand and help, notably in the late 1980s when FC management sought support for its proposal that government contributions to plantation development be converted into equity. The failure to generate this support may have led to the low levels of support for subsequent proposals.

"Hands-off" approach of the parent ministry. Only two ministers served in the MET for much of the 1980s and early 1990s. Both were "non-constituency" ministers who gave room for agency directors and general managers to get on with the job.

Local counterparts working with external consultants. The former General Manager of the FC, Dr Yemi Katerere, insisted on this to enable interchange of ideas and increased local relevance of recommendations.

Sufficient leeway for the board and general manager to make decisions. Again, Dr Katerere was instrumental in leveraging more autonomy. Opinions about the performance of the board vary - some argue that it is insufficiently critical of management.

Good relations with donors. FC management was adept at donor liaison.

More recently, the strength of FC management influence in the restructuring process has weakened. This seems to be the result of:

• Deterioration in relations with at least one donor for a short while - following differences about the direction that the rural afforestation programme should take.

• Divisions among managers, particularly regarding the privatisation thrust. There are also divisions about whether non-foresters should be allowed to hold top positions in the FC.

• The parent ministry is pushing for a stronger role - under a new minister and permanent secretary - particularly to ensure maximum capture of tourism revenue, and "indigenisation" of the dividends from privatisation.

• "Room at the top" - since the departure of the general manager in 1995 the position has been held on a caretaker basis without a strong remit for major policy initiatives.

• General uncertainty regarding the future of the FC - felt by both management and staff.

These factors, based on the relationships with other stakeholders, are developed further in Table 6.3, which outlines the influence of other institutional stakeholders on the changes in operational policy of FC management since independence.

Table 6.3 shows the range of pressures on, and sources of support for, FC management. In some respects it presents a picture of FC management quite open to external ideas and influence, whose ability to tread a consistent path has depended on the quality of management over the years. The following discussion of NGO relationships with the FC illustrates this further.

Table 6.3 Stakeholder relationships with FC management and policy

FC Board	• Appointed by government on the recommendation of the minister of MMET; • FC management sought earlier to remove direct government representatives on the board to no avail; • Relatively compliant with FC management and government positions; • Criticised for being antipathetic to the private sector; • Some members see themselves as representing the "national interest".
FC Field Staff	• The main route by which management links to local authorities and communities (the interface with NGOs is another route); • Encouraged to channel their views up the hierarchy, but senior management often slow to respond or develop a position; • Field staff feel senior management are in a poor position to appreciate community priorities given their concerns with organisational survival; • Field staff learning through interaction with communities and other natural resource agencies in the field has been central to the reorientations in extension policy; • Extension Services still unsure about the right balance between responding to demand and generating demand for its services.
Ministry of Environment and Tourism	• Leeway given to FC up to early 1990s uncharacteristically high compared to levels of government interference in other parastatals at the time; • Some FC recruitments made from the senior echelons of MMET.
Other Government Agencies	• Collaboration between Agritex, DNR and FC often occurs at district development committee level or through joint efforts within communities; • Mechanisms for collaboration become weaker as one moves up the institutional hierarchies - but the three organisations have proposed an informal periodic forum and have identified three areas of common ground: assessments of tree-loss in commercial and resettlement areas; rehabilitation of degraded lands; and awareness raising on environmental issues; • FC management seems to display conflicting tendencies towards inter-sectoral collaboration in the face of declining funding: on the one hand promotion of collaboration to pool resources; on the other hand an urge to maintain the separate profile of forestry extension to hold on to existing resources.

Private Sector	• Plantation forestry dominated by FC (owns 60,000ha out of 100,000ha under plantations nationally) and a few large companies (i.e. PG Industries, the Wattle Company and Border Timbers) - heavily dependent on FC for supply of raw materials and research; • Fought back after FC demanded export parity prices for its timber to the private sector in late 1980s by withdrawing support to the FC's Research and Development Division; • Leadership of large private sector is largely white, which tends to alienate it from FC which is largely Africanised; • Major influence in arguing for privatisation of FC commercial activities; • Small-scale indigenous timber producers and merchants, grouped under Indigenous Timber Producers Federation, relatively powerless, but lobbies government and large private companies for sub-contracts. FC is quite supportive.
NGOs	• Large number of NGOs involved in some aspect of forestry (see section 2.4). FC has on-going relationships with a core group of NGOs which have maintained long term interests in forestry, including COOPIBO, ENDA-Zimbabwe, SAFIRE, and ZERO; • Collaboration is through: supporting each other in field activities, support to training programmes and exchange of ideas; • An NGO alliance emerged in 1996 - Zimbabwe Working Group for Woodland Management - initially composed of SAFIRE, ZERO, BUN and ENDA-Zimbabwe, with the aim of influencing policy development for woodland management. The group lost some impetus in 1997 with senior personnel leaving some of the NGOs.
World Bank and its Consultants	• There are three relevant WB reviews: review of RAP I (Zimbabwe Forestry Commission, 1987); forest sector review (Bradley and McNamara, 1993); and the public sector reform programme (intermittent, 1991 to the present); • There has been much convergence of views with FC management - the main exception being the WB argument for much lower levels of government versus private sector shareholding in the proposed forestry company.
Other Donors	• In the 1980s, belief in competence of FC management, and relative health of FC finances meant donors did not dictate. In the 1990s, the funding squeeze brought by structural adjustment forced reliance on donor support and greater influence of donor priorities; • Since 1995, resignations in FC senior management positions increased criticism and conditionalities from donors eg. DANIDA for a time made further support of forestry extension services contingent on their integration with agricultural extension, in the face of FC management protests that forestry would lose its position in public priorities.

Since the 1970s, NGOs have had significant influence on the FC and the wider policy debate. In the 1970s and 1980s, NGOs popularised the "fuelwood crisis" notion and promoted responses such as improved cookstoves, biogas technology and woodlots for enhancing fuelwood supply (see section 6.2). After it became clear that these types of prescriptions were unworkable, NGOs pioneered the concept of natural woodland management with emphasis on participation and empowerment. These ideas were later incorporated by the FC in its spheres of work.

Box 6.1 Tactics used by NGOs to influence forest policy

NGOs have adopted various tactics in their efforts to influence FC management, forest policy and practice. Moyo (1992) described four "models of advocacy" used by Zimbabwean NGOs in trying to influence policy. These are outlined below in relation to forest-oriented NGOs:

a. **Entrism.** This refers to NGOs' attempts to penetrate state machinery through: recruiting government functionaries into membership; appointment of board members from state institutions; participation of government and NGO staff on committees of either institution; the co-option of advisors from government on to NGO projects, and vice versa; recruitment of government evaluators for NGO projects; contractual provision of services for government agencies; etc. Many NGOs concerned with forest and woodland issues adopt some of these approaches.

b. **Complementarity.** This involves NGOs orchestrating activities in areas where government presence is lacking. This is the most common role perceived and articulated by environmental NGOs. Through disseminating their "grassroots" experiences and hopefully influencing "policy through action", the advocacy function of such work then becomes apparent. The use of this model is often coupled with provision of training to government personnel in the methods and approaches of the particular NGO. The majority of NGOs concerned with forests and woodlands in Zimbabwe have taken this approach.

c. **Passive resistance.** Examples of this approach include: (a) the sponsorship of platforms at subnational levels at which approaches, methods and ways of moving forward are discussed with government personnel from those levels and/or community leaders; or (b) more general educational activities focused on forest and woodland issues in communities and schools. Recent moves to form an NGO alliance - the Working Group for Woodland Management - proposed combining this approach with field-level project work.

d. **Opposition.** This involves direct confrontation with government. This is only used by a few NGOs in the environment field. An NGO which is consistently in the media and appears to favour this approach is the Zambezi Society, which lobbies for environmental impact assessments for prospective development within and around the Zambezi river valley.

More recently, Moyo (1995) has concluded that, in general, NGOs linked to land use activities have tended to concur with government's agricultural land use planning approach. He suggests that, because NGOs have not by and large developed positions and campaigns on land redistribution, they therefore exhibit "a post-colonial hegemonic ideological tendency surrounding land management issues". However, the recent activities of some NGOs in urging government to take more serious steps to address "the land question" would seem to challenge this statement (see section 5).

An ENDA-Zimbabwe "Community Management of Indigenous Woodlands" project, begun in 1987, was a very direct attempt to counter the dominant fuelwood crisis/exotic trees approach at that time advocated by the FC. Ford Foundation funding was of great importance, providing a connection between the ENDA-Zimbabwe project, the FC's Research and Development Division social forestry unit and other activities in the natural resources management field. This network of people, supported by Dr Katerere, then General Manager of the FC but who also moved between ENDA-Zimbabwe and ZERO, were key in marking out the parameters of a new debate which was to have much influence subsequently, for example through their engagement in the World Bank/FC Forest Sector Review process (see section 6.5). The failures of this period (see Mukamuri, 1995), including the difficulty of instituting participatory programmes and schemes foundering on the slowness of growth of indigenous trees, should be seen alongside these other achievements which had much wider influence on thinking in Zimbabwe. By the late 1980s and early 1990s the FC was ahead of the game in many respects - leading thinking on extension for woodland resource management.

