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A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF THE IMPLICATIONS OF ETHNICITY ON CAMPFIRE IN BULILIMAMANGWE AND BINGA DISTRICTS OF ZIMBABWE

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Abstract

Campfire is a wildlife management programme which seeks to involve local people, in return for benefits, in the management of their local resources. It is aimed at developing local people equally, while conserving the natural resource base. In this article we look at two districts, Bulilimamangwe and Binga and argue that people are not benefiting equally in Campfire because of planners' disregard for ethnic differences within the target communities. Using the Bulilimamangwe case study we conclude that because Campfire is concerned with compensating agro-pastoralists and providing them with livestock rangelands, it is neglecting the peripheral San foragers. In Binga, wealthy immigrant farmers are neglected: this neglect leads the affected people to develop livelihood strategies which ultimately affect Campfire negatively.

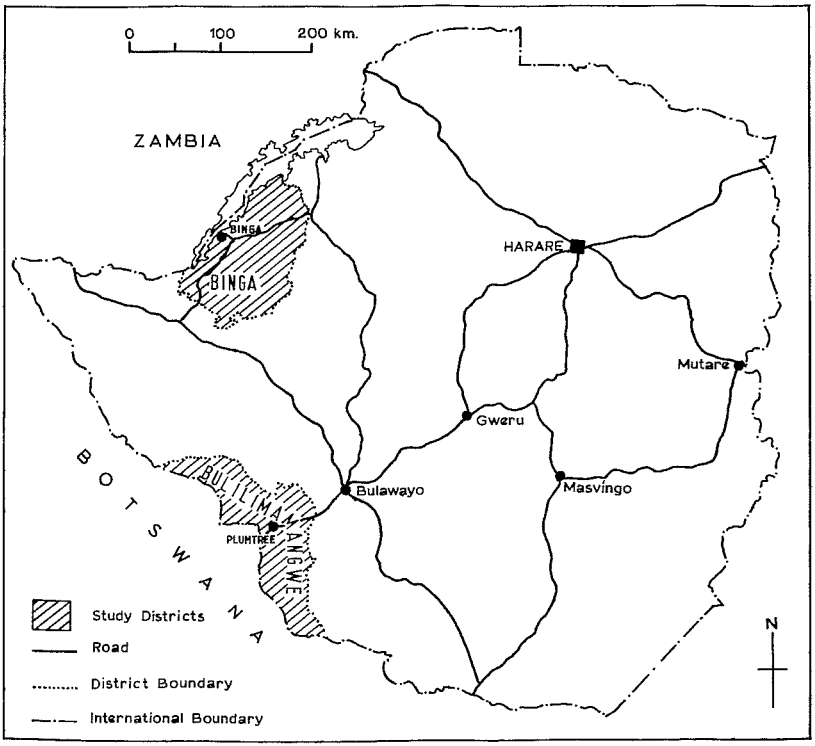
INTRODUCTION

THE COMMUNAL AREA Management Programme For Indigenous Resources (Campfire) is a Natural Resources Management Project (NRMP) funded by USAID as part of a regional initiative in wildlife conservation. Campfire is a national initiative which attempts to put the management of wildlife in the hands of the communities who live, and thus pay the price for living, in proximity to it. Campfire seeks to direct the income from wildlife to local communities and households, to ensure that local people derive maximum benefit from the land that they occupy, which has suitable habitat for wildlife as well as for livestock and to a lesser extent, agriculture.

There are two reasons why we have decided to write this article. There is a tendency by many practitioners and researchers to treat as homogeneous the communities in which Campfire is practised. This perception leads to the belief that the value and uses of the environment are the same among all members of the community.[1] The history of rural development from the 1950s has shown that rural communities are not, unlike what Campfire practitioners believe today, homogeneous groups. Divisions exist based on ethnicity, and on access to and control of

[1] R. Martin, 'Communal Areas Management Programme for Indigenous Resources' (Harare, Working Document 1/86, Dept. of National Parks and Wildlife Management, 1986).

LOCATION OF RESEARCH AREAS



resources. In this article we deal with ethnicity in communities in which Campfire is practised, namely Binga and Bulilimamangwe. We show that these communities are made up of different ethnic groups. We also show, after Murombedzi[2], that there is competition and conflict in the use of the environment, based on ethnicity.

Our second point is that because access to and use of natural resources is related to ethnicity, Campfire reinforces existing inequalities in access to resources. This is a flaw repeated by development programmes around the world that fail to recognize the pluralism of rural communities. This is particularly clear in the case of Bulilimamangwe where Campfire, because of its concern with compensating agro-pastoralists and providing them with livestock rangelands, is neglecting the San foragers and hunters.

[2] J. Murombedzi, 'The Dynamics of Conflict in Environment Management in Campfire' (Harare, CASS, D. Phil thesis, University of Zimbabwe, 1994), 240–250.

