UNIVERSITY OF THE WITWATERSRAND

FACULTY OF SCIENCE SCHOOL OF GEOGRAPHY, ARCHAEOLOGY, AND ENVIRONMENTAL STUDIES

PERSPECTIVES ON THE IMPACTS OF THE FAST TRACK LAND REFORM PROGRAMME ON WILDLIFE CONSERVATION AND MANAGEMENT IN ZIMBABWE

by

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DECLARATION

I, Stephen Kasere, declare that this thesis, including the data, figures, tables, and any other information is my original work. I have, where necessary, acknowledged the source of the material that has been used.

The thesis reflects my own written work and ideas. In areas that I have used other people's ideas, I have duly acknowledged the sources. I have also paraphrased ideas that have been borrowed from other authors and in instances where their ideas have been used, word for word, I have duly enclosed these ideas in quotation marks and referenced accordingly.

Furthermore, this thesis is being submitted for the award of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy to the Faculty of Science at the University of the Witwatersrand, in Johannesburg, the Republic of South Africa. This is the first time I am submitting this thesis for examination and the award of the degree thereafter. It has never been submitted to any other university before for a similar purpose.

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ABSTRACT

Zimbabwe's Fast Track Land Reform Programme (FTLRP) which was launched by the post-independent government in 2000 to correct land imbalances created during the colonial era which favoured a small population of white settler community, must have had devastating effects on the country's wildlife management system which was lauded as one of the best in the world. Although a lot has been written to reflect on how the FTLRP affected the livelihood of over 12 million people of which 95 percent were black, very little has been studied and documented to show how the violent nature and lawlessness processes of the land reform affected conservation of the country's species of wild fauna and flora that straddled different ecosystems of the country more particularly those found in former white-owned estates and even protected areas that the black population claimed to have been their ancestral homes.

This study is therefore timely, necessary and significant. It is timely in the sense that it is being carried out at just about the time that the whole process of land reform seems complete. It, thus, offers scholars and researchers alike a sombre and opportune time to take stock of how human interests during the land reform era, which began in 2000 up until 2015, affected wildlife conservation and management in Zimbabwe. Premised upon a theoretical foundation that recognizes the existence of a strong nexus between land use and the conservation of wildlife, the study is looked at from two contending paradigms namely the dependency theory and the rational choice theory not only to examine the history of how the colonial processes accumulated and unfairly distributed land to the point of provoking angry retribution by local black people of the country, but also on how the colonial government created a wildlife management system that depended mainly on white people and the Western countries for its management and survival. In its diagnosis, the study shows how complex the wildlife system was embedded to Western imperialism, but how the independent black government seemed driven by greed and incompetence to accommodate more exploitation of the country in favour of the former colonial master and the West while doing nothing to decolonise structures of dependency that alienated the majority of African people from benefitting from wildlife resources that existed in the country.

Having used a case study approach to establish how newly resettled farmers and redundant ex-farm employees coped with challenges to conserve natural resources at four farms in Darwendale during the harsh economic environment of the FTLRP, it is also interesting to observe how the study conducted during the agonising period of COVID lockdown reverted to using cell phones to administer open-ended interviews to gather views from national stakeholder-representatives of RDCs, conservation organisations and safari and hospitality industry among others on how the land reform programme affected communities and their work as it related mainly to wildlife conservation throughout the country. The research findings

showed quite a negative picture of rampant poaching, logging, habitat loss, overhunting, and many environmentally damaging acts as both politicians and ordinary people cashed in on the lawlessness to maximise their gains.

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LIST OF ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

AA:	Appropriate Authority
ARDC:	Association of Rural District Councils
ART:	Africa Resources Trust
AWF:	Africa Wildlife Foundation
CASS:	Centre for Applied Social Sciences
CAMPFIRE:	Communal Areas Management Programme for Indigenous Resources
CBNRM	Community-Based Natural Resources Management
CBO	Community-Based Organisation
CCG:	Campfire Collaborative Group
CDA:	Campfire Development Fund
CFU	Commercial Farmers Union
CHA:	Controlled Hunting Areas
CITES:	Convention on International Trade of Endangered Species
COP	Conference of Parties
DA:	Development Associates
DNPWLM	Department of National Parks and Wildlife Management
ESA:	Endangered Species Act
FTLRP:	Fast Track Land Reform Program
GGT:	Global Guardian Trust
IC:	Institutional Contractor
ITRG:	Ivory Trade Review Group
IUCN:	International Union for Conservation of Nature
MDC:	Movement for Democratic Change
NEAP:	National Environmental Action Plans
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
NORAD:	Norwegian Agency for International Development
NRMP II:	Natural Resource Management Program – Phase Two
ODA:	Overseas Development Administration
RDC:	Rural District Council
SCI:	Safari Club International
SIDA	Swedish International Development Authority
Sq. km	Square Kilometres
USAID:	United States Agency for International Development

UNEP:	United Nations Development Program
US	United States
WPA	Wildlife Producers Association
WWF:	World Wildlife Fund for Nature
ZANU PF:	Zimbabwe African National Union- Patriotic Front
ZBSAP	Zimbabwe Biodiversity Strategy and Action Plan
Zimtrust:	Zimbabwe Trust

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

Zimbabwe (Fig 1.1 below), a landlocked country sandwiched by the Zambezi River on the North and the Limpopo River on the south, faced serious challenges of preserving its colonially-acclaimed system of wildlife conservation due to the catastrophic Fast Track Land Reform Programme (FTLRP) which the post independent government launched at the turn of the century in the year 2000.

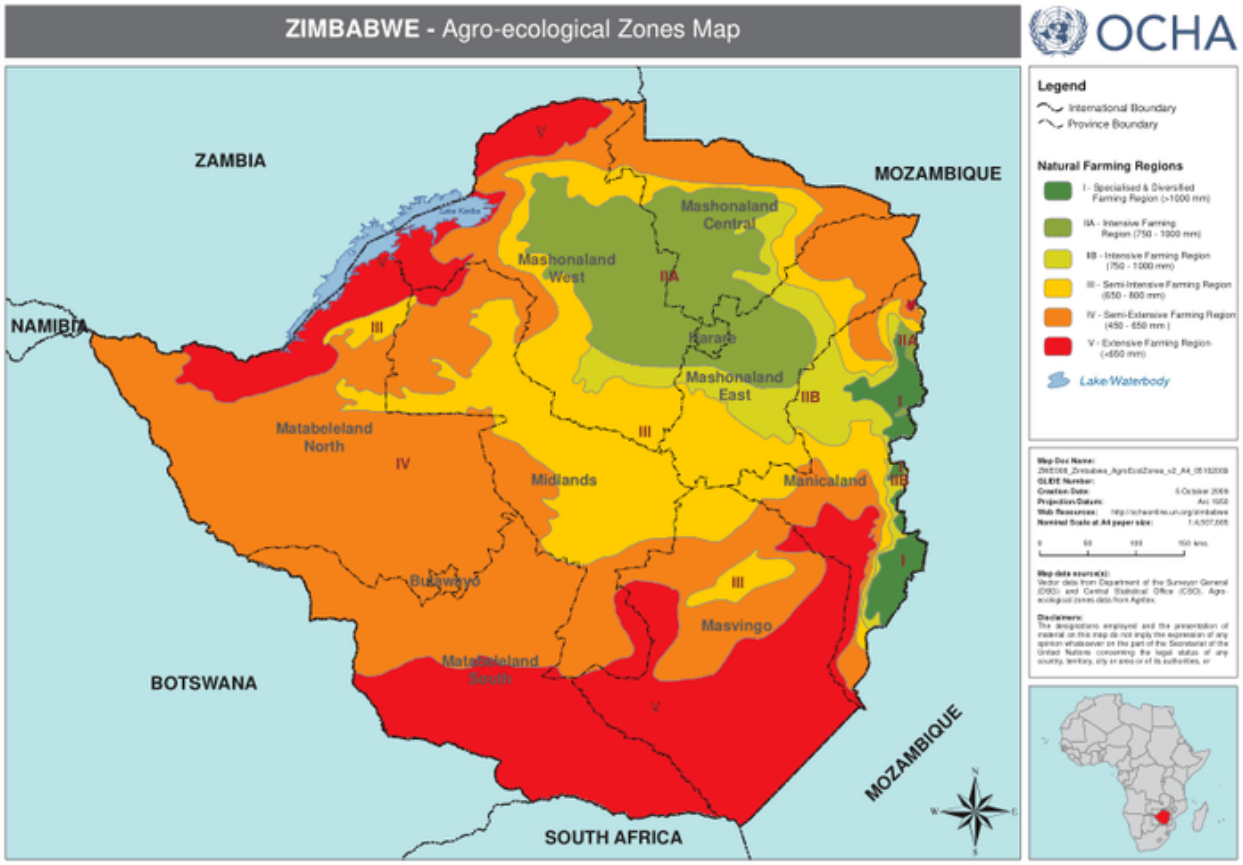

Fig 1.1 : **Zimbabwe Agro-ecological zones in 2009**

Colloquially known by the Shona term *jambanja* meaning war for land (Dzingirai et al 2014), the 2000 FTLRP as the reform exercise was also known, was generally acclaimed by its initiators as the third Chimurenga meaning the third phase of Zimbabwe's liberation struggle. As well-captured in literature, the general thrust of the first two phases of the Chimurenga or liberation struggle, which started with the uprisings in the 1890s and then culminated in the guerrilla warfare that ended with the attainment of independence in 1980, was, according to House et al (2017), to liberate the country from foreign rule. The third Chimurenga was then necessary as the final phase of the revolution whose objective was to recover

and redistribute large tracts of economically productive land that white people had expropriated during the colonial period.

Though of course Zimbabwe's history of struggle to protect its land and resources started as far back as the 1550s, it needs acknowledging however that the country's determination to launch the third Chimurenga was quite understandable. This is because since taking over the reins of power around 1900, the colonial government undertook a spree of land partitioning exercises that economically empowered white people while marginalising the local African population from utilising the bulk of the country's land and its natural resources. To achieve their self-serving objectives, the colonial administration promulgated lopsided laws that protected the interests of few white settlers in almost all socio-economic spheres of life including agriculture, mining, wildlife management, labour, education, and others which may be beyond the scope of this study whose major thrust is to find out how the land reform affected conservation as well as to get an appreciation of who and what actually initiated the exercise. But without having to get into minute details about the characteristic trend and oppressive nature of colonial governance that evolved since 1890 (see Astrow (1983); Herbst (1990); Martin and Johnson, (1985), it needs noting that one of the most controversial legislations on land that was jugular to the agricultural interests of local Zimbabweans was the Land Apportionment Act of 1930 which institutionalized the racial allocation of all land by dividing it into European and African (Astrow, 1983).

What was most notable about the Land Apportionment Act of 1930 was that "it prohibited members of either racial group from owning land in areas assigned for the other" (Herbst, 1990: 17). Thus, as highlighted by Herbst (1990), by 1930 when the colonial Land Apportionment Act was enacted, 50.8 percent of the total land area in Zimbabwe had been declared European while 30 percent had been reserved for the African population. It is worth noting that the population of Europeans, which hardly exceeded 4,000 by 1970, was far too small compared to about 6 million or so of the local Bantu people whose prime land was being taken while they were driven into areas with poor agricultural soil characterized by low rainfall. Thus, as described by Herbst (1990: 17):

> *The 'herding' of Africans into overcrowded reserves and blatantly discriminatory policies against African farmers designed to protect fledgling White farmers from competition, meant that 'by the end of 1930s, the agricultural economy of the Shona and the Ndebele, like that of the Kikuyu and most South African peoples, had been destroyed*

In a country where whites made up less than 4 percent of the population (Astrow, 1983: 150), it seemed a gross traverse of justice and fairness that white settlers allotted to themselves almost the entirety of agriculturally productive regions I and II which covered land areas of 5,835 and 72,745 sq. km respectively (Moyo, 19q91). They then drove the entire population of local Africans into settling in less fertile agro-ecological regions III, IV and V (Herbst, 1990; Moyo, 1991) while also converting large parts of the regions IV and V into national parks and other protected areas for wildlife.

Although contended by some sceptics, it must have been out of a sober sense of realism and the need to genuinely correct the skewed land ownership and economic imbalances that had been inherited from the colonial government that former President Robert Mugabe expressed the need to undertake a land reform upon gaining independence. In his 1979 ZANU PF election manifesto, Mugabe stated that it was not only anti-people "but criminal for any government to ignore the acute land hunger in the country, especially when it is realized that 83 percent of our population live in the rural areas and depend on agriculture for their livelihood" (Herbst, 1990: 40). The genuineness of Mugabe in expressing need to take over land however raises scepticism among some scholars who think the statement by Mugabe could easily have been part of long orchestrated strategy to sound an alarm to white people and the West so that they would quickly come up with financial and political offers that would appease him so that he, as pointed out in Astrow (1983), would leave things as they were.