In conclusion, NGO-FC linkages have played a key role in recent times in: legitimising community knowledge; promotion of participatory approaches in the management of forests; and advancing the view that trees should be considered amongst wider issues of land use, land redistribution and governance alternatives - particularly the need for devolution of management responsibility to communities.

6.7 Summary

A number of key dilemmas continue to be posed by different interpretations of the functions of the FC:

- public service provision versus profit or cost recovery;
- production forestry versus biodiversity/watershed conservation;
- trees only versus wider rural development;
- regulation/policing the "national interest" versus promotion of sustainable management.

The range of opposing and unresolved interpretations, magnified through the era of structural adjustment, have both stimulated and confused the process of institutional change in the FC. A major reconfiguration is in

progress, but its final outcome is still uncertain. The privatisation of commercial operations of the FC would appear to have taken a decisive step forward with new legislation in 1998. But will the remaining government role - guiding a "national vision" for forests - be ensured by a more centrally-integrated government department, by a parastatal aiming to pay for itself, or by some form of partnership with other civil society institutions?

It is possible in some contexts for the FC to limit itself to the role of facilitator, recouping costs through revenue generation and user fees. However, unless the economics of the communal lands drastically change, government surely has a responsibility to continue its role as service provider and primary investor in these areas. Furthermore, the assumption that communities possess enough information and can make decisions and express demands which are in their own best interests may not always hold. History and structural constraints condition the information and choices about land use that people have. Further debate is needed about the role of state extension agents in developing local aspirations for a greater range of possible land use choices.

In the past, FC management has been the driving force in instituting reforms. Today, other government agencies, donors, community-based groups, and the NGO sector are asserting themselves more. Political discourse has changed and the emphasis on public accountability, public participation and transparency behoves state forestry interests to link up with these organised groupings within civil society. The strengths and weaknesses of the consultative processes adopted by the Forestry Sector Review and Land Tenure Commission offer a number of lessons about the kinds of linkages which state agencies can and should be making. Such linkages need to go beyond occasional consultations to harnessing the potential contributions of private sector and civil society groupings in policy development and implementation.

Realising the rhetoric of devolved and participatory resource management

Government has been vocal in its promotion of decentralised governance. Yet contradictory signals emanate from central government about devolution of powers. RDCs are given considerable responsibilities, but few resources. Local resource management is championed, but this is overridden by restrictive legislation, inadequate land, or conflicting practices by government agents. We seem to be faced with a paradox: improved capacity and empowerment is needed at local levels to achieve participatory natural resource management, and this will reduce the state's influence at these levels. Yet ultimately, it is only the state which can create the conditions under which such empowerment can occur, and the dominant forces within the state are only likely to do this if it will bolster their position. Various underlying tensions stem from this.

7.1 Tensions in devolving authority

Central government is likely to be wary of devolving authority to more local levels for various reasons. The more that communities are able to control land and natural resource use, the less government can prevail in installing its approach to economic development in local contexts. Thus, standard thinking on economic development of the nation is challenged by a focus on empowerment of communities. Politically, central intervention through infrastructural development has been crucial for the central government to maintain political control in potentially unstable areas. Intermittent interference by central government in the affairs of local

authorities is also evident, apparently explained by government's wish to retain rural constituencies under its ambit.

Manifestations of the underlying tensions in devolving authority to district and sub-district structures can be seen at various levels:

- *Use of the non-political language of environment and development to justify regulatory and centralised approaches in the communal areas.* Over the years, commercial farmers' representatives and some organs of the state have made repeated recourse to certain assumptions and studies which purport to show the environmentally destructive consequences of livelihood practices in communal areas. These arguments are marshalled against re-distribution of commercial farm land, and to justify "solutions" to perceived problems in resource use - through woodlots, destocking of livestock, etc. More broadly, such arguments have been used to maintain the dualism established under colonial rule and still apparent in the overall framework of government policy on land use: state intervention, while benign, facilitatory and market-based in the commercial sectors, has been interventionist and restrictive in the communal and resettlement areas. Yet some of these arguments are based on studies now known be deeply flawed or selectively interpreted (as discussed by Scoones and Matose, 1993; Scoones, 1996). In general, the technical assumptions formulated in the colonial period are unsuited to the complex and diverse nature of the ecologies and livelihoods associated with woodlands.

- *Budgets and resources are still channelled by the treasury through government line ministries.* The Government departments with key mandates affecting forests and woodlands, notably DNR, DNPWLM and Agritex, have in principle embraced decentralisation, but decentralisation of their budgeting and accounting mechanisms is yet to occur, and decentralisation of their policy-making functions appears a distant prospect. A chicken-and-egg situation prevails: resources are required for tackling the weak capacity in RDCs; yet sectoral agencies remain reluctant to transfer functions and resources, especially in the natural resource management fields, as long as capacity remains weak within RDCs.

- *RDCs are reluctant to devolve responsibilities and budgets to lower tier structures.* Since RDCs are constituted by elected representatives, councillors tend to maintain that they represent the wishes of the people, and in this they have the support of their parent ministry, the MLGRUD. Further sensitivity on this issue stems from the fact that central funding of RDCs has been declining under economic structural adjustment. This militates against further decentralisation of functions involving finance.

Within the CAMPFIRE programme, for example, the community-level emphasis might quickly evaporate without the pressure on RDCs from the other main line agency involved in the programme, the DNPWLM.

Box 7.1 Timber concession politics: where national and local tensions meet

Timber concessions generate issues around which state policy, outdated legislation, private interests and community needs interact in a highly contentious manner. The politics of these encounters, and the manner in which the controversies over concessions have been managed, give important insights into how policies work in practice.

Extraction of indigenous timber from commercial concessions within communal lands represents only a small proportion of the out-turn of timber from these areas. Charcoal manufacturing and urban fuelwood supply probably account for a far greater off-take of forest products (although data remains poor) - not as valuable as timber in commercial terms, but often vital for local livelihoods. Nevertheless, indigenous timber supplies in some communal areas have significant commercial value.

As communal lands are effectively state land, timber resources on these lands officially belong to the state. Rural District Councils have the responsibility for decisions about land and natural resources utilisation in communal areas. The administration of concessions falls under this remit. The FC is responsible for providing advice on the conditions under which concessions are granted, and for ensuring compliance with the conditions. This involves an assessment of the allowable cut, brokering the agreement between the council and the concessionaire, and monitoring the timber cutting operation. Councils often issue concessions to people from outside the district while benefits tend to be appropriated at district level. Corruption has been alleged in the allocation of concessions and monitoring of volumes being extracted.

Local communities, meanwhile, are often in conflict with the concession system, expressing concern at the lack of consultation over the granting of concessions, environmentally damaging and wasteful extraction methods, and the lack of local benefits from the revenues from timber which communities have looked after (Nhira and Fortmann, 1993). Examining a number of timber concession case studies, Bird *et al* (1995) conclude that communities are generally ignored in the granting and working of timber concessions. They note that a common theme is local people's sense of having had their trees stolen. They also note the ample evidence that communities will actively protect what they consider to be their resource when this is recognised by others, but that the perceived theft by outsiders becomes a disincentive for their tree management and tree planting initiatives.

"In view of the sanctioned destruction of their natural resources by complete strangers, it is hardly surprising that local communities see an inherent contradiction between policy and practice. It would seem the local community can do little more than take up their axes and knobkerries in defence of their resources until the authorities acknowledge their role in the degradation of the communal environment and take steps to clarify the roles and responsibilities of the various stakeholders." (Bird *et al,* 1995:20).

CAMPFIRE-like programmes involving timber concessions have been mooted by the FC for addressing these problems. Indeed, in some districts with existing CAMPFIRE programmes geared to wildlife, communities have demanded that timber concessions be brought under the programme. The FC, in a number of fora, has tried to persuade RDCs to take this route. But the RDCs have generally argued that they are representative bodies and the "owners" of natural resources in their districts, and that they are best suited to allocate revenue earned in the interests of their communities. Whilst individuals and communities may complain about this system, the FC is constrained in taking action, since it only has an advisory role with the RDCs.

However, a few districts, in Matabeleland North and South provinces, have recently incorporated timber concessions and the harvesting of mopane worms into their CAMPFIRE programmes. The revenue-sharing arrangements and institutional mechanisms are still evolving in these cases. Some have argued that the 1989 export ban on raw logs of indigenous hardwoods - justified in terms of adding value and creating jobs within the country, and sustaining the resource - should be lifted for initiatives involving genuine sharing arrangements with communities, since under the ban communities cannot benefit from the true market value of timber (export parity prices being generally higher than the domestic price). Others argue, in contrast, that the same policy promotes local export enterprise - particularly crafts - based on indigenous timber processing.