The practice of excluding some of the groups from participating in Campfire leaves them to pursue their own competitive economic activities. Where Campfire sits beside agro-pastoralism as an option for land use, the people who are the targets of Campfire actively and constantly evaluate it against pastoralism. Data from Binga shows this tendency. In this district, those to whom Campfire is directed increasingly find more joy in commercial agro-pastoralism, which has been introduced largely by the 'marginal' groups. In the process they debate, revise and in many cases reject Campfire as a viable enterprise.

A NOTE ON METHODOLOGY

The data for this discussion was collected between 1991 and 1994, during the project on the development of the natural resources management, Campfire, in Matabeleland North and South. Some of the data were collected during the initial baseline household survey, and some of the data were collected in subsequent focused studies on migration, gathering of mopane worm, grazing behaviour and the collection of thatching grass. In August 1994, we went to the two districts mentioned in this discussion to talk to members of the different ethnic groups regarding social relations and use of natural resources over time.

Our method can be criticised for its lack of historical data on previous structural arrangements among ethnic groups, which does not allow for adequate measurement of social change. This kind of information is not available for the communities studied, especially the San in Zimbabwe. In most cases accounts proffered about previous structural arrangements are too sketchy and idealised to allow for an informed study of change. However, we have used secondary sources of historical data on San communities in Botswana to fill in this gap.[3]

Notwithstanding the above, we are still confident that we have been able to capture the major changes in the communities studied to show what implications this will have on Campfire. For easy reference and clarity we have kept the discussion of the two districts separate.

CAMPFIRE

Campfire is informed by the idea that communal tenure as a form of common property resource tenure, unlike open access, is a sustainable form of resource management[4]. The strength of communal tenure lies in

[3] R. Lee and I. DeVore, *Man The Hunter* (Cambridge (Mass), Harvard University Press, 1968); R. Lee and J. Solway, 'Foragers, genuine or spurious', *Current Anthropology* (1990), XXXI, (ii), 109–146.

[4] See also D. W. Bromley and M. M. Cernia, 'The Management of Common Property Natural Resources: Some Conceptual and Operational Fallacies' (Washington D. C., World Bank Discussion Paper 57, 1989), 11, for a detailed discussion of tenure regimes.

the fact that it defines the resource, identifies legitimate users and confers duties on users to use sustainably the resource without compromising interests of other users. Mechanisms in the form of customary laws and norms, for example, what Nhira and Fortmann call pragmatic controls and the civil contract that are built into the communal system of land tenure, are said to ensure conformity and sustainable resource use by community members. Pragmatic controls are 'both long-standing and recently adopted norms of (resource) use designed to ensure a steady flow of a particular product'. The civil contract comprises 'norms of civility that govern daily conduct and which restrain excessively avaricious behaviour'.[5]

Campfire seeks to extend communal resource tenure to wildlife to ensure sustainable and equitable use by the communal area members. Control and use of wildlife was removed from the people living in the communal areas. In colonial times, traditional leadership structures were supposed to play a role in land and resource management but these traditional structures had no powers of exclusion and access to certain natural resources such as wildlife[6]. Some researchers believe that 'environmental degradation may be more symptomatic of an institutional breakdown in the face of... colonialism, than any reflection of shortcomings inherent to common property systems'.[7] After independence, the government granted local communities, through rural district councils, authority to manage and utilise wildlife.

Campfire also deals with communities that territorially use or own a resource. This paper looks at communities in Campfire which have access to the resource base but differ in use and control on the basis of ethnicity. The argument is that there is need to look at existing relationships between and within communities to demonstrate how Campfire might affect, or be affected by, the different ethnic groups.

ETHNIC GROUPS IN BULILIMAMANGWE

There are two distinct groups of users of natural resources in Bulilimamangwe. These groups can be defined in terms of ethnicity, that is the San on one hand and the Kalanga and Ndebele on the other. A household survey based on a random sample showed that only a minority (0,7%) of

[5] C. Nhira and L. Fortmann, *Local Management of Trees and Woodland Resources in Zimbabwe: A Tenurial Niche* (Harare, CASS Occasional Paper Series, University of Zimbabwe, 1992), 3.

[6] See also M. W. Murphree, *Communities As Institutions for Natural Resource Management* (Harare, CASS Occasional Paper Series, University of Zimbabwe, 1991, reprtd 1992).

[7] J. E. Peck, 'From Royal Game to Popular Heritage — Wildlife Policy and Resource Tenure Under Colonial and Independent Rule in Zimbabwe' (Paper presented at the 36th Annual Meeting of the African Studies Association, Boston, 1993), 4.

households were San, 6,1% were Ndebele and the Kalanga (91,4%) are the majority.[8] However, our observations suggested that some San did not openly admit to being San, and that the real figure should be around 2 or 2,4% of the 840 households in the ward. The San are the original inhabitants of the area. Some place names reveal this San ancestry. The San were originally a hunting and gathering community while the Kalanga and Ndebele are sedentary agro-pastoralists. The San groups in Bulilimamangwe are the remaining people who survived assimilation into Kalanga and Ndebele groups.