But notwithstanding the unfair distribution of land and many repressive laws the colonial government instituted, one of the most poignant aspects of colonial rule which is relevant for the purpose of this study is the heavy-handed and Eurocentric manner they created the country's wildlife industry. When seen from the political ecology point of view (Muboko, 2021), the white settler community, upon establishing its government in Zimbabwe, set themselves an agenda for wildlife conservation, which, according to Hill (1993: 114), carried "elements of racism". Within a few decades of its assuming power, the colonial government immediately designated the country's wildlife as King's property and virtually outlawed all forms of hunting by African communities who had always relied on hunting wild game for subsistence. It needs re-iterating for the purpose of this study that in establishing the country's numerous game reserves and national parks such as Hwange, Gonarezhou, Mana Pools and Matusadona (Child G, 1995), the colonial government had to mostly use force to evict local inhabitants who were given short or no notices at all to force them to settle on the peripheries of wildlife estates (Kalen and Tragardh, 1998). According to Kalen and Tragardh, 1998), the idea was to clear the areas of African communities and accord visiting Europeans a sense of being in the Garden of Eden while viewing wild game species that were long extinct back home in Europe. In light of such gross colonial injustices, it is not hard to understand why some Africans,

particularly the war veterans who led the land protests in 2000, harboured a deep sense of violent retribution and protest over the entire gamut of the colonial infrastructure which also included the wildlife industry which the post independent government seemed to have taken long to re-dress through the willing buyer-willing seller policies for land re-distribution that characterised the 1980s.

But despite having applied methods that were largely perceived as repressive to the local African population, the colonial system in Zimbabwe was largely applauded at international level for building one of the best systems of wildlife conservation throughout the world (Child G, 1995). It is, therefore, interesting to study how the post independent government inherited the colonial system and what measures it took to improve the system so that Africans who were marginalized during the colonial era also benefited from wildlife resources. And most importantly, it will be of interest to study how the processes of the fast-track land reform programme affected the conservation system which had come to be described as one of the best in the world (Child, 1995).

Thus, in light of such gross colonial injustices which stretched to all spheres of livelihood for local Africans, this study applies a historical approach fancied as the dependency theory to investigate a host of socio-economic and ecological issues that evolved during the colonial system to benefit white people and the Western countries while undermining the interests of African people, and then applies the rational choice theory more as a balancing tool to show things from a different perspective. In studying the effects of the land reform, the study uses a case study approach as methodology to establish how communities living in four neighbouring farms in Darwendale area of Zvimba District coped with socio-economic and ecological challenges, not only to survive harsh economic conditions that arose during the 2000s amidst drought and inflation, but also on how they cooperated to help conservation of mega species of wild animals that were used for game ranching by one of the four farms. The study is, therefore, significant in providing a more analytical and sober account of how race and Eurocentric values shaped the development of the wildlife industry in Zimbabwe. The study shows how complex the land reform process had become for the post-independent government as white commercial farmers applied more sophisticated tricks of turning unutilised land into wildlife conservation programmes which flogged an agenda for benefit sharing with neighbouring rural communities when the primary aim was to prevent comprehensive expropriation of their under-utilised land that the government could have re-distributed to landless people. It is also significant in investigating how greed, corruption, selfishness and ineptitude on the part of the post-independent government might have contributed in undermining government resolve to address the imbalances that existed in the wildlife sector, which a properly planned land reform strategy might also have focused on. And most importantly, the study shows how an interplay of political, economic, racial and ecological issues

meshed together to affect conservation of wildlife during the land reform period as humans clashed to settle their self-serving anthropogenic scores in a manner that seemed to show no regard for the welfare of perhaps hundreds of thousands of wildlife species of mammals, birds, fish, reptiles, insects and many others that were known to roam the country.

1.2 **Problem Statement**

This problem statement analytically diagnoses major socio-economic, political and ecological factors that arose from the land reform which undermined wildlife conservation throughout the country in general and former commercial farming estates in particular. Many of the problems arose mainly due to the harsh political environment surrounding the planning and execution of the FTLRP, which soon degenerated into chaos and disorder that were detrimental not only to rule of law and economic productivity, but also to good protection of wildlife species that roamed the land. By virtue of being fast track, violent and agrarian, the FTLRP created a political environment of crisis and hostility towards white people and their estates, which hosted many species of wild and domestic fauna and flora. With President Robert Mugabe himself using the 2000 Independence holiday celebration to deliver a hate speech which described white people as "the snake" whose head needed to be crashed once and for all (Theroux, 2003), the whole nation of bantu people seemed galvanised into a frenzy of violence and lawlessness that not only threatened the safety and security of white people and their sympathisers, but also wildlife that inhabited land, including protected areas which, as noted by Timberlake (1985) cited in Hill (1993), were viewed as a symbol of white oppression because of the harsh history behind their formation. The whole political climate seemed eclipsed with the ***jambanja*** spirit as the media concentrated on covering news of how war veterans courageously confronted white farmers in a way that seemed to incite the whole country to rise to the occasion. A sombre atmosphere eclipsed the whole nation as the government owned electronic media played songs of liberation war that featured popular Musician and ex-guerrilla Cde Chinx (Dickson Chingaira), who performed jointly with members of the police band, dressed in their full police regalia.

To all and sundry, the message was clear. The white people no longer deserved the protection of rule of law which many land reform advocates and revolutionaries viewed as a subjective concept to help maintain the status quo. Hence the political cloud that hovered around the entire country in the 2000s suggested lack of security for white people and their property. It meant that the veil of legal protection that white people used to enjoy since colonialism through to independence had been removed and that they could not be able to get police protection when their property including wild animals were snatched or vandalised by, among other people, war veteran-led invaders who were regarded as "untouchable by law enforcement" (*African Hunter*, 2012:4). The climate of lawlessness in which land invaders and ordinary people grabbed whatever

they could get from white farms was described more articulately by Catherine Buckle who narrated how the police snubbed their call for help after their farm was invaded by three dozen or so sloganeering men chanting war songs (Theroux, 2003). The police also could not come to the rescue of the Drummonds who, like thousands of affected white farmers across the nation, also called for help when their farm in Norton was being vandalised by a gang of land invaders (Theroux, 2003).

The atmosphere of lawlessness, while emotionally affecting white people, was not conducive to the protection of wildlife especially during the time of the worst economic hardships which were compounded by international economic sanctions and a terrible drought and floods that afflicted the region during the early years of the FTLRP (UNEP-SARDC, 2009). The economic crisis that prevailed encouraged members of the public, especially ex-farm workers who were made redundant without wages or ration food, to easily help themselves to wildlife and whatever else was obtaining on white-owned commercial farms with knowledge that no legal action would be taken against them by authorities. What worsened the plight of wildlife conservation was the government attitude which was quite negative perhaps because of lack of sufficient knowledge about viability of wildlife as a viable land-use system (Heath, 2000). Perhaps it is useful to mention that African people in general, though people who loved to eat wildlife, had since the colonial days shared a strong belief that the white man had a general preference for animals over them. This belief manifested because of observations made by Africans on the affection that white people seemed to show to domestic dogs and cats whose welfare they seemed to care for a lot more than they cared for local Africans most of whom struggled to enjoy any decent meals throughout their livelihood (ZBC Programme, "Issues and Views", June 1996). As such, Africans had long acquitted themselves to the reality that conservation of wildlife was "the white man's burden" (Bonner, 1993; Kasere, 1996)), and thus never shared the intrinsic pleasure derived by white people for having established in Zimbabwe a system of wildlife conservation that was among the best in the world (Child, 1995).

Given the economic hardship and the lawlessness atmosphere that prevailed, it would be necessary to examine whether at the time of takeover of farms from white people and thereafter, the government had provided a policy framework to ensure that wildlife and other species of fauna and flora that existed in commercial farms were insulated by ownership, tenure and custodial institutions to ensure that newly resettled farmers would guard them jealously and not vandalise them. By giving commercial farmers short or no notices to vacate their farms, and without having put in place new tenurial structures and measures to control human exploitation of the resources, the government opened up wildlife that existed on farms to what American Biologist Garrett Hardin described as *the Tragedy of the Commons*. Hardin's theory postulates that when a group of people have uncontrolled access to a commonly used natural resource, the

resource will be degraded because "the rational economic behaviour of the individual generates an overall deterioration of the resource base" (Kalen and Tragardh, 1998: 14). It would also be necessary to probe whether policy makers and government institutions that implemented the 2000 land reform programme had been properly informed about the economic value of wildlife as a resource so that they would plan to protect and manage wildlife as a form of land use system that would compete with agriculture in newly acquired farms for resettlement. This is because government seemed more concerned with agricultural production and did not seem to realise how "wildlife-based tourism and hunting industry was worth to the national economy" (Heath, 2000:3).

There is also concern about how far newly resettled farmers as well as government and other implementing agencies were well trained and prepared to prevent or control factors well-known for depleting or endangering wildlife. (Chiras, 1989), identified about seven (7) key factors that contribute to extinction of wildlife species at global level. Of these, habitat loss or impairment is the single most significant factor which, as listed on Fig 1.2 below, contributes 30%. Other factors identified include commercial hunting (21%); subsistence hunting (6%); sport hunting (12%); and superstition (2%).

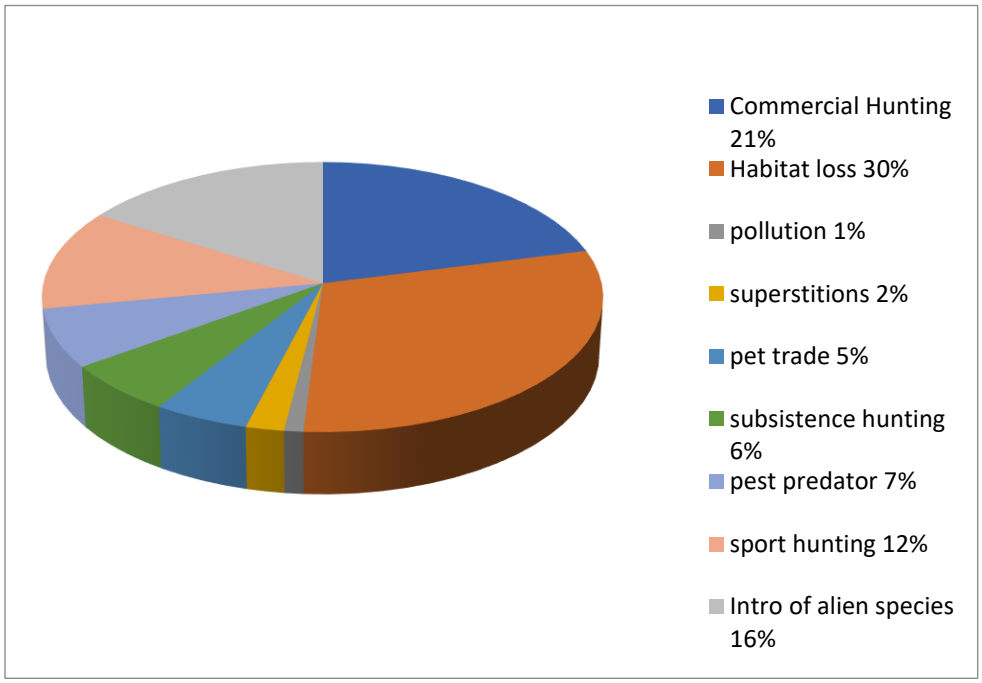

Fig 1.2 **Causes of wildlife extinction**

Source: Chiras (1989)

While many of the factors raised by Chiras seem to have arisen with the FTLRP in Zimbabwe, habitat loss seems to be of major concern. This is because land reforms and conversion of pristine land into different

industrial activities have often led to establishment of new human settlements and the undertaking of engineering projects such as roads, dams and others which by their nature often drastically alter natural ecosystems and impair their ecological ability to provide shelter and livelihood to populations of thousands of species of biological resources (Interview with Prof Jasper Knight, Feb, 2023). Knight (2023) reiterated the point which was also corroborated by Chiras (1989) of how hydrological engineering projects such as dams for example, which are normally undertaken to provide irrigation water to newly resettled farmers, tend to affect the natural spread and flow of riverine water over an area. This not only leads to siltation, but also destroys habitats for many terrestrial and aquatic species downstream that depend on natural flow of the water (Chiras, 1989; Knight, 2023).