7.2 Local institutions caught in the crossfire

The long-term productivity of woodland and forest resources will ultimately depend on the viability of local institutions and social structures. On its own, government has neither the capabilities nor the means to effectively manage natural resources at the local level. But legal control over these resources is held at the RDC level, which currently is principally responsive to the concerns of central government, and far removed from local concerns and conditions.

The legally-constituted local institutions - the VIDCOs and WADCOs - were supposed to generate plans for resource management. In reality they have had neither the legitimacy of customary social structures, nor the power or resources needed to make them effective. Local strategies are overridden by central government plans and agencies that have financial resources, and are overwhelmed by the inter-sectoral conflicts which often come with such plans and agencies (Scoones and Matose, 1993). With the changes stimulated by the Land Tenure Commission still to be put into practice (see section 5), this situation means that local institutional capacity is compromised.

Box 7.2 Up against the buffers: decentralised government versus community resource management?

In the mid 1990s the FC's Indigenous Resources Division attempted to develop a "buffer zone management programme" which entailed the reservation of land lying between its forest reserve and adjacent communities along Gwampa Valley for wildlife photographic safaris in collaboration with Nkayi and Kusile RDCs. The programme required the movement of some settlements. The FC saw this as an opportunity to secure its forest reserve boundaries by creating the buffer zone from which communities would allegedly benefit.

Alexander and McGregor (1996) use the case to point out the limited capabilities of RDCs to meet the aspirations of communities, due to the primacy of revenue generation and other vested interests in the priorities of RDCs. The RDCs couched the programme in terms of a CAMPFIRE initiative although at the time the FC did not view it in those terms. Because the CAMPFIRE programme brings a focus on the value of indigenous resources, some councillors see it as a "Godsend". Indeed, in the Gwampa Valley case, councillors with long track records of opposition to coercive movement of communities to make way for development, found themselves in support of the scheme. The executive officers, the district administrator and the provincial governor all argued for the proposal and stated that the movement of settlements was necessary. However, local resistance was building. One Gwampa Valley inhabitant was quoted as saying:

"We never sent a grievance saying we want animals in our area. The councillors go to meetings and agree to things without ever consulting people.. We realise this Campfire has come to destroy people - where will people go?" (Alexander and McGregor, 1996:20)

Local resistance had various forms: contacting the local press, including the "Chronicle", which ran articles on the conflict; consulting lawyers in Bulawayo; suggesting alternative development projects; and protesting at the council offices at Nkayi. Placards waved in the latter case included:

"We don't want Campfire. Our sons didn't die for animals." (Alexander and McGregor, 1996)

The RDCs meanwhile were underplaying the resistance, allegedly misrepresenting the attitudes of valley dwellers to the FC and the potential donors, and falsifying minutes to give the impression that people were in support (Alexander and McGregor, 1996). The council officials' argument was premised on the fact that all land in communal lands belonged to the state, and they had the "appropriate authority", such that they had the legal right to make decisions about it. However, the vehement outcry of local people succeeded in sending the planners back to the drawing board. The initiative has apparently been redrafted in order to assess what the local people's needs are (Mukwekwerere and Mushaka, 1996).

The Gwampa Valley case illustrates the likely course of events as RDCs increasingly view CAMPFIRE type developments primarily as sources of revenue. Where commercially valuable resources are concerned, community interests are likely to be sacrificed by councils starved of central government fund-

ing under structural adjustment. Alexander and McGregor (1996) argue that some aspects of "empowerment" within the CAMPFIRE programme have the potential for recentralising state authority through the extension of state power to areas otherwise too distant to be reached by state influence. This stems from the contrasting objectives of conservation and establishment of local government, and hence, of DNPWLM and MLGRUD. In CAMPFIRE, DNPWLM is concerned with "producer communities" having control over the proceeds from wildlife while MLGRUD is concerned with the viability of RDCs. However, such programmes also help communities to become better-informed and -organised to influence the course of events in their favour.

7.3 The potential: building on local resource management practices

In communal areas, the framework of regulatory policy and the reality of a shrinking resource base has led to a variety of responses in relation to woodlands. One response has been to attempt to gain access to commercial farms or state land through "squatting" and resource "poaching" (Fortmann and Nhira, 1992; Moyo, 1995). This strategy has a long history, spanning both the colonial and post colonial periods. Variable state reaction also has a long history, periodically ranging from the tendency to look the other way, to the support of private property ownership rights and large-scale evictions.

People in communal areas also undertake a wide range of practices influencing supply and demand of forest resources. These are becoming better understood and more recognised by forestry agencies (Wilson, 1989; Gumbo, 1991; Matose, 1992; McGregor, 1991; Fortmann and Nhira, 1992; Clarke, 1994; Chidumayo *et al*, 1996; Clarke *et al*, 1996a, Clarke *et al*, 1996b). On the supply side, tree planting and cultivation by families and larger groups is widespread for fruit, poles, medicine, fodder, shade, living fences, conservation and ornament. Naturally growing indigenous trees, mostly in grazing areas, are also managed in various ways, through traditionally protected sites such as sacred hills and burial grounds, riverine valleys and springs, traditional court sites and ceremonial sites. Active forms of management include selective harvesting, pruning or cropping of coppice regrowth.

Even charcoal production for urban markets, often presumed to be an indiscriminately destructive activity, may be undertaken with biomass regeneration in mind. Live trees in miombo woodland are cut close to the

Cutting grass for thatch in a forest reserve. Following years of sporadic conflict with local communities over access to land and forest products in forest reserves, the Forestry Commission has begun to experiment with a "resource sharing" approach with communities neighbouring forest reserves. These experiments are in their early stages, but may pave the way for new agreements to be reached on the sharing of rights and responsibilities for forest management

ground and the cord wood is then carbonised in earth kilns. If the land is not then converted to agriculture or other uses, regeneration from stumps and root suckers follows at rates estimated at two or three tonnes per hectare per year, except at the kiln site itself where recovery is much slower (Emmanuel Chidumayo, 1997. Personal communication).

Some families annex patches of woodland to manage. As noted above, some communities have also asserted their rights over trees harvested under contract to timber concessionaires (Fortmann and Nhira, 1992; Bird *et al*, 1995). On the demand side, it is now recognised that people make a range of adaptations to their harvesting technology, collection patterns, labour allocation, the fuels and construction materials used, and consumption patterns which retain woodland productivity (Clarke *et al*, 1996a).

We have noted in earlier sections that current legislation generally does not acknowledge the role of local people in the control of the use of trees. However, some observers have noted the potential of by-laws under the Rural District Council Act of 1988 (Clarke, 1994; Katerere-Mohamed, 1996. Personal communication). Under the Act, RDCs have the right to formulate

new district-specific by-laws which can include the protection and management of common property resources. "By-laws are the link between local practices and national policies [since they] are intended to provide for local-level realities without compromising national objectives" (Clarke, 1994). Opportunities therefore exist for RDCs to involve local people in the formulation of by-laws which might cover village level land use plans, orders controlling tree cutting and protecting sites, and appropriate sanctions (*ibid*). However, to date there are very few examples of RDCs using by-laws to legitimise local-level resource management initiatives.

The FC has recently become more accustomed to recognising and working with local woodland management practices (see section 6.2). For example, FC extension staff are now encouraged to identify, praise and support such practices and to urge RDCs to develop by-laws recognising them. The challenge ahead is to develop cooperation from other agencies and make alliances with NGO and private-sector groupings for broader recognition and support of those local institutional mechanisms which can spread forest and woodland management capability.

Box 7.3 Sharing a reserve?: the FC pilot resource-sharing project

In 1994, FC management decided to experiment with the forest reserve "resource-sharing" idea, which had been given some momentum by the Forest Sector Review recommendations (Bradley and McNamara, 1993). The FC began with a pilot programme centred around Mafungautsi forest reserve in Gokwe South District near the centre of the country.

The Mafungautsi forest covers 82,000 ha and is typical of a number of reserves: it was originally gazetted for its importance as a water catchment area for three rivers that feed into the Zambezi river; it lies on Kalahari sands unsuitable for agriculture; and is characterised by a combination of *miombo* and *Baikiaea* woodland. The reserve is notable for being almost completely surrounded by communal lands. Originally the forest area was 105,000 ha but some 23,000 ha was ceded to neighbouring communities in 1972. Up until 1986 the forest had settlements along the main river, but in that year they were evicted by the army for allegedly supporting "dissidents" who were operating within the forest (Matose, 1994). There have been many instances of illegal incursions, though no settlements, since then. Some of the communities maintain pre-gazettement residential claims. Forest management in Mafungautsi is therefore immersed in conflicts arising from competing objectives and priorities.