San settlements are at the edge of the settled area in Bulilimamangwe. They interact with the Ndebele and the Kalanga at beer drinks and meetings. The San have their own cultural ceremonies and do not participate in Kalanga/Ndebele cultural ceremonies. At present the San speak Kalanga and Ndebele, and few old San still remember the San language. The school system neglects the San language: Ndebele is the vernacular language of instruction and examination. The San use Kalanga or Ndebele surnames, which some argue are equivalents of their San names. A slow process of social change is taking place which will result in the San becoming Kalanga or Ndebele. Haaland points out, with reference to the Fur and Baggara of Sudan, that such transformational ethnicity is an ideological adjustment to changed material environmental and social conditions rather than a choice of cultural models.[9] The process of social change resulting from the meeting of the San and the Kalanga and Ndebele is far from complete. The San still exist as a group identified by their clientship to the Kalanga and Ndebele, by their hunting and gathering, and lack of resources necessary for sedentary agro-pastoralism.

The San in Bulilimamangwe occupy the fringes of the Kalanga and Ndebele community. Efforts by government and non-governmental organisations have resulted in the sedentarisation of the San. The 20 households have settled in a small village on the western margin of Makhulela ward. The San village becomes the last settled area before the unsettled grazing and hunting area. House construction is not as elaborate as that of the Kalanga homes. The agricultural extension worker for the area has pegged out ten acre plots for the households. In the first year, the fields were not cleared let alone used. Shortage of draught power was given as the reason for this failure to work in the fields. A non-governmental organisation (NGO) promised the San a tractor for draught power in the following year. These efforts by the NGO still have to be measured.

[8] The other 1,8% is made up of those who regard themselves as 'other', for example, Nyai, Lozi, etc.

[9] G. Haaland, 'Economic determinants in ethnic processes' in F. Barth (ed.), *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries* (Bergen\Oslo, Universitets Forlaget, 1969), 59.

SOCIAL INTERACTION BETWEEN THE TWO GROUPS

The San and the Kalanga and Ndebele mix by virtue of being in the same geographical location. The Kalanga and Ndebele accuse the San of laziness and having a penchant for beer. It is said that in the early days of Kalanga settlement the San always tried to move away from the sedentary groups. The San accused the Kalanga and Ndebele of witchcraft and had to flee from these people. Wilson, in her study of witchcraft, observed that the frequency of witchcraft accusations is a reflection of the culture specific areas of social tension.[10] From this viewpoint it can be argued that these accusations may have been a result of incompatibility in the ways of life between the two groups. The San were hunters and could not hunt in areas where cattle were abundant. The competition between wildlife and livestock for the range was reflected in the movements of the San from the areas settled by the Kalanga. Cattle brought with them cattle herders and dogs which drove the wildlife away. The San followed the wildlife.[11]

The increase of Kalanga and Ndebele in Bulilimamangwe pushed the San to the furthest point they could move to in the western direction. Later, the westward drift was contained by the erection of the Hwange National Park boundary fence but the San cross the border into Botswana and back. Information collected to date does not show the existence of San systems of chiefs or headmen.[12] This is supported by the notion that links the proliferation of the 'rule base' with the specific property requirements of different types of economic activity. 'Hunters and gatherers have "minimal" law and government, because their notions of property are unelaborated.'[13] The colonial authorities just placed the San under the Kalanga forms of leadership. However, the San did not pay forms of tribute or show any allegiance to the Kalanga chiefs. This was because their migratory way of life did not allow recognition of a leader associated with a particular territory.

The Kalanga and Ndebele have similar systems of marriage within a patriarchal system. Marriage is through the payment of cash and cattle to the bride's family. The San, having no cattle, have married without the transfer of such items to the bride's family; instead, marriage was marked with the transfer of small gifts like meat and grain. With increased interaction a few Kalanga men married women from the San community.

[10] M. Wilson, 'Witch-beliefs and social structure' in M. M. Marwick (ed.), *Witchcraft and Sorcery* (Harmondsworth, Penguin, 1970), 262. See also S. Mombeshora, 'Witches, witchcraft and the question of order' in R. Abrahams (ed.), *Witchcraft Beliefs in Southern Tanzania* (Cambridge, African Studies Centre, 1994).

[11] See also Solway and Lee, 'Foragers, genuine or spurious', 114.

[12] This is corroborated by Solway and Lee, 'Foragers, genuine or spurious', 113.