A deeper assessment of history of wildlife management in Zimbabwe shows a gloomy picture of how an interplay of several of Chiras's factors contributed in wiping out populations of different species of fauna due to anthropogenic activities ventured upon to promote urbanisation, agriculture and other industrial activities since the dawn of colonialism. Although no data base for depleted populations has been kept, it is well known that the construction of the Kariba Dam resulted in a catastrophe for populations of thousands of wildlife species that drowned. The poignant story of how huge populations of animals had to be rescued by human intervention dubbed ***Operation Noah*** is well-known (Teede and Teede, 1990). It is also known that many wild animals were shot and killed during colonialism as farmers converted former virgin land that was infested with wildlife into farms (Cumming, 1991: Child, 1995). According to Teede and Teede (1990) over 300 000 wild animals were slaughtered in the Zambezi valley as a result of the government's tsetse control programme. It may even come as a surprise that what stands as the beautiful city of Harare today was once a forest area thriving with many species of wildlife. Frederick Selous was on record as having stated that he saw large herds of the eland "numbering one hundred to one hundred and fifty individuals feeding on the present site of Salisbury" (Kenmuir and Williams, 1975), now Harare. It would, therefore, be important to study how far government and RDC officials as well as new farmers were sufficiently trained to prevent and mitigate damages to wildlife during the implementation of the FTLRP.
It would also have been necessary to ensure that those who would take over farms were adequately trained beforehand so that they would not only protect populations of wildlife that thrived on land, water and the air, but their ecosystems too. Prior natural resource management training to beneficiaries of the land reform was especially necessary when realising that most beneficiaries of people from different professional backgrounds who included among them lawyers, doctors, bureaucrats, bankers, politicians, policemen, soldiers most of whom had neither farming nor natural resource management background or training (Kasere, 2008b). The two categories of land-sizes allocated for resettlement during the 2000 land reform period were A1 and A2. A1 were sub-divisions of smaller units of land per family averaging 6 hectares

while A2 were medium to large-sized farms ranging in size from 10 ha to over 153 ha averaging 153 ha (Shone et al, 2020). Most of the people allocated land were highly unlikely to have been acquainted with skills such as fire management for example that would mitigate habitat loss or impairment that normally come with resettlement of people and clearing land for agriculture.

Another serious problem regarding agrarian land reforms is to probe whether governments should always move to sub-divide land into smaller units for distribution to many different professionals or to actually join together huge farms to create huge ecological habitats for wildlife species that can generate millions for identified groups of communities. The problem arising which gives rise to the major research questions is all large tracks of farms allocated for resettlement should be earmarked for agricultural subdivision. This question is particularly important because certain some farms such as Shield in Darwendale which were already involved with game ranching could have been joined together with the neighbouring commercial farms as well as the highly degraded communal areas to form huge conservancies while leaving out other commercial farms to resettle people for agriculture. The issue being raised is whether the typical agriculture-centric approach to land reforms should not have allowed, in certain particular instances, to allow joining together of farms to provide greater habitats for some mega fauna such as kudu, impala, sable, zebra, giraffe and many others instead of sub-dividing land into agriculture which would be jugular to conservation prerequisites for some the mega fauna? The fundamental research question arising is whether the Zimbabwean government, renowned worldwide for the development of its wildlife industry (Child G, 1995), could not have seized the 2000 land reform as an opportunity to start medium-sized conservancies for newly resettled farmers by joining together certain large farms such as Elinda, Woodrow, Zaranyika and Shield, which already practised game ranching would have been joined with communal land nearby to form a new land use typology which earned huge dividends from utilisation of wildlife. An arrangement could be made that former commercial farm employees of the area, together with a few newly re-settled people from adjacent communal areas, could have been settled on only one of the neighbouring farms where they would form into a well registered Community Based Organisation (CBO) and earn huge dividends from wildlife operations while only allocated a hectare each for subsistence agriculture.

This study will therefore be a milestone that fills a huge gap of the much-needed information and knowledge by policy makers on how CBOs can be organised to allow newly resettled farmers to form, manage and benefit from a medium to large-sized conservancy. The survey would engage communities, NGOs, government and academics in discussing the merits and de-merits of using land for conservation and utilisation of wildlife on land that would otherwise be used for agriculture; and show how communities can be organised in CBOs and registered as co-owners of the huge wildlife conservancy project while being

allocated dwellings on one huge compound on a single farm adjacent to the project where they will also have ownership or proprietorship of small subdivisions of plots of about a hectare per household for subsistence farming and off-land commercial production of wares while enjoying huge dividends from the conservancy. Besides assessing how newly resettled farmers were adequately trained to conserve wildlife species that white farmers had stocked in commercial farms before 2000, the study will be unique in being the first of its kind to open up dialogue for creative thinking on the part of policy-makers and planners so that new representative institutions for management and lobbying for wildlife utilisation are created to also ensure effective removal of obstacles towards sustainable utilisation of wildlife and marketing of the products. Even though management of wildlife brings its own challenges of problem control and dangers for spreading animal diseases such as anthrax and foot and mouth that will always need attention, benefits derivable by new settlers for diversifying from agriculture into wildlife may be significant if members are given exclusive rights to harvest not only game meat which is in high demand all over east and southern Africa, but also minerals and other resources obtainable in their territories. The resource base can even be widened if CBOs are granted exclusive rights over indigenous fruits such as mazhanje (*Uapaca kirkiana*) matamba (*Strychnos cocculoides*), matohwe (*Azanza garkeana*), matufu (*Vangueria infausta*) and many others that can be sold on streets of major towns and cities in southern Africa; and more so if the indigenisation thrust envisioned by this study can be when the indigenisation thrust brings about the necessary technology and know-how to process these fruits into tinned juices and jams for export to other countries.

Thus the conservancy model postulated in this study would most importantly enable government and other stakeholders to learn and improve upon their experience in implementing the CAMPFIRE programme which though having been hailed worldwide for its fancy principles for community empowerment on paper, has been subjected to heavy criticism for failing to yield any meaningful development for rural communities since its inception in 1989 (Mutandwa and Gadzirayi 2009; Monbiot 1999; Patel 1998).

It is therefore worthwhile to bear in mind that while the overall goal of the study is to show how the 2000 FTLRP impacted on wildlife conservation in Zimbabwe, the study inevitably looks at both national and international spheres that inhibit diversification into wildlife management into a fully-fledged land use system that can compete with agriculture among newly resettled African communities in a country like Zimbabwe.

This problem statement therefore opens up a Pandora's box of issues concerning planning and execution of the 2000 FTLRP, which guide this study into investigating a host of interlinked factors that culminated in undermining conservation of wildlife in Zimbabwe.

1.3 Overall Aim of the Study

The study aims to investigate and establish how the process of the implementation of the fast track land reform programme affected conservation and sustainable utilisation of wildlife in former white-owned commercial properties in Zimbabwe.

1.4 Objectives of the Study

(a) To establish the extent to which ubuntu and conservation values practised in post-independent Zimbabwe complied with pre-colonial values observed by Africans prior to the invasion of Zimbabwe by Europeans.

(b) To determine if the government's fast track land reform programme had been well planned to ensure that newly resettled farmers and ex farm workers would conserve the environment and sustainably utilise wildlife upon being allocated the land.

(c) To assess the strategy that government and stakeholders had put in place for land users to conserve and sustainably utilise wildlife species that existed in Zimbabwe during the 2000 FTLRP.

(d) To establish the capacity that government had to monitor and control activities surrounding environmental conservation and sustainable utilisation of wildlife during the 2000 land reform period.

1.5 Research questions

i. What progress had the post-independent government of Zimbabwe made by the year 2000 to decolonise the colonial superstructure and ensure that traditional values of ubuntu and wildlife conservation were restored as guiding principles for national development and sustainable living?

ii. To what extent did the government's socio-economic and political agenda to fast-track acquisition of farms and resettlement of people in former white-owned-farms compromise the need for proper land use planning that would enable people to protect and sustainably utilise wildlife species during the implementation period of the FTLRP?

iii. What socio-economic and ecological programmes and plans did the post-independent government put in place to conserve and sustainably utilise wildlife that existed in commercial farms when the FTLRP was launched in Zimbabwe in 2000?

iv. What capacity did government and other agencies have to monitor and control people to observe sound environmental conservation and sport hunting principles during the FTLRP?

1.6 **Structure of the Thesis**

The thesis is divided into six chapters with sub-sections that flow with the theme of each chapter. Chapter One which is headed 'Introduction' presents an outline of the thesis which starts with the background of the FTLRP, followed by a problem statement, aims and research questions among other introductory details. Chapter Two headed 'Literature Review' provides a detailed discussion of secondary data pertaining to key themes and issues surrounding land reform and wildlife management assessed mainly from the dependency theoretical perspective which is balanced out by a rational choice theory which will only be occasionally applied as a critique of the dependency perspective.

Chapter Three focuses on the research methodology for the study on land reform and how it impacted on wildlife conservation in Zimbabwe. The Chapter gives a narrative of research methods used to gather information from both the chosen site in Darwendale which has been used as a case study as well as from national stakeholder organisations that operate at national level whose experiences during the implementation of the FTLRP were valid to give the research its national focus. The chapter also narrates the different sampling methods used to select research participants and goes into detail to discuss data collection methods and instruments used among other research procedures used.

Chapter Four collates research findings obtained from the survey conducted at both the project site as well as from telephone/cell phone interviews held with national stakeholders. It also captures results obtained from focus group discussions that were held with communities at the project site. Chapter Five headed 'Discussion' discusses research findings of both quantitative and qualitative nature as obtaining mainly in Chapters Two and Four. These discussions then lead to formulation of conclusion and recommendations that form up Chapter Six.

CHAPTER TWO
LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

A literature review exercise on a topic that seeks to assess the impacts of a land reform exercises on wildlife conservation is indeed a complex one. This is because the contentious subject of land reform, whether looked at from a national, regional or global perspective is often connoted in human emotions that tend to cloud and influence perspectives of many writers to evaluate impacts from a people welfare perspective and rarely, if ever, from point of view of wildlife conservation. This is further compounded by lack of scientific advancement in human capacity to measure and quantify both natural and human impacts on conservation status of wildlife species on a more holistic point of view (Freeze, 1996). It was also established by Kasere (2024) that Zimbabwe faced complications to conduct surveys for populations of elephants which WWF, as quoted in USAID Mid-Term Report, 1998), argued were too costly and dangerous to conduct. Thus, in the absence of comprehensive periodic inventories of the totality of populations of species that naturally live, hibernate, regenerate or even migrate to and from a country or ecosystem, questions about long term anthropogenic impacts and trends on wildlife, be it land distribution, redistribution and other human activities; or about the land's carrying capacity for all species have not, and cannot be quantified in absolute figurative trends. Because of that reason, researchers have to rely on primary and secondary sources of information for data to understand and evaluate trends and developments in the wildlife sector.

The objective of Chapter Two therefore is to review secondary sources of literature availed on key themes as they relate to land reform and wildlife management. While mainly using the dependency theory as the major theoretical perspective to analyse and interpret the documents, the chapter seeks not only to show both quality and quantity of knowledge that has been accumulated over the past years relative to land reform and wildlife conservation. The objective is not only to highlight progress achieved in providing relevant information that exists but where necessary also show disagreements that exist among scholars as well as gaps of knowledge may need to be filled either by this study or by other researchers in future. Since this is a study on wildlife management, the study starts by a brief overview of taxonomic literature that exists on the diversity of wildlife species found in the country and then move on to discuss the dependency theory, its major tenets and how it applies to the land issue and the management of wildlife. This will be important to show how, among other things, the capitalist system enforced a rigid international division of labour which is responsible for the underdevelopment of many areas of the world (Ferraro, 2008). It will show how Zimbabwe depended mostly on the Western countries for knowledge, markets, finance and investment

for its economic development in general and its wildlife based consumptive and non-consumptive tourism in particular.