The aim of the programme is to allow communities access to the forest reserve for a range of forest products under conditions that are set and monitored by both the FC and communities themselves. Various tourism development options, in which revenue is channelled to the communities, may also be considered in the future. The initiative aims to foster an improved relationship between the state and the communities while addressing the challenge of sustainable forest management.

Formal control of the reserve was transferred from the Indigenous Resources Division to the Extension Services Division of the FC. Feasibility studies were conducted by a unit consisting of personnel from FC and the University of Zimbabwe social studies department. The unit identified key issues which required debate before proceeding:

- the need for the FC to go beyond its existing mandate;
- the need to define criteria for targeting communities;
- the need to share authority with communities;
- the need to promote activities on both sides of the reserve border;
- the need to adopt a flexible approach; and
- the need for the state not to be an obstacle to the above (Matzke and Mazambani, 1993).

Whilst some of these key issues were still unresolved, the FC pursued the protracted process of securing funding from the treasury. Meanwhile, the FC also requested communities in the area to create resource management committees for the forest area. An advisory committee was also set up, composed of representatives from government and quasi-government bodies, including the University of Zimbabwe.

To date the scheme has focused largely on non-timber products shared amongst a limited number of villages around the forest, where conflicts with the FC are not too extreme. This has led some people living in the area to view the pilot project as a minor sop in relation to local demands for more fundamental change such as releasing land for farming and for sharing the benefits of timber and wildlife. This has nurtured resentment and has led for some, to strategies of ôcovert resistanceö such as felling trees for no (other) apparent reason (Matose, 1997).

Insufficient preparation of the communities and an incomplete negotiation process have also been described (Nhira and Matose, 1996). Following a number of recommendations, FC managers have expressed willingness to adopt a flexible and incremental approach to the negotiation process and to enter into agreements with each participating resource management committee. However, resource sharing is still considered by the FC primarily as a conflict resolution mechanism rather than a justifiable end in itself. Some FC personnel note that it is not the FC's responsibility to resolve land hunger and point to the need for the state to meet its obligations through resettlement programmes. This position does not acknowledge that the FC itself is a large landholder.

The impact of the resource sharing programme is likely to depend on the support accessed by the participating communities, the level of authority the FC vests in community organisations, and the incremental gains that can be made to household livelihoods. Monitoring and research on the programme is quite rigorous, so if a useful model is found it could be effectively disseminated. While the programme is far from being such a model as yet, elements of the resource sharing approach have filtered through FC operations and are beginning to influence state forest management in other forest areas.

Box 7.4 A CAMPFIRE in the woods?

Some of the main lessons from the CAMPFIRE programme were described in Box 4.2. Can communal area woodland management offer similar opportunities for mobilising communities and their local institutions, and for developing new partnerships between these local institutions, local government, central government and the private sector?

Even in the CAMPFIRE programme itself, communities' interests in resources are not confined to wildlife. The focus on local resource use has increased understanding of woodland resources, e.g. food, fuel, browse for cattle, building material, chemical compounds, nutrient transfers to agriculture through manure and leaf litter, and other spiritual and aesthetic values. In some locations RDCs have contracted out concessions for commercial timber with little tangible return to the communities hosting the trees (see Box 7.1). Such experiences have led to demands from communities that woodland resources be brought into existing CAMPFIRE initiatives.

However, the CAMPFIRE experience has been derived from a very particular set of circumstances. The wildlife "fugitive resource" on which CAMPFIRE has depended has in most sites been subsidised by the resources invested in neighbouring national parks, safari areas and forest reserves (Scoones and Matose, 1993). Work by Bond (cited by Campbell *et al*, 1996) on a detailed range of criteria - related to observance of rules, distribution of revenue, etc. - showed that the most successful CAMP-FIRE schemes are those where there is high wildlife value (in terms of revenue from hunting). Direct values from woodlands, apart from commercial timber, are generally low in comparison with large game animals. Hobane (1996) describes very meagre returns to communities from harvesting mopane worms under a CAMPFIRE initiative, especially after the RDCs had taken their cut of the profits. However, although values for an individual resource may be low, values may be more substantial when considered across the range of resources that are (potentially) marketed or used for subsistence. The value of ecological services of woodlands, and less tangible socio-cultural values, may also be significant (Campbell *et al*, 1996).

However, in addition to the value issue, a number of other problems would need to be overcome for CAMPFIRE-type schemes to work for woodlands. The institutional framework is weak. Given the multiplicity of Acts that are not enabling to local management and control (see Table 4.1), it is not surprising that there have been few concerted initiatives in local management of woodlands. The extent to which the CAMPFIRE programme itself has any direct authority over resources other than wildlife has been questioned (Thomas, 1993). None the less, Thomas concludes that "if the FC was to collaborate in CAMPFIRE, not only would this complement the programme but it would enhance the effectiveness of the FC in achieving its objectives". He argues that the greatest current constraints are the blinkered ways of working found within sectoral agencies and calls for greater collaboration amongst agencies to realise the potential. Nhira and Matose (1996) have argued that the extension of the CAMPFIRE approach to the co-management of forest reserves would require only some streamlining of sectoral agency functions.

Key challenges for adopting the CAMPFIRE approach in local woodland management include:

• the need to understand the "transaction costs" of establishing and maintaining institutional mechanisms for local resource management - including the non-market costs of time spent in meetings, time spent in resource management etc. If these costs are high - what are the chances for local management of low-value resources? (Campbell *et al*, 1996)
• the need to develop small-scale enterprises based on locally sustainable off-take of the resources, or from non-consumptive use, notably tourism. Such enterprises need seed capital
* the need to strengthen and empower local institutions so that they are able to cope with the demands exerted on woodland resources, and generate the means to reinvest in these resources.

In short, policy approaches are needed which enable local people to manage woodlands by self-regulating means. Such steps to local empowerment need to be backed up by technical, economic and institutional support. CAMPFIRE provides lessons, but no blueprint, for management of woodland resources.

7.4 Summary

Decentralised governance is strongly promoted in government rhetoric. Yet there is a "paradox of power": the state is needed to create the conditions enabling local empowerment; but the state reduces its local controlling influence by doing so. None the less, the state, on its own, does not and will not have the capabilities to manage natural resources at the local level. The future of woodland resources is therefore crucially linked to the viability of local institutions. However, legally-constituted local institutions have had neither the legitimacy of customary social structures, nor the resources to make plans effective. Conflicts between government agencies further compromise local institutional capacity.

Rural District Councils have legal control over natural resources, but are far removed from local concerns. The Councils have many responsibilities, but are strapped for cash in the absence of decentralisation of key government line agencies' budgets. The Councils are thus reluctant to devolve any functions which present revenue possibilities. Where commercially valuable natural resources are concerned, community interests are likely to be sacrificed by Councils starved of central government funding. Illuminating manifestations of this are to be found in the conflicts between Councils and local communities over timber concessions in communal

Photo: Stephen Bass

Wild mushrooms are gathered from several types of woodland for household consumption or sale

land, and in the Forestry Commission's experiment with a "buffer zone" in the Gwampa Valley.

Given the multiplicity of Acts that hinder local management and control it is not surprising that there have been few concerted initiatives in local management of woodlands. Although successful for high-value game resources, the CAMPFIRE programme provides lessons, but no simple recipe, for management of woodland resources, which generally have lower direct values.

Meanwhile, better understanding is emerging of the range of practices employed by people in communal areas in planting trees, and managing naturally-occurring trees and patches of woodland. Knowledge is also improving about the adaptations people make to changes in supply of woodland resources. Forestry Commission extension workers are beginning to recognise and engage with these practices. The Forestry Commission has also begun to work with communities around forest reserves on a pilot basis, in an attempt to tackle long-term conflict over woodland resources. The pilot "resource-sharing" programme faces many challenges, but one important emerging effect is the percolation of ideas within, and between, government agencies about the positive aspects of collaboration with other stakeholders for natural resource management.
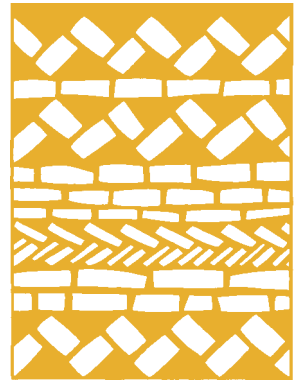
Conclusions

This section aims to sum up the arguments employed in this report and to look forward to the ways in which policy and policy processes can be improved. Each of the preceding sections concludes with a summary of the main facts and issues and these will not be repeated here. Instead we focus on the general conclusions which can be made, and propose some specific ways forward.

We begin with a short exercise in qualitative scenario development - addressing the questions: in what "direction" is the current web of policies and institutional mechanisms taking us? Are we moving towards or away from our vision of forest management which is: integrated with other land uses, focused on equitable rural development, and ensures that forest resources are secured for future generations? This is done by focusing on the next five to ten years and looking at: likely changes in forest cover and condition; changes in livelihoods linked to forest resources; economic trends affecting forests; and trends in policy and legislation affecting forests and people (section 8.1). We then draw some of the main lessons from our analysis about policies and policy processes that work (section 8.2).