[13] S. Roberts, *Order and Dispute* (Harmondsworth, Pelican, 1979), 201.

Cattle may have been paid but there is no evidence at present of San building up herds of cattle as a result of marriage. It has been difficult for the San men to marry among the Kalanga and Ndebele because of their lack of cattle. Also the San are looked down upon by the Kalanga and Ndebele as socially and economically inferior.

ENVIRONMENT USE AMONG THE KALANGA/NDEBELE AND THE SAN

In addition to the ethnic component there is also the use of the environment by each of the two groups which historically was different. The differentiation is illustrated in beliefs that there were two families in the beginning. The first household saw some foot-marks which it followed. That household found a cow and milked it. This was the non-San person who later followed the cow and went on to keep more cattle. The other household in its search for food found some foot-marks which it also followed. They found a buffalo which they slaughtered, and they ate the meat. This was the San family, which continued to hunt in search of meat. This is the story used to explain how the two groups use the environment differently.[14]

The ecosystems in Bulilimamangwe provide several resources that contribute to human survival. These are wildlife, arable land, grazing, water, thatching grass and forest products. The Kalanga and the Ndebele are agro-pastoralists. They grow crops and rear cattle for draught power, food (meat and milk), sale, investment, cultural and political reasons. In addition the Kalanga also keep small ruminant stock like goats and sheep, and donkeys and poultry.

The Kalanga grow crops mainly for subsistence. They grow sorghum, millet, beans and maize varieties suited to the short growing season. In good years they sell some of the harvest locally and outside the communal lands, especially beans. A household experiencing deficits in labour supply may hire San people to come and assist with ploughing, weeding or harvesting. Due to the semi-arid nature of Bulilimamangwe, most families do not rely entirely on the land for their food requirements. The availability of sources of income to purchase food and its availability, especially maize meal, in stores are crucial for the communities' food security. The major source of income is migrant labour mainly to South Africa and to a lesser extent, Botswana.

The cattle are grazed on common pastures near the homes and far away from the homes in the dry seasons.[15] Livestock require herding because of the absence of good fencing. They also require herding in the

[14] See also Lee and DeVore, *Man The Hunter*, 322.

[15] See E. Madzudzo, *Cattle, Grazing and Rangeland Tenure* (forthcoming).

dry season because of the prevalence of carnivores like hyena and jackal and in some cases lion and leopard[16]. Of late there has been an increase in cattle rustling cases. This has resulted in many Kalanga people wanting to employ cattle herders. Several Kalanga people hire the San as cattle herders[17].

The San do not have a tradition of growing crops for food or of cattle rearing. They depended on the environment, of which they had superior knowledge, for their food, both meat and wild grain. This knowledge has earned them the reputation of being excellent trackers of wildlife. With increasing contact with the Kalanga and Ndebele, the San, facing a shortage of wild grain, bartered meat for grain. Colonial policies which disallowed hunting of game by indigenous people[18] especially affected the San because they had hitherto relied on hunting for their survival. The San turned to the Kalanga and Ndebele for some of their food requirements. The San became cattle herders for the Ndebele and the Kalanga. They also worked in the fields during ploughing, weeding and harvesting times. In return the San were given grain as payment and had access to the milk from the cows. Although there existed a system of rewarding a cattle herder with a heifer after a year or so, it appears this was done to the Ndebele and Kalanga cattle herders only. This system was important in that it enabled the households without cattle to start their own herds. By being excluded from this practice, the San became the cattle herders of the Ndebele and Kalanga without the opportunity of starting their own herds. This compares with what Maquet observed in colonial Rwanda:

> The dominant cattle owning Tutsi who were a minority made sure that their cattle herders, the Hutu majority, remained in a position of subordination by denying them payment of cows and thus keeping them from independently building their own herds.[19]

The above had implications for the way the two groups used the environment. While arable and grazing land were available for use by the community, the San used the environment as employees of the dominant

[16] See R. K. Hawkes, *Crop and Livestock Damage in Bulilimamangwe* (Harare, CASS Occasional Paper Series, University of Zimbabwe, 1992).

[17] Solway and Lee, 'Foragers, genuine or spurious', 114, say that in the case of Botswana, the Bantu cattle owners used to rely on their poor relatives for herding. It is with the increase in labour migrancy to South Africa that the Bantu groups turned to the San as cattle herders because they did not migrate to the labour centres. This may be the case with the San in Bulilimamangwe. There is evidence of practices like *ukubusisa* where Kalanga cattle owners paid their poor relatives with cattle for herding.

[18] D. Anderson and R. Grove, *Conservation in Africa — People, Policies and Practice* (Cambridge, CUP, 1987), 3.

[19] J. Maquet, *The Premise of Inequality in Ruanda* (London, OUP, 1961), 128ff.