Nevertheless, while using the dependency theory as my major theoretical perspective of orientation, the chapter will conclude with a critique of the dependency theory using mainly a rational choice theoretical perspective. This will not only show how a liberal capitalist perspective interprets Africa's developmental challenges, but also how the dependency theory overemphasises external factors as causes of underdevelopment of Africa while underplaying internal factors such as bad governance as causes of lack of economic progress in Africa. The literature review also opens up dialogue on most contentious issues concerning the land issue and wildlife management. Among many contentious issues discussed are on whether the agenda for land reform was a people's revolution as popularly believed by many writers and scholars or whether it was elite-driven. This leads to probing literature, which shows whether it is true or false that it was the land issue that forced people to take up arms to fight in the Chimurenga war to liberate the country. It also looks at whether conservation programmes that existed in Zimbabwe prior to 2000 were internally driven or externally motivated. Again, this is a contentious topic, which requires a deeper diagnosis of literature to show whether conservation programmes such as CAMPFIRE were established for the benefit of local communities as often described in literature or whether an imperialist agenda was carefully crafted to promote the interests of white people and Western countries in the guise of communities (Monbiot, 1999; Patel, 1998).

2.2 **Definition of key concepts**

2.2.1 **Conservation**

According to Caring for the Earth, conservation refers to the management of human use of organisms or ecosystems to ensure such use is sustainable.

2.2.2 **Dependency theory**

Dependence theory according to Hein (1992) cited in Manyara and Jones (2009), postulates a parasitic relationship in which the developed countries of the West (centre) continue to under-develop the third world or developing countries such as Zimbabwe (periphery). It refers to a school of thought which views certain group of countries as having their individual economies, attitudes and livelihoods conditioned to serve as an appendage of an exploitative relationship with any one or more capitalist countries of the West – a relationship which often results in limited development for a developing country.

2.2.3 **Ecological Imperialism**

The term ecological imperialism, often shortened eco-imperialism (Hulme and Murphree, 2001), is often used by social scientists without proper definition. As conceptualised by the researcher in this study, it refers to foreign imposition of a conservation superstructure and infrastructure that is bent on promoting socio-economic and cultural interests of foreign powers at the expense of the interests of locals.

2.2.4 **Land reform**

In its classical sense, land reform refers to: re-organization of the existing system of land ownership and management to bring about a more equitable division of agricultural land" (Ending Hunger, 1985: 410). This study recommends a new approach and new concept that moves away from an agrarian typology to a broader, sustainable land reform system (SLRS) that recognizes other land use options such as wildlife-based tourism. As such, the phraseology "land reform", which may need to change to Sustainable Land Reform Programme (SLRP), will be used to refer to a legally determined process of reorganizing and restructuring a country's land use systems to address existing imbalances and unsustainable practices that may be deemed to undermine a country's goal to achieve sustainable development.

2.2.5 **Sport hunting**[1]

The term sport hunting is often vaguely used as interchangeable with the concepts such as safari hunting and trophy hunting. Care is taken in this thesis to refer to the term sport hunting as consumptive use of an animal for recreational fun and not for pragmatic interests such as economic trade or subsistence (Kasere, 2024).

2.2.6 **Sustainable development**

Sustainable development is classic form to refer to "development that meets needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs" (IUCN, UNEP and WWF, 1991). In this study, the concept is used in its improved version as human activity that improves "the quality of human life while living within the carrying capacity of supporting ecosystems" (IUCN, UNEP and WWF, 1991).

[1] Sport hunting is a concept used to emphasise hunts carried out for sport. However, in most instances the terms trophy hunting, safari hunting and sport hunting are used interchangeably to refer to trophy sport hunting.

2.2.7 **Wildlife management**

Where wildlife management is often associated with preservation or protection of animal life in the wilderness, in this study wildlife management refers to policies, strategies, plans and activities undertaken to facilitate human intervention in ecosystems that are both natural and human forged (Kasere, 2008). It ensures that the earth's diversity of ecological zones and their inherent species of free ranging species are conserved and sustainably utilized. The concept, in its holistic sense applies to all tertiary and aquatic life and includes work done at international level to ensure that both species of wild fauna and flora and their ecosystems are conserved.

2.3 **A review of natural vegetation and wildlife species found in Zimbabwe**

A synoptic assessment of literature shows that Zimbabwe is well renowned as a tourist and sport hunting destination because of its beautiful landscapes and diverse endowment of wildlife species of fauna and flora. This section briefly discusses the natural vegetation of the country, which provides habitat for many species of fauna. It then moves on to provide a snapshot of species of wildlife that can be found in the country.

It however needs noting that although almost all species of large-sized plant and animal organisms seem to have been identified, named and classified by taxonomists, there obviously exist in Zimbabwe many other endemic species of mainly lower invertebrate animals and micro-organisms that are yet to be identified, named and classified. Also, when discussing species, care must be taken to observe that the concept wildlife in its general sense refers mainly to organisms that are known to be indigenous and undomesticated and exclude many of the plant and animal species that were introduced to southern Africa such as cattle, pigs, goats, sheep and chickens which today make up the bulk of livestock produced in Zimbabwe. As observed in Griffin et al (1999), livestock "first moved into Africa from the Middle East about seven thousand years ago and reached southern Africa about two thousand years ago. This realisation is important in the context of this study not only for the sake of understanding the scope of wildlife species as summarised below, but also in demystifying the myth that agro-ecological regions I and II are naturally and best suited for agriculture and not wildlife which is often thought of as best suited for ecological regions III, IV and V. Similarly, it is often overlooked that most crops such as maize, tobacco and sugar cane which are produced in local farms and which require high precipitation were all imported into the region from other continents such as south America and Asia, and should not be viewed as more suitable for production in agro-ecological regions I and II than most indigenous plants and animals that were relegated from their natural habitats to arid and semi-arid regions because of their then inferior economic value as determined mostly according to the needs of the European settler community.

But as tourism both consumptive and non-consumptive emerged as a viable land use system, most of the wild species listed below have also regained their socio-economic value as most of them are widely recognised for their use as medicine, food, building material and other uses and thus can compete more seriously with heavily subsidised agricultural crops such as tobacco, cotton, coffee, citrus and others which tended to take up more fertile areas with higher rainfall or irrigation (Griffin et al, 1999).

2.3.1 **Zimbabwe's population, land types and vegetation**

Drawing mainly from a wide pool of literature, Zimbabwe, which is the size of California in the U.S. (Child, 1995) and with a human population of about 15.1 million (2022 census), is characterised predominantly by four unique land types which are the Midlands Plateau, Southern Lowveld, Zambezi Valley and the Eastern Highlands (Pinchin, 1992 in Barnett, 1997). Except in dambos, the country's landlocked vegetation would be forests that have been greatly modified by fire and by the displacement of indigenous woodland by crops, pasture and exotic trees (Moyo, 1991: 30). However, the five woodland types in the country as identified by the government of Zimbabwe's Zimbabwe Biodiversity Strategy and Action Plan (ZBSAP, 1998) are the Miombo, Mopane, Teak, Acacia and Terminalia/Combretum, of which the Miombo and Mopane are the two most extensive. It may be important to mention that out of the country's thousands of vascular and non-vascular plant species that cannot be described here, 511 of them are grasses (Lightfoot, 1978). Apart from their various uses to man, grasslands associated with different land types and woodlands make good grazing for both livestock and wildlife. They also provide habitat cover for many faunal species that roam the country.

According to Irwin (1981), the Miombo woodland develops on well-drained soils on high rainfall (750 – 1 000 mm) plateau and occurs in the northern and central regions of the country. Dominant species of miombo woodlands are (*Brachystegia spiciformis*) locally known as *musasa* and the associated (*Julbernardia globiflora*) locally known in vernacular Shona as *munhondo* (Irwin, 1981). These woodlands have diverse uses ranging from watershed protection, provision of soil fertility (through leaf litter), grazing and browsing, firewood, edible fruits, mushrooms, caterpillars and timber (ZBSAP, 1998). Popular fruit trees associated with Miombo woodlands include *Muzhanje* (*Uapaca kirkiana*); *Murooro* (*Annona senegalensis*); *Mutohwe* (*Azanza garckeana*); *Muhacha* (*Parinali curatellifolia*) *Mutsubvu* (*Vitex payos*) and *Mutamba/ muzhumu* (*Strychnos spp*).

Also widespread in the country are Mopane woodlands which are often associated with low altitudes and hot areas with sodic or alluvial soils. According to the ZBSAP (1998), the woodlands can be divided into the dry early deciduous in north and west Zimbabwe, the dry deciduous in Save Valley and Upper Limpopo,

and the dry deciduous in southern Zimbabwe. The Mopane are also often adjacent to the Miombo or lowland woodlands dominated by Combretum or Terminalia spp. The associated tree species typical across the Mopane woodland, as listed by ZBSAP with vernacular names taken from Mullin (2006) include *muuyu* or knobthorn (*Acacia nigrescens*), *Mubayamhondoro* (*A nilotica*), *Muuyu* (*Adansonia digitata*), *Muparahanga* (*Albizia harveyii*), *Munzugudzugu/Muvambangoma* (*Balinites spp*), *Muramba* (*Combretum spp*), *Mufunukwa* (*Commiphora spp*), *Muhati* or zebra tree (*Dalbergia melanoxylon*) and many others.

In the eastern highlands with the increase in rainfall and cooler temperatures, montane vegetation predominates and Giant Heath (Philippia) occurs (Irwin, 1981). According to Irwin (1981), other typical vegetation comprises *Erica*, *Aloe* and *Protea* species as well as *Helichrysum* and typifies the drier unforested slopes and rain shadows. However, throughout the highlands are extensive areas of montane grasslands and other montane habitats.

2.4 **A snapshot of Zimbabwe's spectacular species of wild fauna**

A comprehensive account of Zimbabwe's species of wild fauna can fill compendiums of books and cannot all be described in a few pages of this Chapter. The following, however, gives a glimpse of large-sized vertebrates such as mammals, birds and others, which are viewed as significant in attracting tourism and hunting clients to Zimbabwe and other parts of the continent alike.

2.4.1 **Mammals**

Zimbabwe is home to around 250 mammalian species (Moyo, 1991). These are divided into 12 orders whose genera and species are far too many to be described in full in a thesis of this nature. However, it is important to note that all the mammalian orders have been identified and studied (Child, 1995). According to the ZBSAP (1998), the orders with large numbers of species in Zimbabwe are the *Chiroptera* or bats (51 species), the Rodentia (40 species); the Carnivora (31 species); the Artiodactyla (26 species). Other orders found in the country consist of Insectivora (16 species), Primates (5 species), Perissodactyla (4 species), Lagomorphia (2 species); Pholidota (1 species), Tubulidentata (1 species), Proboscidea (1 species); and Hyracoidea (1 species). The Order Insectivore is made up of largely small, primitive and nocturnal animals such as shrews, hedgehogs and moles that thrive mainly on insects whereas the second order *Chiroptera*, which means 'hand flappers' (Haffner and Stutz, 1988), represents bats which are the only truly flying members of the mammalian order. As mentioned by Kenmuir and Williams (1975), 90 percent of all bat species in Zimbabwe are insect-eating.

It, however, needs noting that Zimbabwe is also endowed by many species of hoofed mammals, which constitute one of the most known and intensively studied members of the animal kingdom. These animals,

also known as ungulates, are distinguished from other mammals mainly by their hoofed toes. The name ungulate comes from the Latin word *ungula*, which means a hoof (Mayer, 1986). This family is by far the most useful mammals as far as man is concerned. All of the most important domestic animals such as cattle, sheep, camels, goats, and many others belong to this group. Most of them are major sources of protein while others provide humans with the much-needed drought power.

Hoofed mammals are generally divided into two orders namely ***Perissodactyla*** (Odd-toed) and ***Artiodactyla*** (Even-toed). The Order ***Perissodactyla*** houses many of the world's largest herbivores, which are characterized by possession of odd toes (three or one) particularly on the hind legs. Rhinos, tapirs, horses, asses and zebras make up the membership of this order. Scientists have baptized the order ***Perissodactyla*** – a term derived from Greek words ***perissos*** for 'odd' and ***daktylos***, which means 'finger'. There are only 15 known existing species in the order, which are further grouped into three families namely (i) ***Equidae***, (ii) ***Tapiridae*** and (iii) ***Rhinocerotidae***.

Zimbabwe has no species of ***Tapiridae.*** It, however, has two species of the rhinoceros namely the White rhinoceros (*Ceratotherium simum*) and the extremely endangered Black rhinoceros (*Diceros bicornis*). Although Southern Africa is well represented by several species of zebras which are grouped in the family ***Equidae*** the race mostly found around Zimbabwe and Zambia is the Selous's Zebra (*Equus burchelli selousi*), which is distinguished by its close stripes with little shadow striping. The Order ***Artiodactyla*** is particularly well represented by two species of the family ***Suidae*** (warthogs and bushpigs), family ***giraffidae*** (giraffes); family ***Hippopotamidae*** (hippopotamus) and 23 species of the family *Bovidae* including buffalos and antelopes. Antelopes are a fascinating group of hoofed mammals well known perhaps for their hollow horns. In Zimbabwe and Southern Africa at large, the largest antelope is the Common Eland (*Tragelaphus oryx*), which grows to 1.5 m tall weighing up to 500 kg.