8.1 If "business as usual" continues, what changes for forests and people?

8.1.1 Likely changes in forest cover and condition

A general decline in forest cover can be anticipated in Zimbabwe at a national level in the next five to ten years. However, the picture becomes more complicated when disaggregated by tenure category:

In *communal areas*, it is expected that forest cover will continue to decline due to the needs of increasing human and animal populations. Close to half the total population of Zimbabwe lives in the communal lands which are located in regions with the lowest agriculturally productive potential. Where land is

available, forests will be cleared for food production. Cultivation may occur on mountain and hill slopes and other ecologically fragile terrain, thereby putting much pressure on these ecosystems.

With this conversion of woodland to pollarded and coppiced trees in the agricultural landscape, productivity changes in woody biomass and some forest products will depend on the relative degree of motivation of local institutions and individual practices for forest resource management. It is anticipated that some increases in cover from afforestation programmes and plantation outgrower schemes may be realised as direct forest values increase in those communal areas which are already deforested. Where communities derive incomes from forest-based activities, such as eco-tourism under the CAMPFIRE programme, it is expected that both forest cover and the overall forest resource base will be maintained or even enhanced.

Resettlement area forest cover is expected to decline due to opening up of new land for agricultural purposes and heavy cutting for construction materials, fencing, etc. However, if sufficient support is given to institutions in resettlement areas, and local participation in land use plans allows them to become vehicles for communities to exercise effective responsibility and control over forest resources, it may be possible to strike a balance between forest cover, agricultural production and the satisfaction of forest resource needs. Some of the demands of surrounding communal lands will also need to be dealt with. Hence, various forms of formal and informal resource sharing mechanisms between resettlement areas and communal areas will need to be arranged. If this is not done, the situation may progressively deteriorate as resettlement area forest resources are regarded as "fair game" by neighbouring communal area inhabitants.

Forest cover is expected to decrease in *small-scale commercial farm areas*, since small-scale commercial farmers are generally resource-poor. With the increase in prices of agricultural inputs, and poor access to credit and marketing facilities, these farmers can only increase yields through expansion of land under cultivation. A counter-argument may be valid in some circumstances, that resource-poor farmers will not be able to afford to cultivate large tracts of land using draught power. Hence the area under cultivation may remain stable in such circumstances. However, populations in small-scale commercial areas are growing and farms are increasingly subdivided between descendants - which may also lead to land clearing. In addition, the need to supplement agricultural income is realised partly through the sale of fuelwood to neighbouring communal area inhabitants.

On *large-scale commercial farm*s, if the general pattern of inertia on land

Tea picker on a commercial farm. Commercial agriculture employs about 27 per cent of the wage-earning population. Farm workers blame the commercial farmers for continuing to pay "slave wages" while the farmers in turn blame the government for not providing incentives to invest in the workers' living conditions and for pursuing the wrong economic policies

redistribution prior to late 1997 was retained, the status of woodland cover in these areas would be expected to remain stable. However, if as is suggested by the events of late 1997/early 1998, the resettlement programme gathers some new momentum, then the concerns mentioned above apply to these areas. For stabilisation of woodland resource depletion in such a context we need to consider a time frame longer than 5 to 10 years. Agricultural economists have estimated that settlers may require periods of 20 to 25 years to achieve reasonable production levels, and stabilise the production system, where support is at low levels. We concur with such estimates and predict a gloomy short- to medium-term future for forest cover in such areas, unless we see massive support for agriculture and forestry extension.

If conservancies for wildlife management in large-scale commercial areas become more widely established - and this depends in part on legal recognition for this land use in the face of calls for redistribution of the same land - maintenance or improvement in the forest cover can be expected.

It is expected that the *area under industrial-scale plantation* will increase, although not dramatically. Moderate increases in the area under *Eucalyptus* are likely due to demand for short-fibre pulp, chipboard and fibreboard raw materials. This is stimulated by new chipboard and fibreboard plants recently commissioned by two private companies in Mutare. In addition there is new demand for mining timber from the huge platinum mines in Chegutu, where consideration is being given to large-scale plantation development and/or contracts with rural communities to produce such timber. Major development of the paper industry in South Africa may also stimulate some plantation and outgrower scheme initiatives.

Forest cover in *state forest* reserves is expected to remain fairly stable. Some of these reserves are far removed from the pressures posed by communal area populations and no longer host poorly-managed timber concessions. Those reserves that are subject to heavy pressure from communal areas are expected to become the focus for resource-sharing schemes which may lead to more sustainable resource use.

8.1.2 Likely changes in livelihoods linked to forest resources

It is expected that, in the short to medium term at least, the general welfare of the inhabitants of communal areas and resettlement areas, and the workers in large-scale commercial farming areas[11] and urban areas, will decline. The arguments linking this state of affairs to economic structural adjustment, increases in population, urban-rural migration due to lay-offs, high rates of

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[11] Recent reports describe decreasing real incomes and deteriorating living conditions amongst worker communities on commercial farms (The Herald, 1996; ZCTU, 1996)

Mixed game and cattle ranching. Various studies have purported to show that wildlife ranching can economically outperform cattle ranching. Others have argued that wildlife management is automatically good for woodlands because mixed wildlife herds are more lenient users of the bush/grass system than uniform cattle herds. However, these assertions may only hold true under quite specific conditions

inflation, removal of subsidies, lack of access to credit, high costs of agricultural inputs and lack of infrastructure run through much of this report.

After a period of improvement in services and infrastructure conducive to economic development in rural Zimbabwe in the early 1980s, the majority of the rural population is today being adversely affected by the vagaries of markets freed up by economic reforms. Detailed studies are being carried out on these effects, e.g. by the Departments of Economics, Sociology, Agricultural Economics and Extension, and the Institute of Environmental Studies, at the University of Zimbabwe.

Many of these studies have already identified an attenuation of poverty which is leading to greater reliance on natural resources. The bottom line is that, as the numbers of people dependent on agriculture increase, there will be more land clearing for agricultural purposes to meet food requirements. In addition, in the absence of alternatives, the natural resource base will become an important source of income through sale of fuelwood, crafts and other forest products.

8.1.3 Economic trends affecting forests

Market values of forest products continue to be underestimated, due especially to monopsonistic tendencies of timber buyers. However, on the positive side, the value of indigenous forests is on the increase largely due to the boom in tourism, whilst certain niche export markets are beginning to provide a market incentive, through certification, for sustainable management of plantations.

In broader economic terms, reviews of trade patterns between Zimbabwe and South Africa suggest that South African manufacturing exports are undermining Zimbabwean industry and its growth. Notable examples are the textiles and light electrical goods industries where Zimbabwe has experienced de-industrialisation, with factories closing because of competition from South Africa. Although the trade agreement between South Africa and Zimbabwe is being re-negotiated there appears to be little enthusiasm for this within the South African government. It is reported that there is still a level of subsidy given by the South African government for exports to Zimbabwe. Whilst the opening of borders with South Africa has led to larger volumes of tourists, on the whole the number of jobs being created is far less than those lost through competition.

There have been some economic gains from privatisation of parastatals and retooling of some industrial sectors which should allow them to compete. But in general, in the short to medium term future, the costs of adjustment will continue to overshadow the gains that some sectors will make.

Reducing government spending and the budget deficit is the major goal of those who maintain that further adjustment measures are the only option. It is argued that, once the deficit is dealt with, there will be significant knock-on effects, initially occasioned by lower interest rates. International financial institutions are unwilling to make further loan commitments until government addresses the issue. However, government faces political pressures against continued expenditure cutting.

Recent developments, which highlight the potentially dangerous political ground on which government treads with respect to financial issues, include the following:

• Strikes have now become traditional and widespread at any financial year-end.

• Ex-war combatants, estimated to number some 53,000, who are the

backbone of the ruling party's support, have been given financial promises by government. Something in the order of Z$2.5 billion (about US$200 million) was released in late 1997 for paying compensation to these ex-guerrillas. In addition, the Government has committed to providing monthly payments of Z$2,000 (US$150) per month as pension to each non-working former freedom fighter. This will require another Z$1.2 billion (US$100 million) annually. The source for this money remains unclear.

• Commercial farm workers in many locations went on strike in 1997, for the first time ever. In some cases, commercial farm owners were paraded by their own workers and property was destroyed.

In each of the above cases the government has made commitments, which will greatly increase the budget deficit if followed through, because they are politically threatening[12]. These factors affect forests since they have direct impacts firstly, on livelihood strategies in rural areas, and secondly, on the pressures for land redistribution.

8.1.4 Trends in policy and legislation affecting forests and people

Land redistribution has been used as a political bargaining chip *vis-à-vis* the rural population. When elections are imminent, some commercial farm areas are bought and redistributed. After that, redistribution activity subsides.