Kalanga and Ndebele groups. San hunting and gathering continued but at levels too low to allow them to be entirely independent of the dominant groups.[20] Although the San were the original settlers in the area, they were reduced to a subordinate status, as a people who relied on other groups for some of their food requirements.

The San participate in the collection of mopane worms *(gonimbrasia bellina)* and thatching grass like the Kalanga and the Ndebele.[21] They use the mopane worm for food and sell some of the surplus to outsiders. Thatching grass is collected for repairing houses and some is exchanged for food, clothes and beer. Although there is a widely held belief among the Kalanga and the Ndebele that the San collect a lot of thatching grass and mopane worm for sale, a survey of the practice did not reveal any difference between the collecting behaviour of the Kalanga, Ndebele and the San[22].

THE SAN AND CAMPFIRE

Campfire has been developed in the area with no special regard to the ethnic differences in the community. It has been difficult to target any activity or benefit to the San as a group. The Campfire area has been demarcated in terms of wards. Wards are a recent phenomenon established in 1982, and do not differentiate people in terms of ethnicity or resource use. Inclusion of wards has been partly based on the historical use of the wildlife area but no effort has been made to regard the San as the original users of the wildlife area.

The co-existence of the Kalanga and the Ndebele and the San has not resulted in the complete absorption of one group by the other. The San continue to be an identifiable group ethnically. They do not rely entirely on hunting and gathering any more. They now depend on the dominant groups for some of their food supply by selling their labour. The changes observed among the San might suggest that it is in the interest of some Kalanga and Ndebele to keep the San in this dependent position.[23] This

[20] See also Solway and Lee, 'Foragers, genuine or spurious', 117.

[21] P. Hobane, *Amacimbi: The Gathering, Processing, Consumption and Trade of Edible Caterpillars in Bulilimamangwe District* (Harare, CASS Occasional Paper Series, University of Zimbabwe, 1994).

[22] R. K. Hawkes and E. Madzudzo, 'The Collection of Thatching Grass in the Bulilimamangwe NRMP', CASS, unpubl, 1994).

[23] This point is made with the full understanding that not all the households rely on San labour, given their small population *vis-à-vis* the Kalanga and Ndebele populations. Furthermore, not all the Kalanga and Ndebele own large herds. It is the few households with many cattle which can afford to hire labour and use San people. The extent to which these dominant groups can keep the San in a certain position is debatable because the San are not bound to any particular employer or job. They can withdraw their labour at any time.

insures that San labour will always be available to the Kalanga and the Ndebele at a cheap price. Thus the San have been slow in adopting cattle rearing or agriculture as a means of survival partly as a result of the deliberate action of the dominant groups.

While the Kalanga had a higher material standard of living and were more secure in food than the San, the pace of diffusion has been slow. The San have continued to service the Kalanga and the Ndebele for their cropping and herding needs in return for money or produce from the land or cattle. This system enabled the San to continue hunting and gathering under difficult conditions and to survive without taking up cattle rearing, arable agriculture or migrant labour as a way of life.

The system of labour migration, which provided the local Kalanga and Ndebele with a source of cash, seems to have eluded the San[24]. The San were not entirely weaned from living off the forest by the advent of Bantu groups or colonialism. Therefore their means of survival was partly met by taking part in non-traditional San economic activities like cattle herding and working in the fields, but they continued to survive on the forest. Labour migrancy would have totally changed the San way of life by removing their dependence on the forest. The San took up non-San activities to compliment, and not to supplant, their way of life.

The exclusion of the San from migration may also be explained by the fact that an ideology has been maintained which put the San on the lowest rung of the social ladder. The San have been made to accept their position as providers of labour to the Kalanga and Ndebele. Excluded from the school system and other means of climbing the social ladder, the San have continued to be preoccupied with securing the basic means of survival, that is food and nothing more. This the Kalanga and Ndebele have taken advantage of because it freed them to take part in migrant labour.

Agriculture, cattle rearing and labour migration form the major economic activities in Bulilimamangwe. The San who have been settled by the government and a NGO were allocated 10 hectare plots for arable agriculture. The San lack draught power to work their fields. However, this constraint is not applicable to the San only. Research on cattle ownership indicates that about a third of the households in Bulilimamangwe do not own cattle. Ndebele and Kalanga households are able to plough through

[24] Many detailed studies emphasize the importance of labour migration on San-Bantu relationships in Botswana (Solway and Lee, 'Foragers, genuine or spurious'; M. Guenther, 'Acculturation and assimilation of the Bushmen', in I. R. Vossen and K. Keuthmann (ed.), *Contemporary Studies on Khoisan* (Hamburg, Helmut Buske Verlag, 1986); R. K. Hithcock, 'Socio-economic change among the Basarwa in Botswana: An ethnohistorical analysis', *Ethnohistory* (1987), XXXIV, 219-55. All studies note that the San did not participate in labour migrancy. None of the studies have attempted to explain why the San did not get involved in labour migrancy like the other ethnic groups.

borrowing, based on other labour exchange mechanisms and kinship relations. Except where they are linked to the Kalanga and Ndebele by marriage, the San are not kin to the Kalanga and the Ndebele. This excludes them from participating in these resource sharing arrangements which allow those who do not own cattle to have access to draught power. This situation does not allow for the San to put into practice the agricultural knowledge they get from working for the Kalanga or the Ndebele.