Antelopes in their diverse forms are indeed a major feature of African wildlife which has drawn so much global attention in the development of the tourism industry in Africa. In Zimbabwe typical members of the antelope family include the wildebeest called *Ngongoni* in Shona, the Kudu (*Nhoro*), the Sable (*Mharapara*), the Roan (*Chengu*), Oribi (*tsinza*), the impala (*mhara*), the Waterbuck (*Dhumukwa*), Tsessebe (*Nondo*), Bushbuck (*Dzoma*), Grysbok (*Deke*), Reedbuck (*Bimha*), the Gemsbok, the Common Duiker (*Mhembwe*); Klipspringer (*Ngururu*), and the Steenbok (*mhene*). The smallest of all antelopes in Zimbabwe it is the Blue Duiker which weighs 4 kg in males (King, 1999: 44).

2.4.2 **Carnivores**

Zimbabwe has many species of the carnivorous mammals which range from dogs, cats, civets, mongooses and many more. The Carnivore in general are distinguished from other mammals by their six prominent incisors on both the upper and lower jaw, two canines on each jaw, six to eight premolars and four molars above and four to six below. The incisors are adopted for nipping off flesh. The outer most incisors are usually larger than the inner ones. Most notable among carnivores is the ***Felidae*** family of cats. And the most distinctive and exceptionally regarded member of the Cat family worldwide is the lion (*Panthera leo*). Throughout history, man has honoured the lion, crediting the regal beast with the attributes man prizes most in his own kind: nobility, courage, loyalty, combative skill and sexual prowess (Graves, 1976: 14). As such, the lion is indeed a multi-record holding animal if human fantasies are anything to go by. Among many of its attributes, the lion is the only member of big cats that roars. Its roar seems to be a stamp of authority and can, on a still night tingle the spine of a listener five miles away (Graves, ibid). Its magnificent mane, which ranges in colour from rich golden to deep brown-black, is not only a unique attribute among cats, but also an appendage which gives it the Kingly image. A large adult male grows to about 2.7m long of which 90cm is tail. Its height at shoulders is 1m weighing about 550lbs. Its head is massive and its body is a compact mass of muscles and sinew covered in a tawny hide (Rose, 1968). The lion is one of Africa's biggest sport hunting and tourism attraction. Indigenous Zimbabweans regard the lion as the most feared animal. This is because they believe the Mwenemutapa/Nehanda is a spirit of a lion that ruled Zimbabweans since time immemorial (Kasere, 2008).

There are many other carnivorous families of mammals represented in Zimbabwe which include (*Panthera pardus*); the cheetah (*Acinonyx jubatus*); many species of civets, mongooses and others. Another Zimbabwean group of tourist attraction is the Canidae family made up mainly of dogs, foxes, racoons and badgers. These are all long-legged, long-tailed skilled runners that rarely climb. Their teeth are variable but all members possess large shearing cheek teeth and pronounced canines (Harlow and Parsons, 1974). Key species include the Black backed jackal (*Canis mesomelas*) and the wild dog (*Lyacaon pictus*), which is endangered in Zimbabwe.

2.4.3 **The African elephant and other mammals**

One animal found in Zimbabwe and Africa that deserves special mention is the African elephant (*Loxodonta Africana*). It is not only the largest land animal throughout the world, but also the biggest attraction for hunting and tourism income generated by the wildlife industry. Far more studies have been conducted on the elephant and its ecology than any other animal in the world. No wonder the animal has been a subject of heated global controversy because of its conservation status which was affected by over-hunting for the

animal's ivory which has been going on for many centuries (Campbell, 1998). Thus, the elephant is unique not only because it is the largest animal that lives on land, but is also the second tallest member of the animal kingdom – with only the giraffe being taller. Elephants are also the only animals with a nose in the form of a long trunk, which they use as a hand. They have the largest ears than any other animal and their tasks are the largest teeth.

There are many other families and species of mammals found in Zimbabwe. These include members of primates who are man's closest relatives. The order Primate in Zimbabwe is represented by the Family ***Cercopithecidae*** of baboons and monkeys and Family ***Lorisidae*** of bush babies and night apes. Other mammalian kinds home to Zimbabwe are daisies which are small-shaped animals but strangely classified as closely related to elephants. There are also pangolins, and other orders. For a good and comprehensive account of Zimbabwean mammals, one can however refer to Kenmuir and Williams (1975)'s Bundu book series entitled *Wild Mammals*; or Richard Estes's book entitled *Behaviour Guide to African Mammals* among many other sources.

2.5 **Birds**

Zimbabwe has about 640 species of birds (Moyo, 1991: 32) of different orders which may not all easily fit for description in a few paragraphs of this study. The families with the largest numbers, according to the ZBSAP (1998) are the Sylvidae (warblers) with 53 species; the Charadridridae (plovers, turnstones) with 34 species; the Ploceidae (queleas) with 27 species; the Estrildidae (finches) with 22 species; Hirundidae (swallows, martins) with 20 species; the Turdidae (thrushes, chats, robins) with 20 species and the Lonnidae (stikes) with 20 species; and the Ardeidae (herons, egrets) with 17 species.

Nevertheless, Zimbabwe's largest bird, which is also the largest of all birds in the world is the ostrich (*Struthio camelus*). The bird is commonly found and even bred in commercial farms in Zimbabwe. As observed by Irwin (1981: 24), there are few birds that might have had "such a pervasive economic and cultural impact as the ostrich on the early inhabitants of Zimbabwe" if studies of archaeological remains are anything to go by. According to Irwin (1981), apart from their food value, ostrich eggs were also used for food and for carrying and storing water as they still are by Bushmen.

Zimbabwe is also represented by many species of birds of prey/raptors. These many orders which include vultures, eagles, ospreys, falcons, hawks, buzzards, kites, kestrels, secretary birds are all placed in the sub-order ***Falconiformes***. However, owls, which are represented in Zimbabwe by a number of species, are also raptors which scientists place in a separate order ***Strigformes*** together with nightjars which are also

represented in Zimbabwe (Irwin, 1981). Zimbabwe also has several species of vultures which all belong to the family *Accipitridae.* Most of them have dark brown or black plumage and fly the skies of Africa, Europe and Asia. Zimbabwe also has a fair representation of snake eagles which thrive mainly on snakes. These include the Bateleur (*Terathopius ecaudatus*), a distinctive bulky-looking black eagle with tawny wing coverts (more extensive in females). The largest eagle in Africa and Zimbabwe in particular is the Martial Eagle (*Polemaetus bellicosus*), whose total wingspan can grow to about 2.4m from tip to tip (Irwin (1981). Other African species identified by Irwin (1981) include the Brown Snake Eagle (*Circaetus cinereus*), the Blackbreasted Snake Eagle (*Circaetus gallicus*), the Western Banded Snake Eagle (*Circaetus cinerascens*) and the Southern Banded Snake Eagle (*Circaetus fasciolatus).*

The list of bird families and species is long and cannot all be comprehensively described here. There are, however, many books that can be referred to for a detailed description of birds found in Zimbabwe. Among the many books is Michael Stuart Irwin's 1981 edition entitled *The Birds of Zimbabwe*. Other interesting guides on birds of southern Africa were produced by Newman (1993); Carruthers (1997) and Stuart and Stuart (1999).

2.5.1 **Fishes**

If the checklist compiled by Graham Bell-Cross in the book entitled *The Fishes of Rhodesia* is anything to go by, Zimbabwean rivers, dams, lakes and water systems have a heavy endowment of fish species numbering 114. This is quite a huge figure considering that the total species recorded in the entire inland waters of Southern Africa is 245 (Carruthers, 1997: 61).

One group of common fishes found in Zimbabwe is the Tilapia which is commonly eaten throughout Southern Africa and beyond. Tilapia is the name given to a hundred or so species of freshwater fishes, which belongs to the large family of Cichlids (Burton and Burton, 1986). One of the most interesting attributes of this family of fish is their breeding behaviour which determines categorization of species as either mouth-brooders or nest-guarders.

However, one of the most fascinating kinds of fresh water fishes found in Zimbabwe is the tiger fish. The beautiful and shiny tiger fish, which is a favourite angling and food fish for many people worldwide, is one of the fiercest fishes that ply the freshwaters of Africa. This is perhaps why scientists classify it in the family *Characidae* alongside its various relatives, who include the dangerous Piranha. Zimbabwe's most well-known species is *Hydrocynus vittatus* which is a common resident of the Zambezi River which weighs

around 15.5 kg (Bell-Cross, 1975). However, the biggest of the tiger fishes found elsewhere in the region is the Goliath Tiger (*H. goliath*).

The list of fish found in Zimbabwe is long and includes snake-like eels; Barbus fish; Catfishes, kapenta, gobies, killifishes, catlets, pikes, perches, squeakers, minnows, citharines, African pike, bottlenoses, mormyrids, the parrotfish, and the lungfish. There are also fishes known by their vernacular names or unique features. These include the Nembwe (*Serranochromis robustus* jallae); the Chessa (*Distichodus schenga*); the Nkupe (*D. mossambicus*); and the Southern kneria (*Kneria auriculata*). There is also one species of a small kind of shark found in the Zambezi which is known as the Zambezi shark (*Carcharhinus leucas*).

2.5.2 **Other fauna including reptiles, amphibians and invertebrates**

Zimbabwe also has many other orders and species of fauna that cannot be fully covered here for limitation of space. Although the total species of reptiles found in Zimbabwe tends to be inconsistent, the ZBSAP (1998) lists five orders of reptiles as consisting of Cheloni with 6 species; Squamata (64 species); Amphisbeania (7 species); (Sauria (186 species) and Crocodilians (1 species). The Nile crocodile (*Crocodylus* niloticus) deserves special mention because of its successful story of recovery from endangerment and its large-scale production in commercial farms in Zimbabwe. In its wild habitat the animal can grow to about 4.8m long and has a bad reputation for killing humans.

The 76 species of snakes can be grouped into six families, which, according to Broadley and Cock (1973) are (a) Adders and vipers (***Viperidae***); (b) cobras, mambas and allies (***Elapidae***); (c) Back-fanged snakes (***Colubridae***); Fangless snakes (***Colubridae***); Python (***Boidae***); Blind snakes (***Typhlopidae***); worm snakes (***Leptotyphlopidae***). The largest and longest snake in Zimbabwe is the African python whose length exceeds 6 m (Schmidt and Inger, 1957: 181). Members of the ***Elapidae*** *Family* which houses together mambas and cobras represent some of the most venomous snakes of the world. Mambas are generally speaking, long, slender, swift, obstreperous and warlike snakes that glide very rapidly in trees as well as on the ground. The two well-known mambas are the black mamba (*Dendraospis polylepis*) and the green mamba. The Black mamba or precisely the black-mouthed mamba called ***Mubobo*** or ***Rovambira*** by local Shona is Africa's largest venomous snake, averaging nearly 2.5m in length (Broadley, 1975). The green mamba is slender and smaller and seldom exceeds 2m. Other venomous snakes are cobras with species that include the Egyptian or Banded Cobra (*Naja haje*), the Mozambique Spitting Cobra (*Naja mossambica;*) the Forest Cobra (*Naja melanoleuca*) and the Rinkal (*Hemachatus haemachatus*). Other poisonous snakes include adders and vipers which belong to the family ***Viperidae.*** These include among them the common African

Puff Adder *(Bitis arietans)* known as ***Chiva*** in Shona; the Gaboon Viper (*Bitis gabonica*); the Night Adder *(Causus rhombeatus*) and others. Other snakes include back-fanged snakes which are placed in the family ***Colubridae***; egg-eating snakes and many others that are generally not as harmful to humans.

There are also many invertebrate species including arthropods and lower invertebrates among Zimbabwe's huge diversity of biological resources. It is also important to note that viruses are not considered to be species for many different reasons that may not be relevant to discuss here.

2.5.3 The two major approaches that influenced this study

This study is inspired by two approaches namely the Zambezia School of thought and the dependency theory. The two seemingly different approaches are so related so much that they should be viewed as two sides of the same coin. Since the Zambezia School of thought is relatively new and less known in academic circles, it is important that I discuss it earlier than the dependency so that its significance in studying wildlife management can show its symbiotic linkage with the dependency theory in diagnosing pitfalls inherent in both the FTLRP and wildlife management policies and practices in Zimbabwe.