Without land redistribution, some forests on commercial lands may remain intact, but livelihoods of commercial farm workers are likely to deteriorate, or at best, incomes will not keep pace with inflation rates. Given the new-found political bargaining power of this sector of the population, government may respond with subsidies to improve health, housing and educational facilities, or with provision of tax incentives for the commercial farm owners to address the problems, further increasing government spending.

With comprehensive land redistribution, if settlement is not accompanied by support services and effective incentives for conservation, we are likely to see widespread stripping of forest assets as has happened in current resettlement areas. However, this might stabilise in the longer term if

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[12] In early 1998, the Zimbawean dollar dropped in value by about 50 per cent after the World Bank decided that the government had not implemented agreed reforms. One immediate knock-on effect was a major increase in the price of maize meal, which sparked riots in Harare.

livelihoods improve through increased agricultural productivity and do not have to rely on mining the forest asset base.

Policy and legislation on forests is both restrictive and contradictory. Apart from the overlaps and interpretative differences, policy and legislation remain equivocal about the rights of communities to control the utilisation of forest products, including commercial utilisation. The reliance on restrictive legislation and the emasculation of local authority has meant that governance arrangements, particularly in the communal and resettlement areas, are unable to deal with matters of resource use. Local authorities, which are the repository of many responsibilities, are inadequately financed and tend to rely on the services of central government sectoral agencies with varying agendas, which further exacerbates overlap and contradiction at local level.

8.2 Lessons learned about processes and policies that almost work

At the beginning of this report (section 1.5) we noted that most of the elements of the study teams' vision for forests and people were more or less reflected in prevailing policy pronouncements, but were not being realised in practice. We suggested that this is because the people within the current set of institutions face a number of internal and external constraints, whilst other stakeholders who have the potential to turn policy into reality are not sufficiently involved in shaping policy and its conversion into practice. Our analysis appears to bear this out, but also reveals examples where these problems have been overcome. We therefore make a number of conclusions about getting policy processes "right", below.

It is tempting to argue that if policy processes are "right" then the content of policy will take care of itself. However, whilst much can be achieved by taking steps towards better policy processes, there will remain many aspects of policy content which need addressing. We cannot wait for a perfect process. Thus, key lessons about policies that work - or more often - "almost" work are also drawn below.

A precondition
a. Following through on land reform. Unless steps are taken to resolve land hunger in the communal areas, the condition of people and the natural resource base will continue to deteriorate. Structural adjustment is

exacerbating this situation and poverty is increasing. The need for a much more comprehensive land redistribution programme is widely recognised. In the absence of more finance being committed by government and donors towards the buying of land, the challenge is to find more efficient market-based methods to persuade large-scale commercial farmers to give up land. The introduction of a progressive agricultural land tax system is one such method under consideration. If such a system is implemented, questions still remain, such as whether such liberated land will be allocated to land-hungry inhabitants of communal areas, and whether sufficient investment in infrastructural and institutional support will be available in these redistributed lands to ensure productive livelihoods and sustainable resource use.

Involvement and capabilities

b. Opening up formal policy-making processes. The need to share information and promote stakeholder involvement in policy review processes was recognised in two relatively recent approaches to policy reform: the 1991-93 Forest Sector Review, and the 1993-94 Land Tenure Commission. Both processes were notable for being greeted with an immediate stony silence from government, followed by some action later[13]. However, these processes still had major deficiencies in terms of the need for wider public consultation and stakeholders' ownership. A third major consultative policy development process - building towards a proposed consolidated Environmental Management Act - began in 1996, but shows signs of similar failings - with NGOs and private sector groupings complaining that government bodies like MMET have by-passed consultation with unilateral action. In all of these processes, the need to incorporate local knowledge systems in policy development is often recognised, but rarely practised through mechanisms which actually allow local representation.

c. Networking and strategic inter-sectoral collaboration. Network building and development of inter-sectoral linkages across government agencies, international organisations, NGOs, the private sector and community-based institutions is increasingly promoted within government. Such networks are intended to improve information flow, avoid duplication, make efficient use of resources, enhance effectiveness and avoid contradictory approaches. So far, the networks have begun to be realised at the district level and below through the District Development Coordination Committees, where for example, the FC, DNR and Agritex are beginning to dovetail their work well.

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[13] Considerable internal change in the forest sector appears to have been catalysed by the work drawn together by the Forest Sector Review (see section 8); and some aspects of land policy and tenure are under consideration in 1998 stemming from the Land Tenure Commission's recommendations.

Above district level, networks are still generally embryonic, although there are some examples of well-developed inter-sectoral groupings:

- the Project Review Committee created by the Forestry Commission for the "resource-sharing" initiative brings together various government agencies;

- the CAMPFIRE Collaborative Group is a lively grouping of government agencies, NGOs, academic bodies and an association of districts and communities involved in the programme;

- the Timber Producers Federation, the Timber Council and the Forestry Research Board all link government agencies and the private sector; and

- the SADC Forestry Sector Technical Coordination Unit aims to network between international organisations, government agencies, NGOs and, to a lesser extent, the private sector.

To date it appears to be the case that those networks which work best are initiated by NGOs. Successes in terms of coordinated programmes of action are generally fragile, and common weaknesses include: the rigidity of institutional mandates; the pervasiveness of strictly sectoral planning; limited budgets which do not incorporate the costs of collaboration; and competition for resources.

d. Fostering the capacity of rural district councils to provide support for management of land and natural resources. Reports from the MLGRUD and the Ministry of Lands and Agriculture appear to show that recommendations of the Land Tenure Commission, to decentralise authority and ownership of land and natural resources in communal and resettlement areas, have been incorporated into policy. The recommendations were drawn largely from experience of the CAMPFIRE programme, which seeks to transfer authority and ownership of wildlife to levels below the RDCs. However, it is now widely recognised that RDCs and their lower-tier structures lack sufficient capacity to take on board many of the responsibilities that they will be charged with. Accordingly, government has begun to orchestrate a Rural District Council Capacity-Building Programme which is intended to improve the financial, manpower and equipment resources available to councils and to upgrade their management skills.

e. Building skills for control of land and natural resources at community level. The wide range of existing forest and woodland management practices at local level is increasingly recognised. Government extension agencies are

beginning to work more closely to support these practices. Programmes fostering new technical skills are also emerging, such as the CAMPFIRE programme which has begun training community members in ecological and social survey methods so that information can be used in local planning activities and for community-level monitoring and evaluation. MLGRUD has also made progress with other agencies and NGOs by imparting skills in book-keeping and leadership, technology transfer and the provision of financial support for capacity building.

Rights and responsibilities

f. Restructuring the Forestry Commission around centres of motivation. A major reconfiguration of the FC is in progress, but its final outcome is still uncertain. Likely components of the change are centred on the need to shed costs and to secure revenues; they include:

- privatisation of plantation and wood product processing operations under a mixed government-private sector share ownership structure;
- commercialisation of forest reserves through leases to tourism enterprises;
- contracting out of research activities; and
- introduction of user fees for some extension, project management and training services.

A major question mark hangs over the remaining government role: steering the "national interest" for forests. Whilst this national interest or vision is yet to be coherently framed, few would argue that there is no role for the state. Given the current inequalities in land and resource endowments, for example, surely government has a responsibility to continue its role as service provider and primary investor in communal lands, for forests and woodlands as well as other sectors? Can this be ensured by the continuation of the parastatal model - perhaps through some form of partnership with NGO and private sector bodies - or by transformation into a more centrally-integrated government department? Either route would involve continuing to rely on state and donor funding. The major restructuring options are being considered by central government, where the key issue of privatisation and commercialisation benefiting "indigenous" entrepreneurs comes into play.

In the past, FC management has been the driving force in instituting reforms. Today, other government agencies, donors, community-based groups, and the NGO sector are asserting themselves more. Political discourse has changed and the emphasis on public accountability, public participation and transparency behoves state forestry interests to link up with these organised groupings within civil society.

g. Making legislation non-conflictual and facilitatory of local action. The call for the various pieces of legislation affecting land, the environment, and natural resource management to be made non-conflictual and to provide incentives for local action has been heard since the late 1980s. Since then, only the National Parks and Wildlife Act has been amended to permit "appropriate authority" over natural resources to be bestowed on local government, thus allowing development of the CAMPFIRE programme. The MLGRUD has initiated changes in legislation to enable a restoration of the powers of traditional authorities over land and natural resources, in line with Land Tenure Commission proposals. However, it is not clear whether these changes will initiate a change in the responsibilities of traditional authorities. Recently a process to develop a comprehensive Environmental Management Act was initiated, but appears to have been shelved in favour of revisions to individual pieces of legislation. This may reflect the intractability of the multiple government agency mandates and resistance to the implication that an environmental "super-ministry" of some kind would be needed to supervise others.