The Campfire programme in Bulilimamangwe focusses on the use of the range for wildlife and livestock. Also crop and livestock damage are used as a measure of the costs of wildlife management in the communal area (there are other costs, such as loss of grazing, which are hard to measure). The San have no crops or livestock. This may lead us to conclude that Campfire is for the Kalanga and Ndebele only, to the exclusion of the San, because it accepts the basic structure of the target communities.

THE SHONA, NDEBELE AND THE TONGA IN BINGA

In the following section we look at Binga district where ethnic groups which interact frequently occupy different positions in Campfire. We pay attention to those groups that are excluded from Campfire and how they affect local commitment to Campfire.

There are three ethnic groups in the area where Campfire is being implemented in Binga. These groups are fluid and Dzingirai's recent research has shown that it is common for a member of one group to join another.[25] The groups are the Shona, the Ndebele and the Tonga. The Tonga people, who form about two thirds of the total population, are indigenous to Binga. The Ndebele and the Shona peoples are immigrants. The two immigrant groups are only different in that they speak different languages. Otherwise they share the same culture and beliefs *vis-à-vis* the Tonga. The Shona and the Ndebele way of life, as will become clear in this article, differs from that of the Tonga. It is for this reason that the Ndebele and the Shona are regarded in this article as one group.

BRIEF HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Although many Ndebele/Shona people started to move into Tonga territory as early as 1982, the majority moved in between 1992–1994. A few immigrants report that they were given land or invited to stay by their Tonga friends, who happened to be their co-workers in either Bulawayo or

[25] V. Dzingirai, 'Politics and ideology in human settlement: Getting settled in the Sikomena area of chief Dobola', *Zambezia: The Journal of the University of Zimbabwe* (1994), XXI, (ii), 167–176.

[26] For a detailed analysis on how immigrants acquired land see *Ibid.*

Hwange. The majority of immigrants[26] report that they acquired land through the traditional leaders, whom they regarded as the traditional custodians of land. Almost nobody acquired land through the Council, the local authority legally tasked to allocate land in Zimbabwe.

The Ndebele/Shona come from the surrounding districts. The Shona people mainly come from Gokwe. Originally they came from Masvingo and settled in the now densely populated area of Gokwe after the eradication of the tsetse fly[27]. The Ndebele come from the neighbouring Nkayi and Lupane districts, which are both Ndebele-speaking areas in the Matabeleland North Province of Zimbabwe. Both groups came mainly in search of arable land and pastures.

ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES OF ETHNIC GROUPS

The Ndebele and Shona peoples

The Ndebele and the Shona people are excluded from participating and enjoying the benefits of Campfire. The Ndebele and Shona zealously say they want to prove that they can earn a living from other economic activities such as agro-pastoralism. Some even allege that they want to surpass economically those who depend on Campfire. It is for this reason that they devote their energies to perfecting their agriculture.

The Ndebele and Shona are cattle owners; they keep large herds of cattle, some of which they sell to the Cold Storage Commission or private buyers. Some of these cattle are useful as draught power, sources of manure, milk and meat, all of which are important to the lives of the owners.[28]

The Shona and the Ndebele are agriculturalists. The district council in practice does not distribute the benefits from Campfire to those who are not Tonga. This is one of the reasons why the Shona and Ndebele devote themselves to agriculture. Although they grow for their own consumption, the Shona and the Ndebele, like their counterparts in other parts of the country, mainly grow crops for commercial reasons.[29] Some of the crops they grow are export-oriented. These include sunflower and cotton. Maize, which is grown for both commercial and subsistence purposes, is the

[27] Murombedzi, 'The Dynamics of Conflict in Environment Management in Campfire', 16, maintains a contrary point, namely that people were attracted by the creation of roads in the tsetse areas and that the tsetse fled from these human concentrations. It could very well be that settlement started before eradication but that it was given greater momentum by the eradication of the fly.

[28] For a detailed discussion of livestock value among rural farmers in Zimbabwe see I. Scoones and K. Wilson, 'Household lineage groups and ecological dynamics: Issues for livestock development in Zimbabwe's communal lands', in B. Cousins (ed.), *People, Land and Livestock* (Harare, CASS, University of Zimbabwe, 1989).