2.5.3.1 The Zambezia School of thought and its significance to the study on land and wildlife management

The Zambezia school of thought is an Ubuntu-determined philosophy which seeks to look at socio-ecological developments on both the land issue and wildlife management from the lens of African spiritualism and civilisation. The approach, which is shaped mainly by the researcher of this study who is part of the Mwenemutapa family and spiritual dynasty, touches at the heart of the co heritage of the not so materialistic but extremely powerful Mwenemutapa/Nehanda supreme spirit whose chain of existence can be traced backward through every stage or generation of human existence to God's powers of special creation not only of the human ancestry in the form of Eve and Adam as was captured in the Bible, but also of all living and non-living things on earth.

The Zambezia School of thought and its philosophy is therefore a very special academic approach, not only because it puts the Ubuntu philosophy that that found expression in post-apartheid South Africa into its proper human/wildlife perspective, but also because it invites academic scrutiny of how the Mwenemutapa institution emerged right from Adam's creation as a spirit that was specially created to be housed in the human body to represent the Holy spirit's wish to ensure that humans utilised God-given natural resources in a manner that not only ensured that wildlife species are conserved for posterity, but also that the benefits of utilisation of natural resources are shared by all people at the local level where resources abound so that

none of the local people will find justification to wreak havoc with natural resources to the point of endangering them (Kasere in Alyanak, 1996). It is therefore important to observe in this thesis how humanity at national and international level networked to mobilise millions of dollars for community participation in conservation and how God or Mwari mysteriously placed 'X', the great grandson of the real Mbuya Nehanda/Mwenemutapa whom the white people wanted to hang in 1898 in a desperate effort to wipe out the Mwenemutapa spirit that fought for the rights of people to enjoy the benefits of their God given natural resources. The Zambezia school of thought interprets 'X's placement at the core of the management of the CAMPFIRE programme as God's pre-destined mission for the Mwenemutapa to enforce principles of Ubuntu and wildlife conservation after centuries of bitter struggle, strangulation and frustration of the supreme spirit by European tormentors who thought they had killed the Mwenemutapa spirit without realising that the then host Mbuya Nehanda had secretly sought refuge for her grandson Supreme Kasere to live elsewhere in Zvimba far away from Dande so that he survives long enough to be able to pass on the spirit through sexual heredity to the forthcoming generations.[2]

The Zambezia school of thought also does not see it as a coincidence that so much efforts by national and international forces that were opposed to the Holy spirit of Ubuntu and sustainable utilisation of natural resources were directed at eliminating and killing 'X' as he stood firm against corruption and unethical practices of European-based safari hunting practices which almost endangered many species of wildlife in east and southern regions of Africa due to high prices fetched by wild animals.[3] It is therefore important for academics to observe from the conservation theme of this study that the Zambezia school of thought does not see it as a mere coincidence that the CAMPFIRE programme emerged as a package of principles for conservation and sustainable exploitation of wildlife that focussed mainly in the Zambezi Valley or Dande area (Guruve and Nyaminyami) which represented Adam's headquarters near Victoria Falls.

It is important to observe that though the Zambezia School of thought relies too heavily on researches and information provided by existing members of the Kasere family, it is only because very little researches

[2] Note that contrary to the uninformed opinion that the succeeding host of the Mwenemutapa spirit medium can be chosen after the death of a Mwenemutapa/Nehanda, the correct information as derived from the Mwenemutapa/Kasere family is that a Mwenemutapa/Nehanda host is born with a special body-apparatus that will be capable not only to house the powerful God-ordained ubuntu spirit but also to serve more effectively, intelligently and incorruptibly the God's cause for ubuntu and natural resource management. This means there is a biological element involved in determining the body-host of the Mhondoro (lion) spirit called Mwenemutapa or Nehanda. The spirit does not just possess anyone by random selection but follows the one who was born with a particular biological makeup. This is perhaps the main basis for claims by the Zambezia school of thought that the spiritual seed of a Mwenemutapa must have been originally planted in Adam for it to pass on through biological heredity through one family bloodline from one generation to another.

[3] This point has been sufficiently argued by Kasere (2024) in an article entitled "Is trophy hunting a real sport?"

have been made and published by other scholars owing to contempt and misconceptions that many people worldwide held about spirit mediums in general and the Mwenemutapa institution in particular. However, the school of thought owes a lot to the leading studies contributed largely by white academics and writers without whom the Zambezia school of thought could have hardly emerged. Special credit for the founding of the school of thought goes to Jan and Fiona Teede who wrote the book entitled "Zambezi: The River of Gods". Another outstanding scholar associated with the Zambezia school of thought is Michael Main (1990) whose book entitled "Zambezi: Journey of a river" documented a lot of literature about the Mwenemutapa and how Europeans ventured into the Mwenemutapa territory since the 1500s. It is the opinion of the researcher that Michael Main deserves the highest accolade and title for the founding father of the Zambezia School of thought.

But one cannot talk of Main's great scholarship without acknowledging the importance of literature that was accumulated by early European explorers such as Vasco da Gama who rightfully recognized the southern African geographical area as the biblical land of Ophir (Best of Zimbabwe. This concept, which the Zambezia school of thought has comprehensively interpreted as having been referring to the entire southern African region (not just Zimbabwe as modern writers often confused), has helped to link the Mwenemutapa and the heavy endowment of natural resources and attractions such as Victoria Falls to the fancied biblical Garden of Eden which authors of the bible had mistakenly assumed to have referred to a place along the Euphrates in Euro-Asia. With the growth of scientific literature which suggests that Adam and Eve must have been based in Africa (Wells, 2002), the Zambezia school of thought, after having also diagnosed socio-ecological factors about the region, had come to the logical conclusion that tallied with Wells that Adam was not only likely to have been staying in Africa, but must have lived in the Dande area (Shona word for the lower Zambezi valley), where his powerful supreme spirit of the lion has endured for thousands of years as it was relayed through sexual intercourse from one of Adam's chosen sons or daughters to today (Kasere, 2022). The Zambezia school of thought seems right in its assumptions considering the existence of the long chain of spiritual dynasty traceable from Adam through a number of people who include Mupunzagutu, Kapararidze through to Nehanda and her grandson Supreme Kasere and great grandson who for security reasons can only be identified by his childhood name Bigboy or 'X'. As described below in this thesis, X's role especially in CAMPFIRE was very significant most particularly in demonstrating how powerful the Mwenemutapa or Nehanda imperial spirit can go. Without any knowledge that he was the biological great grandson of Mbuya Nehanda, 'X' played a huge role in spreading the principles of ubuntu and wildlife management and sustainable land-use systems that can only be described as spiritual. It is therefore in the interest of academic discussion that one observes how 'X' in particular was born and biologically endowed with certain unique characteristics which not only distinguished him as

a Mwenemutapa, but also seem to have triggered certain hormones for extraordinary love for human development (ubuntu) and wildlife conservation. What is even more interesting is how 'X' seemed to have been spiritually groomed not to be driven by a selfish interest to accumulate wealth which not only helped him behave in a manner consistent with his long list of ancestors who all stood firm against imperialist tendencies of Europe that sought to accumulate natural resources without benefitting the local people that lived with the resources. It is largely because of 'X's role that as much information about him and his work is provided as part of the addendum at the end of the thesis.

The researcher also feels the Zambezia school of thought could be more appropriately named the Wits-Zambezia school of thought. This is in recognition of the big role played by academics in the Faculty of Science at the University of Witwatersrand in probing and suggesting gaps of information that needed to be filled especially with regards to the Mwenemutapa/Nehanda spiritual dynasty which is believed to have started to resonate in one family in Dande since Adam's demise estimated by Wells (2002) to be over fifty thousand or so years ago. One also needs to give credit to the South African post-apartheid government which inspired a lot of researches about the socio-cultural history of Africa by taking a lead in publicly embracing principles of Ubuntu as the general guide to the country's domestic policies. The school of thought also found inspiration from intellectual chronicles of other southern African universities and scholars. Special mention must be made about the work of Mogobe Ramose in Coetzee and Roux (2003) whose narrative of the Nehanda phenomenon – the same called Mwenemutapa when it resonates in males (Kasere, 2022), projects African spirituality and ubuntu culture in its rightful holy image that was condemned, distorted, confused and demonised by white people. In his description of Mbuya Nehanda, Ramose shows the significance that the supreme Mhondoro spirit holds on the land issue and sustainable utilisation of natural resources including minerals and wildlife in Zimbabwe and the entire African region. Even though Ramose was not privy to details of how the British had killed the wrong person in place of Mbuya Nehanda as well as the differences between Makorekore and MaZezuru who are ethnic cousins among Shona people, his writings were nevertheless very informative of how Ubuntu values contributed to the ten commandments.

Although not also described in this thesis due to lack of space, the Zambezia school of thought also owes a lot to the writings of the British explorer and academic, Dr David Livingstone who marvelled at the great scenery of the falls he landed upon in the Zambezi escarpment bordering the Dande area which he later named the Victoria Falls. Thus when analysing the FTLRP in Zimbabwe and how it impacted on wildlife, the Zambezia school of thought not only takes into account the significance of the Mwenemutapa institution in managing wildlife and other natural resources through totems and sacred forests presumed to have been

designed by Adam, but also views white people as Africans who had migrated to Europe (the diaspora) – hence the need to approach the land reform from an ubuntu perspective which does not condone shedding of blood and violation of democratic rights for all people, be they Asians, indigenous black, brown and yellowish Africans and even Caucasians because all are natural citizens of Africa who descended from one ancestor. In essence, this school of thought also calls for humane (ubuntu) treatment of all Africans who also migrate to other continents because the undeniable reality is that the entire earth (Mutapa) was created for all races to share regardless of what races got there first (Kasere, 2023).

But most importantly, the Zambezia school of thought, while appreciating the role science has played, blames Western scholarship from misleading the world into paying faith to a theory of evolution and calls for a closer examination of the Mwenemutapa/Nehanda family lineage and physical traits, especially of the surviving members of the Mwenemutapa family tree, which not only link the origin and characteristic nature of the Mhondoro spirit to Adam, but also suggests that Adam was a simple and caring man who was made up from God's powerful and undying spirit of brotherhood which immediately started to incarnate through and through in every generation of the Mwenemutapa family to enforce ubuntu and conservation values up to the modern day. The Zambezia school of thought thus rubbishes the assumption behind the theory of evolution which seems to view life as having emerged on its own without the special hand of the creator known as 'Mwari' in vernacular Shona.

As shall be substantiated throughout the thesis, the Zambezia school of thought was born out of a thorough preponderance of strong socio-ecological and linguistic literature derived from African civilisation which shows that it was Adam who designed both Ubuntu and the wildlife tradition of caring thus proving on balance of probability that Adam existed in the current shape. This seems to suggest that the theory of evolution does, to a larger extent require revision. This is important to get scientists to focus their attention and energy on the Zambezi region, not only to establish archaeological evidence about the existence of Adam, but also to understand how the traditional religion often referred to as the Mwari Deity must have been the original religion that was decentralised world over to form all other religions such as Buddhism, Christianity, Hinduism, Muslim which are all based on basic principles of respecting Ubuntu values of brotherhood and sharing.

It is however important to stress that the Zambezia theory of creation clashes with the most embarrassing and most confusing figment of human imagination belief held and taught by the post independent Government of Zimbabwe in schools which states that Munhumutapa (not Mwenemutapa) represented a

ruthless raider for salt,[4] who migrated from more than 500 km from Masvingo or Great Zimbabwe monument to go to the Zambezi Valley where he, with the use of violent means, killed and defeated Matavara to become King of Makorekore called Munhumutapa. This shameless negation and confusion of the accurate reality of Mwene we Mutapa (owner of the earth) having been the supreme spirit medium of the lion or Mhondoro that Portuguese misspelt and pronounced as Monomutapa seems to be the philosophical basis upon which the post independent government of Zimbabwe justified to itself and party leadership the formation of a government or political party based on violence and all sorts of evil and corrupt acts that were antithetical to Mwenemutapa principles of Ubuntu that did not condone killing of people or raiding their properties. While the Mwenemutapa (Holy spirit) and Munhumutapa (evil raider and killer) are adequately addressed in the forthcoming pages of the thesis, I think it is important in discussing the philosophical approach of the Zambezia school of thought that the approach is distinguished from the Munhumutapa philosophy which confused holy spirit of ubuntu brotherhood with evil or unholy spirit that sheds human blood for leadership and wealth. The Zambezia school of thought or approach is based on the existence of a holy spirit of Adam called Mwenemutapa who resided in the Dande area to fight evil deeds that violated principles of Ubuntu and wildlife conservation (Kasere in Alyanak, 1996).