Meanwhile, in the forestry sector, practice has in large part ignored any legislation which is considered outdated. Ambiguous and contradictory legislation can be interpreted in different ways. For example legislation expressly forbids local people in communal lands from profiting from the sale of forest resources while allowing external enterprises to do so through concessions issued by RDCs. Yet alternative interpretations of the same legislation can be seen in the examples of RDCs turning down concession bids on the representation of communities, and adopting CAMPFIRE approaches for timber. There is also much, as yet unrealised, potential for RDCs to create by-laws which support local forest management.

h. Incorporating gender equality in all policy. Installation of gender equality in access to land and distribution of resources is needed, across the board. In communal areas, there are more female-headed households than there are male-headed ones, as men seek employment in urban areas, commercial farms and mines. Women are often the major land managers and natural resource custodians, and women's involvement in forestry programmes has been instrumental - without clear definition of their benefits. In general, issues of women's access to land in their own right, access to credit and involvement of women in community decision making have yet to be seriously tackled. It is time for a major push for this at policy levels.

i. Focusing on local knowledge and natural woodland productivity management. It has been realised that natural woodlands are much more resilient to pressure of use, and indigenous trees are more the focus of existing local

management practices, than plantations and woodlots of exotic species of trees. The Forestry Commission has accordingly turned around its extension strategy to focus much more on woodland management and rehabilitation of degraded lands. Some NGOs played their part in encouraging this change, and others are following suit (cf. Working Group on Woodland Management). However, these efforts are constrained by: pressure on the resource particularly in communal areas; in some cases, inadequate extension skills of this type amongst staff; in other cases, a dearth of suitable silvicultural techniques; and a lack of clarity on how the tenure system in communal lands will evolve.

Instruments and mechanisms

j. Prioritising local involvement in land use planning. There is a long history of failed attempts to enforce land use planning in communal lands, and more recently in resettlement areas. Critical lessons have been available for years of the need for planning processes to be based on local practices and motivations, to be more interactive and participatory, and to integrate land uses other than cropping and livestock. Whilst being widely accepted, these lessons are applied largely by NGOs and only at a smaller scale by government agencies. Examples are the pilot District Environment Action Planning programme being implemented through the DNR, the FC's extension attempts to fit trees into other land use activities, and the CAMPFIRE programme which attempts to use wildlife as the lead resource in integrating land uses. The institutionalisation of these lessons in key government agencies responsible for land use planning, notably Agritex, the District Development Fund and the Agricultural and Rural Development Authority, is at an early stage. Ironically, whilst some key leaders in these agencies are advocating such new approaches, training courses for the thousands of field staff are still using materials resembling those used in the 1930s.

k. Sharing forest benefits and responsibilities across tenure boundaries. Sharing forest resources between inhabitants in different land tenure categories, particularly for those categories sharing a border with communal lands, has been proposed as a viable way to address resource shortages, share management responsibilities and build trust between different landholders. There are isolated informal examples of such sharing between communal lands and resettlement areas, and between communal lands and commercial farming areas. The FC is formalising the arrangement, in one forest reserve with a history of resource conflict, as a pilot programme. This faces many difficulties, but it is gradually making progress and the FC has proven willing to adapt as circumstances change. The initiative may yet provide a useful model for other areas.

l. Capturing value locally. The need for communities to be able to capture much more of the "true" market value from the exploitation of the goods and services of their natural resource base is beginning to be recognised. The CAMPFIRE programme pioneered this realisation with wildlife, and communities in many areas have been motivated to do the same for forest goods. One immediate case is that of concession timber which should be valued at competitive market rates rather than the current monopsonistic prices dictated by the timber buyers. However, in addition to the fact that communal area inhabitants are legally forbidden from benefiting commercially from forest resources, people have very different perceptions of the value of forest goods generally and there are methodological difficulties in arriving at "true" value estimation.

m. Creating access to credit in communal areas. It is assumed by proponents of structural adjustment that measures can be taken to mitigate its negative impacts. Yet such measures as have been activated have been criticised as inadequate and incorrectly targeted. Poverty is increasing. Government natural resource management agencies, in collaboration with some donors, have begun to facilitate access to credit and grants directly for rural households to expand agricultural activities, develop small-scale industries, and develop forest resources, e.g. DANIDA's earmarked support to forestry extension under the Household Agriculture Support Programme.

n. Encouraging investment by new stakeholders in rural development and forestry programmes. The communal and resettlement areas continue to suffer from inadequate investment levels, decentralised agro-industries, infrastructure and service development. A combination of government support, private sector engagement, local authorities creating an investment climate conducive to such engagement, and direct support to households, is needed to begin reversing the trend. Government agency resources for rural development forestry programmes have been steadily decreasing over the last ten years. However, the private sector is beginning to show signs of interest in outgrower schemes and other partnerships with local growers and managers which show much promise. NGOs and international agencies will also continue to be vital, in pursuing forestry activities for local benefit where there is a government and private sector void, and in encouraging and brokering partnerships.

Recommendations

From our analysis we have derived a set of twenty recommendations. These ideas are presented below under four agendas: central government; forest sector; land and agriculture sector; and multisectoral. This categorisation is used to suggest the sector within which stakeholders should lead in taking forward the recommendations. However, all recommendations will also need the involvement of stakeholders from other sectors. Each of the four agendas contain some recommendations concerned primarily with policy processes, and others mostly to do with policy contents.

9.1 Central government agenda

1. Engage quickly with recommendations of existing policy review processes. Some of the problems described in this report have been the subject of previous review processes but have still not been dealt with. Whilst we have pointed to failings in some aspects of these review processes and their findings, it cannot be denied that some action is now urgently needed on: environmental legislation; institutional structures for forestry; tenure and governance reform; and most importantly, resolution of the land question. This is not a call for hasty and ill-considered actions (on contentious questions, consultation should continue) but for clear engagement on issues which affect the livelihoods of many.

2. Share decisions on restructuring with the affected agencies. The restructuring of government institutions needs to be conducted in a more open manner with the involvement of the stakeholders. Without this, it is never transparent whether all the options have been considered. Shared decision-making between the parent ministry and the agency being restructured could also speed matters.

3. Create conditions friendly to private sector investment in communal and resettlement areas. Government and local authorities need to collaborate to encourage market conditions for investment, especially for

forestry. Modalities include combinations of tax breaks, offers of free serviced land (as has already been seen in some schemes), and agreements which guarantee returns on investment. Government will also need to track international agreements to direct resources flowing from them to areas where they are needed most.

4. Steer increased decentralisation of key industries. Rural development can be effectively promoted through the integration of rural communities in the market, including options for rural communities to engage in productive activities outside the agriculture and forest sectors. What appears to be needed is a serious programme of industrialisation of rural economies with deliberate efforts at creating employment through decentralisation of formal industries to rural growth points and service centres.

5. Concentrate central government support on forest extension. It is now apparent that the commercial division of the FC will form a private company and the remaining state activities divisions will have to commercialise, lease or ensure cost recovery for certain of their functions. Government support should then be focused primarily on a well-paid and trained extension service whose major focus would be the communal and resettlement areas.

6. Promote interim legislation and amendments pending comprehensive policy change. While there is a need for resolute action to stem land hunger and environmental degradation, the complexity of lands and forests issues also requires extended debate and consultation with stakeholder groups, which would help bring about more consensual policy reform. One solution is to promote interim legislation pending comprehensive policy change, as in South Africa, for instance to protect the rights of labour on commercial farms, or to prevent land speculation and excessive concentration.

7. Legislate for devolved, participatory natural resource management. Current legislation is inadequate for the development of local level resource management capabilities. Revised legislation must consider the need to:

- ensure the development of an accountable and participatory planning process;
- legislate on the principles of local proprietorship;
- abandon restrictive rules and regulations which undermine local resources use potential;

- develop flexible guidelines for management, based on technically sound information; and
- provide incentives which favour the sustainable use of resources, and which do not require excessive policing and regulation.

A mechanism is needed to vest proprietorship for natural resources (ownership, management, control and benefits) into one group at the local level, and to decentralise control away from Rural District Councils. Village-level resource use and management institutions must be given legal recognition. A legal mechanism should be evolved to channel financial incentives for improving the management of local environments to local institutions vested with this responsibility.

9.2 Forest sector agencies agenda

8. Commit to opening up current and future policy consultations. We have already begun to see the creation of multi-stakeholder fora involving government agencies, NGOs, the private sector and international organisations. Yet government still tends to take unilateral action (if it acts at all). Thus, a government commitment to creating conditions for joint "ownership" of policy development processes with other stakeholders would allow these other stakeholders to invest their skills, insights and resources, in the knowledge that such contributions will be valued and incorporated.

9. Develop better information systems on natural resource assets, values and use. One of the unfulfilled intentions of the First Five-Year National Development Plan was to conduct an inventory of natural resources in each region. An inventory of resources and their condition, preferably carried out by stakeholders who are also in a position to manage these resources (national and local governance institutions, line agencies and local institutions), could provide the basis for natural resources accounting and systems for monitoring forest resource supply, demand and use.