[29] See also V. Dzingirai, 'Accumulation and Response' (Harare, Mphil Thesis, Dept. of Sociology, University of Zimbabwe, 1993).

major crop. In addition, with the encouragement of Agritex staff, the Shona and Ndebele grow modern varieties of sorghum, millet and groundnuts.

In order to make profits, the Shona and the Ndebele clear big fields on which they plant new maize and cotton varieties and use modern technology such as chemicals and pesticides. Likewise they move into the virgin lands in search of pastures for their well-kept livestock, which they sell whenever they have a reasonable excess for draught power. The Shona and Ndebele people do not want any wildlife present in the open range because they say it competes with their livestock for browsing and grazing. They also do not want wildlife near their fields and homesteads because they say it damages their crops and livestock. The Shona and Ndebele people now do not want to hear about Campfire because they say they do not benefit from it. As one Shona woman remarked, 'We do not get any money from Campfire. We also don't get the meat. All we get is the damage from elephants.'

The Tonga people

Historically, the Tonga people partly depended on hunting and fishing[30]. From the forest they got the meat, edible insects, roots and fruits. The Zambezi River provided them with fish which they caught using canoes. They also hunted the hippopotamus.[31] Agriculture equally played an important role in Tonga livelihood. David Livingstone's journals[32] provide evidence of a viable agricultural system in which maize, tobacco, groundnuts, sorghum and pumpkins were grown. They traded some of the produce for guns and hoes.[33] T. Scudder[34] provides evidence of the viability and importance of agriculture among the Tonga people by pointing out that the Tonga used river bank gardens to grow two harvests per year, one in the rainy season and another in winter. After the flooding of the Zambezi River following the construction of the Kariba Dam, the Tonga people were resettled on the semi-arid highlands. Here they found agriculture difficult because of the erratic rainfall and the hot weather.

Nowadays the Tonga people, who number about 87 000, are largely subsistence farmers. They grow for subsistence, crops such as sorghum,

[30] F. Posselt, *A Survey of Tribes of Southern Africa* (Salisbury, Govt. Printers, 1927), 28.

[31] *Ibid.*, 13.

[32] See for instance D. Livingstone, *Missionaries, Research and Travels in Southern Africa* (London, John Murray, 1865), 551–6.

[33] P. Reynolds, *Dance Civet* (Athens, Ohio University Press, 1991), xxiii.

[34] T. Scudder, *The Ecology of the Gwembe Tonga* (Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1962), 223–224.

millet and maize and these are mostly traditional varieties. They cannot clear and cultivate big fields because of the limitation in technology and other inputs. The majority of the Tonga people do not have modern seeds and ploughs. Although their traditional crops can withstand harsh climatic conditions such as drought and winds and can do without fertilizers or pesticides, they nevertheless yield very little compared to the newer high-yielding varieties. There are reports that the Tonga people do not have any crop surplus. This could be true because the Tonga use antiquated equipment and do not have cattle and ploughs for deep ploughing. Secondly, wildlife often eat their crops leaving them with very little to eat.

The Tonga people keep traditional breeds of goats, sheep and very few cattle. In the past they used to keep more cattle.[35] We know from Livingstone's missionary reports that the Tonga had developed, as far back as the 1850s, technologies to deal with tsetse fly which attacked livestock[36].

Today the Tonga are Campfire targets. They participate in Campfire, avoiding poaching of wildlife. They also provide a healthy habitat for wildlife by not destroying the vegetation. In return they receive a share of the game meat killed in their vicinity, and annually they receive a share of cash revenue obtained from wildlife. These benefits are limited to Tonga people only. Until recently, many Tonga people regarded Campfire as an unquestionable viable economic option with a high potential to cater for their needs.

PATRONAGE SYSTEM AND CULTURAL DIFFUSION

On the surface there appears to be no interaction between the Tonga and the two incoming groups. Most Ndebele people do not understand Tonga language and they require that the Tonga people speak their language. This is often repulsed by the Tonga who say that the incomers' insistence that they should speak Ndebele smacks of arrogance. The Ndebele and the Shona people should learn to speak their language. It is also common to hear reports from the Ndebele and Shona peoples that the Tonga people are lazy and want to live on hunting. It is often added that the Tonga are poor because they spend most of their time drinking beer. The Tonga people for their part say that Ndebele and Shona peoples are arrogant, greedy for land and traditional cattle thieves, hostile people bent on stealing Tonga wealth. These accusations, some of which are true,[37] probably reflect the strain and tension that comes from seeing immigrants monopolize Tonga wealth.

[35] Livingstone, *Missionaries, Research and Travels in Southern Africa*, 551–6.

[36] See *Ibid.*

[37] The Tonga people regularly rehearse how the Ndebele and Makololo invaders stole their cattle in the 19th century. They say that the Ndebele still steal today.