The significance of the Dande (Lower Zambezi valley) as Adam's residence is more expressly articulately in Shona music particularly by the song 'Ndafunga Dande' by Oliver Mutukudzi. The song, which starts with satirical lyrics of protest "mandiona kusviba mati kuwora?" which when translated into English says: "When you see my dark skin you think I am rotten?" seemed to be an expression of frustration of demonisation of the Mwenemutapa holy spirit as evil (kuora moyo). The song seemed to be satarical about the long history of Western demonization of the holy spirit medium especially of the Mwenemutapa that fought against witchcraft and other evil practices. Western literature and civilization had assumed a stance which classified all spirit mediums, good or bad as evil and as "servants of the devil" (Geddes and Grosset, 2000: 206). Hence white colonialists adopted a ruthless approach of killing Sekuru Kagubi and Charwe Nyakasikana in the hope of extinguishing for good the supreme spirit medium that fought for the rights of local people at global level to benefit from resources found at their local surrounding. Mutukudzi seemed to be begging for answers to a question on how a spirit that is fighting for the common good (ubuntu) could be condemned as evil (Geddes and Grosset, 2000), while the behaviour that killed and enslaved people (killing Charwe and Kagubi) were in comparison deemed holy. By implications, white people seemed to deny that Adam could have been the most despicable African since they held the view that being white

[4] Please refer to discussion in Chapter Five to appreciate the meaning of salt as equivalence of money.

meant holiness hence the belief that Adam was a European or white man who resided in the Euphrates. It was then that Mutukudzi continued with lyrics that explained holiness on the basis of what one does and not on the colour of skin. Expressing himself in Shona lyrics he sang: “kusviba kwe munhu kuri mumoyo varume, kusviba kwe munhu kuri mupfungwa”, which when translated into English argues that the rottenness of a person is in the way his mind and heart (soul) makes him think, feel and behave, and not in the colour of one’s skin. At that point he burst into nostalgia saying: “Ndafunga Dande, kudzoka Dande!” which, when translated into English is saying:“I miss the Lower Zambezi Valley! I miss going back to the Lower Zambezi Valley!”

Although Mutukudzi might have been talking about something different, those who knew the plight of separation between Supreme Kasere and his grandmother feel that the song was inspired to protest against injustices surrounding the ill-treatment endured by the two. The ‘Dande’ song seemed especially relevant Supreme Kasere who, as the presumed bodily custodian of the Mwenemutapa spirit, could not go back to ‘Dande’ because white people would have known that the Mwenemutapa spirit which tormented Europeans for their ruthless anti-ubuntu materialist approach since 1500s, was still alive. One has to imagine how nostalgic Kasere must have felt about not going back to ‘Dande’ where his grandmother had to endure all the agony of loneliness without being looked after by her only grandson up to the point of being abducted by liberation fighters to go to Mozambique where she lived a neglected livelihood of dying and being buried in the most unorthodox way that left her head uncovered by soil. The lyrics ‘***Dzoka uyamwe’***, meaning ‘come back and suck the human breast that nurtured your life’, seemed to echo Mbuya Nehanda’s fateful thoughts as she agonized over the non-return of her grandson to Dande (Kasere, 2023). In fact, Supreme Kasere’s livelihood was very sad considering many other details not included here especially how he had to run away from Chirau, Zvimba to go and work for white people and only returned there when he was old. During his teenage age, Kasere, while living in Zvimba, was served with poisoned food by the in-laws of his guardian uncle, and was saved because he had a habit of first feeding his dog with a portion of his share of food before eating it himself (Kasere, 2023). The dog died instantly and Kasere disappeared and walked by foot to the then capital Salisbury to look for domestic work. One can imagine how nostalgic Supreme Kasere might have felt for not going back to Dande.

It is therefore important to observe that the Zambezia school of thought which is used jointly with the dependency theory as two approaches that influenced this study, seeks to study how far the land reform exercise was based on a restoration of the Mwenemutapa theology that emphasised observance of ubuntu values and wise conservation and utilisation of wildlife and other natural resources in the best interests of local people. Thus even though the approach latently helps to trace the origins of Adam to Southern Africa,

it manifestly seeks to evaluate how effective the post-independent government's approach to land reform in also conserving wildlife resources as a land use system to promote human welfare.

2.6 **The dependency theory and its interpretation of land and wildlife management in Zimbabwe**

*T*ête-à-tête and blending well with the Zambezia school of thought is the Dependency theory. Although both the Zimbabwean land issue and its unique history of wildlife management have been described by many scholars from a diversity of perspectives, this study is also inspired by a radical approach generally known as the Dependence Theory. The dependency theory, which according to literature is generally classified as a neo-Marxist philosophy, was started in the 1960s by a group of largely Latin American scholars who explained poverty and economic backwardness (underdevelopment) that characterized developing countries as a function of a structural relationship of exploitation that emerged over several centuries between European/North American countries and poor countries of the South. The many historical stages of exploitation that are linked with the building up of the dependency syndrome are slavery, capitalism and imperialism. Thus, according to Hein (1992) cited in Manyara and Jones (2009), the main thesis of dependency theory postulates a parasitic relationship in which the developed world continues to under-develop the Third World.

Also closely related to the dependency theory is the world system theory developed by Immanuel Wallerstein. The world system theory which is an extension of the dependency and underdevelopment theories draws from a key distinction of core and periphery to argue that there is only one world connected by a complex network of economic exchange relationships (Macionis and Plummer, 2012). Wallerstein argues that the development of capitalism in the 16th century is the one that led to the development of the world system (Macionis and Plummer, 2012). According to Wallerstein, the gradual development of capitalism.

In discussing principles underlying the epistemology of the dependency theory, it needs bearing in mind that the theory emerged as a response to the inadequacies of the Modernisation theory which had not only failed to provide an adequate explanation of the wide gap in economic development between the North and the South, but also failed to provide developmental solutions for developing countries that were languishing in poverty (Ferraro, 2015). As such, the postulations of the dependency theory must be seen generally as being contested by the rational choice theory which, in line with its modernisation parentage as discussed at the end of the Chapter, views dependency theory generally as biased and fails to take cognisance of the positive role capitalism and colonialism played in bringing about development in developing countries particularly Africa (Ending Hunger, 1985).

And in discussing dependency, special recognition should be paid to Andre Gunder Frank, who is generally regarded as the founder and father of the Dependency and World Systems Approach (Ferraro, 2015). Other highly regarded dependency theory advocates are Paul Baran, D L Johnson, T dos Santos, Walter Rodney and Franz Fanon. Rodney and Fanon deserve special recognition because the two expounded principles of dependency on a special scale to the African continent where the theory has been abused left, right, and centre to shroud interests of the petty bourgeoisie particularly the black leadership who often used the North-South confrontation to their advantage.

2.7 **Background and general tenets of the dependence theory**

In his book entitled Dependence and Underdevelopment, Frank (1972) embraced dos Santos's definition of dependency as a situation in which a certain group of countries have their economy conditioned by the development and expansion of the developed countries of the West in particular to which the former is subject (Frank, 1972). In the relationship, according to Lepp A (2008), "Raw materials are exported from the periphery to the centre, where they become manufactured goods and in turn are exported back to the periphery." The periphery, according to Lepp (2008) becomes dependent on the centre to purchase its raw materials and to supply manufactured goods. As far as Frank was concerned, the development of the developed countries had been necessitated by the underdevelopment of the third world. Frank (1972: 9) argued that development and underdevelopment are "opposite sides of the same coin", meaning that "they cannot be viewed as products of supposedly different economic structures or systems, or of stages of economic dependence theory seemed to have been more clearly advanced by Marxian philosophers particularly Walter Rodney in his book entitled How Europe underdeveloped Africa. Rodney's contributions deserve a more detailed explanation because of their relevance to developments on land distribution and wildlife management in Zimbabwe. Rodney postulated that the capitalist system of Western Europe extended into Africa in particular to install chains of exploitation of natural resources in a manner that worked largely to develop the West while under-developing the African continent.

Although not all dependency advocates are Marxists (Ferraro, 2015), the countries regarded as 'underdeveloped' in the world are exploited by others and the underdevelopment, which characterises the African continent today is the very product of capitalist system of exploitation that manifested through slavery, colonialism and imperialism. In his book, Rodney described the relationship between the developed and underdeveloped as dialectical, meaning that "...the two helps produce each other by interaction" (Rodney, 1981).

2.7.1 Significance of the dependence theory in explaining imbalances in land distribution in Zimbabwe

The dependence theory is the most befitting theory that can be applied to study and understand the imperatives of land reform and related dynamics of the development of the wildlife management in Zimbabwe. To begin with, there is no doubt that the Dependence theory in general and Rodney's writings in particular played a significant role in inciting the elite and the intellectuals of Zimbabwe to want to fight for land and its re-distribution. Through its well-articulated philosophy, which dominated the study of social sciences particularly in the 1960s to 80s, the dependence theory sharpened the vision of academics and policy makers. It enabled academics to interpret the structural chain of dependency that exists at global level from a leftist perspective. This also helped show how a history of land dispossession by white colonialists and a series of repressive laws promulgated in Zimbabwe dehumanised locals and undermined them from exploiting their fertile land. Also as highlighted by dependency scholars, the colonial system disenfranchised locals from enjoying the benefits of natural resources including wildlife and minerals which the colonial government expropriated and virtually used almost to the exclusive advantages of white settlers and their Western power base (Frank, 1967; Rodney, 1981; Fanon, 1990). While Rodney (1981) condemned the whole import/export relationship between Africa and its trading partners in developed countries as one of unequal exchange and of exploitation in assessing the implications of capitalism and imperialism, the most direct way of sucking the African continent according to Rodney arose when citizens of Europe owned the land and the mines of Africa (Rodney, 1981). There is therefore no doubt that dependency theory, especially the North-South Conflict of the 1970 to 80s played a role in fuelling radical demands for change which, according to some scholars, not only galvanised Zimbabweans to take up arms and fight the war of liberation in the 1970s (Martin and Johnson 1985: Herbst, 1990), but also to undertake land reforms that would empower local Africans accordingly.

At independence in 1980, almost the entirety of natural ecological regions I and II of Zimbabwe's prime agricultural land were salvaged by white commercial farmers. Majority population of blacks were driven away from their homes and forced to settle in less agriculturally productive communal areas which spread out in the country's drier natural regions IV, and V. Far more interestingly is how the dependency theory had long foreseen the role that the former liberation elite or petty bourgeoisie would assume after taking over power. Driven by corrupt and kleptomaniac tendencies, the petty bourgeoisie, upon taking over reins of power in post-independent Africa, would succeed in overthrowing the white administration of the colonial era so that they themselves would become managers of the West, ready to promote the West's imperialist agenda (Fanon, 1990). Writing in his popular book entitled The Wretched of the Earth, Franz Fanon was articulate on how the petty bourgeoisie, upon taking over power, "will have nothing better to do

than to take on the role of manager for the Western enterprise, and set up its country as the brothel of Europe."

It will therefore be important in this study to assess progress made and constraints faced by the post-independent government and establish whether the petty bourgeoisie in Zimbabwe, also fell into the complacency highlighted by Fanon (1990) of facilitating the chain of dependency by failing to resort to a more aggressive strategy to takeover of land for 20 years since gaining independence only to then do so in 2000. It is in line with the world systems approach and Fanon's arguments that this study digs deeper into archives to analyse literature that was overlooked by academics before to consider how personal and political interests of former President Robert Mugabe to stay in power seemed to have prevailed in driving violent takeover of land in 2000 as opposed to genuine, sober and more rational approach that Zimbabwe and other countries seemed to have used in dealing with land reforms during and before the 1980-2000 period. More serious academic consideration will be paid in weighing personal interests of the former President and ZANU PF to stay in power against the frustrating inhibitions of the willing buyer-willing seller arrangements that had been placed by the Lancaster House agreement as well as tactics that white farmers in Zimbabwe had adopted to frustrate the drive that the post-independent government pursued since 1980 which sought to improve the welfare of the masses through various economic strategies including the slower, phased and well-planned process of land redistribution.