10. Support adaptive research on negotiating processes, policy instruments and prediction of policy impacts. Research is needed on how the value of forest products can be captured in local and national planning. Another key research need is on the silviculture of indigenous woodlands. Capacity for cross-sectoral policy analysis, particularly of consultative processes, choice of policy instruments and tools for predicting policy impacts, should be built at local and central government levels.

11. Experiment further with models of good forest management. Much work has gone into developing models of good forest management practice at certain levels. However, there are areas which still need more attention, such as the incorporation of gender considerations and local knowledge, and shared resource management. The FC's experiment with resource sharing may boost the efficacy of forms of collaborative resource management in the eyes of other landholders.

12. Allow some state land in reserves to be used for resettlement. The major reason why the resettlement programme has been very slow to date is government's lack of finance to purchase farms. Yet government holds onto a lot of state land, including state forests where conflicts with contiguous rural populations are common. Government could decide to resettle limited populations in some reserves. Particular efforts could be made in these areas to foster institutions and consider agricultural and forestry options which maintain the status of forest resources. Such an approach might re-establish the FC's credibility with rural populations.

9.3 Land and agricultural agencies agenda

13. Develop participatory working methods amongst land and resource agencies. Government agencies need to sensitise and train their personnel, especially those with responsibilities for land use planning, in participatory methodologies and conflict resolution skills. In turn, such personnel may then encourage genuine community contributions to planning and management.

14. Broaden participation in production of agricultural tradeables. Structural adjustment favours agricultural tradeables due to the devaluation of the local currency. Commercial farmers have increased output of tradeables such as tobacco, flowers, fruits and vegetables. Notwithstanding the threat of food insecurity if small farmers concentrate on tradeables, there is a need to broaden the participation in tradeables by including small-scale commercial farmers, resettlement farmers and communal area farmers by providing skills, technical and physical inputs, and capital and marketing expertise to these groups.

15. Incorporate consideration for natural resources in resettlement schemes. Resettlement scheme planning and management efforts need to be infused with consideration for natural resources. The FC should contribute

to generating the know-how and enthusiasm amongst resettlement groups to manage forest resources within and alongside agricultural land.

16. Fully assess the scope for a land and water tax. A land tax should not be introduced simply as a punitive measure against commercial farmers. Careful design is required such that it becomes an effective policy instrument for limiting land concentration, under-utilisation and speculation. A water tax offers another potential instrument for creating an additional market supply of land, since the productivity of large estates is so heavily dependent on the exploitation of irrigation water.

9.4 Multi-sectoral agenda

17. Promote accountability through enabling civil society initiatives. NGOs and other civil society organisations can perform stronger roles as watchdogs to ensure that government is challenged to deliver its commitments. Strategies to increase public awareness of the issues, and direct lobbying of government, might make for quicker follow-through. Government could strengthen the legitimacy of policy reforms by supporting the creation of a representative non-governmental body, along the lines of the South African National Land Committee, and national conferences on major issues.

18. Install reflective processes within and between stakeholder groups on land and natural resource management issues. Variance in opinions, and resulting conflict, may simply be because stakeholders have not had the forum and the time to explore issues in an open manner.

19. Support capacity of local institutions to deal with others and manage resources. Local institutions will require support, particularly for their ability to make binding agreements, and to ensure their rights to manage and to realise returns from natural resources. Development of business analysis and marketing skills is key at community level, so that local groups can optimise the value of their resources.

20. Increase investment in agricultural infrastructure, extension and marketing. Market liberalisation, budget cuts, removal of subsidies, privatisation and reduction in the civil service have resulted in worker retrenchments and an increase in the population dependent on agriculture. Government should create conditions which can lead to an increase in

investment in the agricultural sector by way of infrastructure, research, extension and marketing services. The Land Tenure Commission suggested that funds previously spent on parastatal support and subsidies could be used for this purpose.

We conclude that our initial hypothesis is more or less proven - that processes of policy making and implementing are not currently up to the urgent job of securing a mutually supportive future for Zimbabwe's forests and people. Yet we have identified a range of elements of policy content and process that do work. A process of debating these, and of detailing and prioritising the proposed ways forward is now needed. If forests and people in Zimbabwe are to have a mutually supportive future, we will need policy which engages with practice in the "real world" - of our people, our institutions and the forest goods and services we care about.

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Annexes

Annex I: Individuals consulted, workshop participants, study team members and advisors

stm = study team member; c = consulted; a = advisor; wp = workshop participant.

Mrs S. Baker, Forestry Extension Services, Forestry Commission (stm)
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Mr G. le Breton, Southern Alliance for Indigenous Resources (c)
Prof B.M. Campbell, Institute of Environmental Studies, University of Zimbabwe (a)
Mr E. Chidziya, Department of National Parks and Wild Life Management (c)
Mr S. Chimbuya, Department of Natural Resources (c)
Mr C. Chinhoyi, Zimbabwe Trust (c)
Mr Chingosho, Mutare District Administration (c)
Dr Chitate, Department of Veterinary Services (c)
Mr M. Davidson, Timber Council (c)
Mr Dewura, Forestry Extension Services, Forestry Commission, Chinhoyi (c)
Mr Dzimbiri, Administrative Officer, Mutare Rural District Council (c)
Mr P. Gondo, Forestry Extension Services, Forestry Commission (stm)
Mr D. Gumbo, formerly Enda-Zimbabwe (c)
Ms P. Hobane, Southern Alliance for Indigenous Resources (wp)
Mr W. Johnstone, Timber Producers Federation (c)
Mr T. Kachale, Border Timbers P. Ltd (c)
Mr P. Kariwo, Commercial Division, Forestry Commission (c)
Mr S. Kasere, Campfire Association (c)
Dr Y. Katerere, IUCN-Regional Office for Southern Africa; formerly Forestry Commission (a, wp, c)
Mr E. Kawadza; formerly Training, Extension and Interpretation, Department of National Parks and Wild Life Management (c)
Mr P.F. Kunjeku, formerly Wildlife Society of Zimbabwe (c)
Dr C. Machena, Department of National Parks and Wild Life Management (c)
Mr W. Makombe, Department of National Parks and Wild Life Management (c)
the Late S. Makuku, Southern Alliance for Indigenous Resources (wp)
Mr J.J. Mangono, Department of Energy (stm)
Mr M.C. Mapako, Biomass Users' Network (wp)
Mr D. Marongwe, Ministry of Mines, Environment and Tourism (c)
Mr C. Marunda, Research and Development Division, Forestry Commission (stm)
Mr Matongo, Ministry of Local Government, Rural and Urban Development (c)
Mr F. Matose, Research and Development Division, Forestry Commission (stm)
Dr J. Matowanyika, ZERO - A Regional Environmental Organisation (c)
Mr T. Mavheneke, Campfire Association (c, a)
Mr J. Mayers, International Institute for Environment and Development (a, c, wp)
Mr R. Mkwanda, Department of Natural Resources (c)
Dr S.S. Mlambo, former Ministry of Lands and Water (c)
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Mr E. Mutswairo, Forestry Commission (c)
Mr J. Muzamba, formerly Zimbabwe Trust (c)
Ms S. Mvududu, Women and Law in Southern Africa (c)
Dr C. Nhira, Centre for Applied Social Sciences, University of Zimbabwe (stm)
Mr P. Nyathi, Department of Research and Specialist Services (c)
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Dr E.M. Shumba, Research and Development Division, Forestry Commission (c)
Ms L. Tapfumaneyi, Agritex (c)
Mr Tasosa, Zimbabwe National Conservation Trust (c)
Mr Van der Pitte, Coopibo (c)
Mr Zhakata, Ministry of Finance (c)
Mr Zhou, Zimbabwe Farmers Union (c)

Annex 2: Data used for figures

Data used for Figure 2.1: Vegetation Cover in Zimbabwe

Cover type	Canopy cover	Tree height	Area in ha	% of total land area
natural forest: moist, deciduous	80-100%	>15m	11,720	0.03
plantation forest	80-100%	<1 to >15m	156,300	0.4
woodland: dense, medium, open	20-80%	5 to 15m	20,788,270	53.2
bushland	20-80%	1 to 5m	4,970,430	12.72
wooded/bushed grassland	2-20%	1 to >15m	1,203,530	3.08
grassland	<2%	<1 to >15m	687,730	1.76
cultivated land	n/a	n/a	10,734,090	27.47
rock outcrop and mine dump	n/a	n/a	78,150	0.2
water body	n/a	n/a	300,880	0.77
settlement (including wooded suburbs/parks)	n/a	n/a	140,670	0.36
TOTAL NATIONAL TERRITORY			39,075,700	100

Source: Gondo and Traub, 1993; Forestry Commission, 1997