On the surface there appears to be no association or interaction across ethnic groups. In practice there is association across ethnic lines. Many Ndebele and Shona people have Tonga people whom they know. In some cases these Tonga men informed the immigrants, with whom they worked in town, of land opportunities in Binga. It is common for the two people to continue their relationship even after settlement. There are also cases where Tonga people attach themselves to the Shona and Ndebele people on a semi-permanent basis. Such cases normally involve a Tonga person seasonally staying at the homestead of the immigrant and working for him.

The Shona and Ndebele get the labour services of the Tonga people. All the immigrants report that the burning of trees and grass in the preparation of their fields was done for them by their Tonga clients. The Tonga people also plough, weed and harvest immigrant crops. In return the Tonga receive food, second hand clothes, and in limited cases, money. In some cases the immigrants pay for the labour by ploughing Tonga fields. In other cases the immigrant lends his cattle and plough to the Tonga client.

Tonga agriculture seems to be changing for the better. A few Tonga farmers say that they do not benefit from the patronage of immigrants. Nevertheless, many of those who are clients to immigrants report that they are getting more than they used to get without immigrant help. As one man said, 'We used not to have cattle. Neither did we use modern seeds and ploughs. Now we have all these things thanks to immigrants.' Partly because of these inputs, certain Tonga households now realize profits worth around $20 000 a year from agriculture. Many households are able to provide food for themselves. Although there are one or two cases in which change has been initiated by the Tonga himself, it appears that social and economic change has characteristically been mediated by the institution of patronage. Such social change has implications for Campfire's future.

THE NDEBELE AND SHONA PEOPLES AND CAMPFIRE

The Ndebele and Shona peoples excluded from Campfire see wildlife as a threat to their agriculture. It is common to hear immigrants say that Campfire's elephants destroy crops and domestic animals. In cases where the damage is done, they say no compensation is given by the Rural District Council. The Shona and the Ndebele people say that the programme takes good land from them, converting it into 'communal national parks'. Finally, some Ndebele and Shona peoples say that Campfire revenue is very little to support households. They cite the year 1992 when each household was paid its yearly dividend of only $11. The majority of the Ndebele and the Shona people dismiss the idea that Campfire can end

poverty and go further to suggest that it causes poverty. If there were no elephants, immigrants allege, people would be self-sufficient.

The Ndebele and Shona peoples now have developed an agro-pastoralism whose viability the majority of the Tonga people cannot dispute. It is for this reason that some Tonga people have developed a keen interest in agro-pastoralism.

TONGA PEOPLE'S ADOPTION OF WILDLIFE VIEWS

Nowadays some Tonga, with the help of their Ndebele and Shona patrons, have successfully learnt viable commercial agriculture, and these increasingly challenge and revise Campfire. They complain that Campfire should not emphasize revenue alone; that it should use all the revenue to strengthen mechanisms to control marauding elephants and that in cases where crops are destroyed, people should be individually compensated. The leading farmers are openly stating that agriculture is more lucrative than Campfire and that more land should be taken from wildlife to be put under agriculture. Others call for a total elimination of all wildlife and the suspension of Campfire to give way to cotton and maize agriculture.

It would seem then that emerging Tonga farmers are increasingly revising the programme to suit their agrarian interests. Campfire, by not providing adequate benefits, is partly contributing towards Tonga social and economic change.

Agro-pastoralism has provided an alternative against which Campfire increasingly rates poorly. And as the Tonga people increasingly find more joy in the new options, they adopt characteristics of the Ndebele and Shona peoples,[38] thus continuing to pose problems to Campfire.

CONCLUSIONS: CAMPFIRE AND ETHNICITY

Novel interventions in rural development such as the green revolution have failed to ensure food security among rural populations partly because of their disregard for these communities' heterogeneity. As the situation stands in Bulilimamangwe, Campfire has taken an incremental approach to rural development that attempts to introduce changes gradually without radically changing the structure of target communities. The San continue to depend on the Kalanga and Ndebele for their survival. Campfire's attempts at range improvement benefits those groups owning cattle. This excludes not only the San but also those who have no cattle.

[38] Haaland more or less makes the same point about individuals changing their ethnicity for economic purposes. See his 'Economic determinants in ethnic processes', 58–73.

On the other hand, ethnic groups who are not targets of Campfire devise and concentrate on other options of land use which might conflict with it. This is the case in Binga where the excluded Shona and Ndebele people have renewed their interest in, and practice of, agro-pastoralism. Agro-pastoralism has typically involved taking land away from Campfire. Its viability has led the Tonga — the target of Campfire — not only to question Campfire but in some cases largely to abandon it in favour of agro-pastoralism.

We therefore conclude from this data that in implementing Campfire, ethnicity should be given serious attention. Failure to do so might have a negative bearing on the programme.