Most importantly, this study will analyse in more detail whether there were valid reasons for England to withhold funding for the land reform on the grounds that there was massive corruption in Zimbabwe, which would have diverted the funds into the coffers of corrupt ZANU PF officials (Ramose, 2003) and indeed the President. This study will argue that by engaging in shady deals directly with British citizens, President Mugabe's government was likely trapped by Western intelligence as early as 1981 so that they would blackmail him to tow the Western interests. Having been enticed to work directly with British citizens who were connected to the British government, the top leadership of post-independent Zimbabwe who felt safe to use their kin and kith who used surnames different from them to accumulate wealth on their behalf became too comfortable to engage into more corruption as the system seemed to work very well to protect them. But since they were working directly with British organisations, the British government was well-informed and thus used the underground deals as excuses to withhold aid intended for land reform arguing,

without objection by the Zimbabwean leadership (Ramose, 2003), that ZANU PF did not have structures that would prevent aid from being diverted into the coffers of President Mugabe's family and cronies.[5]

2.7.2 Axiological challenges for relying on wrong literature compiled by white people about Bantu people

A major problem that arises when analysing vast literature written on the land issue in Zimbabwe is on establishing whether the values and opinions held or expressed by academics and the elite are a correct reflection of values, beliefs, opinions and wishes of the grassroots people in general. Mistakes are often made of assuming that the reasonable opinion of the educated man, which is often paddled left, right and centre in literature reviews, represents the thinking and demands of the ordinary person walking the streets of Harare or a peasant tilling his piece of land in Muzarabani along the mountainous area in the Zambezi Valley. The challenge faced here may be what some scholars vaguely describe as axiological. According to the Webster's Dictionary (1976), axiology is the study of the nature of values and value judgements. Heron (1996) cited in Saunders et al argues that our values are the guiding reason of all human action. According to Heron, researchers demonstrate axiological skill by being able to articulate their values as a basis for making judgements about what research they are conducting and how they go about doing it.

There is strong recognition in post-colonial Africa that the continent's heavy dependence on a body of knowledge that was accumulated by white people who interpreted the history of Africans and their characteristic values, civilization and attitudes from a Eurocentric perspective is largely problematic. This is because much of the information resulted in a distorted picture about the wisdom and correct livelihood and lifestyles of African people. Observations by Hill (1993) about white people having been "ignorant of local customs", should be understood in the wider context of how white people developed an education system based on preconceived judgements about Africans whom they thought of as sub-human. In an article entitled "Stop teaching rubbish about Mwenemutapa", Kasere (2017) complained of how the post-independent governments of Zimbabwe failed to correct the kind of education which had been created by the colonial system which though useful in many ways, was quite biased, Eurocentric, toxic and completely

[5] It is quite possible that President Mugabe might have been hooked by CIA and MI-6 agents into corrupt shenanigans involving Rhodesian blocked funds as early as 1981. This comes out more clearly when Bonner (1993: 125) revealed how the organisations including WWF which formed the CAMPFIRE group, were known to be infiltrated and used as cover by CIA and MI-6 for their outreach operations. (See discussion below of how Zimbabwe Trust, a British organization emerged in 1981 and then dubiously formed and coordinated CAMPFIRE in 1990 mainly to protect interests of white hunters and the West). It is therefore fair that when analysing high levels of corruption involving African leaders, one also considers the sleek nature of Western intelligence and the role it plays to entrap top African leadership into corrupt deals so that imperialist interests albeit ownership of land and hunting by the former white colonial master and the West would be protected.

wrong especially in describing Bantu customs and migration patterns which were just a figment of their wild imagination. He criticized the kind of education that Mugabe and his government received from the white colonial master which conceptualised Mwenemutapa as a person they regarded as Monomutapa who must have migrated from somewhere without realising that Mwenemutapa was a God-ordained spiritual institution which always existed in every generation to enforce Ubuntu and conservation values so that those who used sinister methods to abuse fellow human beings and their natural resource heritage were not only exposed but punished.

It is therefore out of necessity that this review goes into detail to re-state the correct socio-cultural history of the country which for suspiciously wicked reasons has not been taught in Zimbabwean schools because of the reliance by the top leadership of post-independent Zimbabwe on wrong and biased information they had learned in colonial schools and colleges which had a very strong bias against the truth of how Bantu people in general and the Makorekore ethnic group of Shona people in particular worked with the Mwenemutapa spiritual institution to fight western imperialism from the beginning around the 1500s. The history is important because it puts the struggle for land in its proper spiritual perspective to show how the post independent government failed to decolonize the mind frame of formerly colonized people in Zimbabwe. The decolonization was essential to reverse the white forged superstructure that not only demonized the spirituality of African people, but also saw seeds of bitterness among the Bantu people of Zimbabwe. This was particularly true for the Makorekore ethnic group who had lost a lot of lives since the 1500s in defending the country against a well-equipped army of Portuguese troops. The Europeans, starting with Portuguese in the 1500s and then the British colonialists since 1890s did a lot to confuse the history of the country because of their failure to understand the significance of the Mwenemutapa spiritual institution which they mistakenly assumed to be a kingdom or empire (Machiridza, 2012; Main 1990; Swaney, 1999).

In putting the history of the struggle spearheaded by the Mwenemutapa and Shona people in its proper perspective, I think it is important that I first start by discussing in greater detail the concept of the white factor syndrome – a belief that put faith in the superiority of the white man and his religious and educational system which seemed to have wrongly influenced elitist values and attitudes of the African leadership who then covered up a lot about the history of suffering that the Bantu people went through for 400 years or more. The covering up of the history compounded a proper diagnosis of Mbuya Nehanda's background which made it difficult to correctly identify her as Mwenemutapa's daughter and part of the Mwenemutapa spiritual dynasty which seemed to have started with the death of biblical Adam and continued to the present.

A discussion of the white factor syndrome is based on the strong recognition that the post-colonial governments in Africa were wrongly influenced by the continent's heavy dependence on a body of knowledge that was accumulated by white people who interpreted the history of Africans and their characteristic values, civilization and attitudes from a Eurocentric perspective. Observations by Hill (1993) about white people having been "ignorant of local customs", should be understood in the wider context of how white people developed an education system based on preconceived judgements about Africans whom they thought of as sub-human. In an article entitled "Stop teaching rubbish about Mwenemutapa", Kasere (2017) complained of how the post-independent governments of Zimbabwe failed to correct the kind of education which had been created by the colonial system which though useful in many ways, was quite biased, Eurocentric, toxic and completely wrong especially in describing Bantu customs and migration patterns which were just a figment of their wild imagination. He criticized the kind of education that Mugabe and his government received from the white colonial master which conceptualised Mwenemutapa as a person they regarded as Monomutapa who must have migrated from somewhere without realising that Mwenemutapa was a God-ordained spiritual institution which always enforced Ubuntu and conservation values so that those who used sinister methods to abuse fellow human beings and their natural resource heritage were not only exposed but punished. In the subsequent article entitled "Tragic case of how the white-factor syndrome destroyed the Korekore nation and its God abiding superstructure in the Lower Zambezi" Kasere (2022) continued with the theme of how white people had demonised the spiritual institution of the Mwenemutapa and how the black Government, which was led by Mugabe who prided himself as having received the best of colonial education, did nothing to help decolonise the education system and allow Zimbabweans and the world to learn the correct history of Mbuya Nehanda and her Mwenemutapa family. In fact, very cosmetic changes were made. The myth of Mwenemutapa as having been a raider who migrated from Makaranga, despite the fact that white people who started it had disproved it was perpetuated not only by being printed as the correct history, but by renaming the offices from where the President operated as Munhumutapa instead of Mwenemutapa which meant "Owner of the land" in reference to Adam whose spirit reincarnated through one family blood in the Zambezi Valley. Many towns and cities had to be renamed by indigenous names but not Mt Darwin, the Mwenemutapa homestead which remained Mt Darwin in honour of Charles Darwin. Nothing was, and still is being taught about the true background of Mbuya Nehanda as having been the daughter of Mwenemutapa who Cecil Rhodes wanted to kill but ended up killing an ordinary spirit medium Charwe by mistake. Nothing has also been recorded about how Mbuya Nehanda arranged refuge for her only grandson she had named ***Supreme Kasere*** to go and live in Zvimba under cover of his maternal uncle as it became clear the British wanted to kill both the custodial body person of the Mwenemutapa and any possible successor of the supreme spirit medium in order to pacify Zimbabweans forever from resisting white domination as the Mwenemutapa had done since

the 1500s. So, the white factor syndrome has strong connotations of how the black government in Zimbabwe believed in values and body of knowledge compiled by white people which made them fail to decolonize the mind frame of Africans so they would understand more clearly the evil machinations white people had applied in order assert themselves and their values as superior to those of Africans.

2.8 How the white factor syndrome was institutionalised to subdue Africans to white domination

The white factor syndrome, as conceptualized by Kasere S (2022), is an integral characteristic of the dependency theory which describes the tendency to view white culture, race and leadership as superior to that of Africans or any other race that falls out of the Caucasians. Also called the murungu factor syndrome, the white factor syndrome is basically a psychological attitude or mind-frame of "the white man knows better" or "the white man is superior" syndrome which though prevalent in almost every sphere of life, has been deep-rooted in the wildlife sector in post-independent Africa where black leadership of the country tended to confer wildlife post to white experts while overlooking Africans who held even higher qualifications. Thus, often manifesting itself as racism, particularly in the field of wildlife management, the white factor syndrome describes the entire gamut of perception about the superiority of the white race. It has been promoted by both the generality of black people of Africa and the white people themselves, whether at national or international level. When looked at from the perspective of the world system theory, the white factor syndrome is what some scholars refer to as 'ecological imperialism' or in short 'eco-imperialism' (Hulme and Murphree, 2001) which is usually interpreted vaguely as racism. In the context of wildlife management, the white factor syndrome was well-articulated by Raymond Bonner (1993) in describing how people of European descent network with each other in dictating and manipulating policy formulation and implementation at both multilateral and national levels as well as in preferring the placement of white people or their surrogates in strategic positions of control in the day-to-day management of wildlife throughout the African continent and beyond.

Bonner (1993) gave a touching example of how white expatriates always overlooked appointment of a highly qualified Dr Perez Olindo who would not only be sabotaged from taking over leadership posts of organisations such as Africa Wildlife Foundation (AWF), but even had to be dismissed by President Arab Moi as Director of Kenya Wildlife Services (KWS) on the advice of white experts, when he tried to end massive corruption that besieged the KWF. Interestingly, white experts preferred Olindo's replacement by Richard Leakey, whose office staff called him Dr Leakey while he did "not have even an undergraduate university degree (Bonner,1993: 132). Similar incidents could be cited in Zimbabwe where white people complained bitterly about the appointment of Willas Makombe after Dr Nduku and Rowan Martin were relieved from their jobs following an alleged scandal of transfer of over 100 elephants from Zimbabwe

which was allegedly done by Martin. The white people's voice for removal of Makombe, who tried to instill discipline in the national parks was heard, and Makombe was removed which goes to show that the white people called the tune.

A related factor or aspect of white factor syndrome that may be of significance to observe throughout the discussion in this study is what can be described as the money factor syndrome. Though seemingly different, in everyday life, the money factor syndrome and white factor syndrome tend to converge to describe two sides of the same coin that characterizes Euro-American imperialism in Africa in general. While white factor syndrome tends to emphasize the racial element about the belief in white supremacy, the money factor syndrome represents what one may call the economics side of things – i.e., the financial gains that propels the engine that the white factor syndrome rides on. As such, one may safely hypothesize a symbiotic or co-relationship between the two in an African scenario, where money attracts white people or vice versa where white people attract money. It can also explain how the attraction of money made the post-independent government join forces with the former colonial master to ensure that projects and monetary benefits that were due to ordinary rural communities were deposited in offshore accounts while communities continued to suffer.

In the context of this paper, the relationship between race and money is demonstrated by the extent to which millions of dollars of donor funds generously poured into the white dominated leadership of the CAMPFIRE Collaborative Group (CCG), which hardly trickled to communities on the ground. In other words, the money factor syndrome is based on the premise that whites attract money while money attracts the white people. As admitted by Stanley Price, who headed the African Wildlife Foundation in Kenya: "The more whites in the organisation, the easier it was to raise money from donors" (Bonner, 1993:82). Price even went further to explain: "We are accountable to an American constituency, we are dealing with Western donors" (Bonner, 1993: 82). In other words, according to Bonner (1993: 82) "American and Western donors do not feel as comfortable dealing with Africans as they do with white Americans and Europeans." This is perhaps why, according to Marshall Murphree, CAMPFIRE attracted "large amounts of donor funding, particularly from USAID", since its inception. The cardinal point stressed here is that CAMPFIRE attracted millions of dollars at its formation because donors trusted the involvement of white people. Such support would have been highly unlikely if the same formation was initiated and managed by dark skinned Africans. This was because the superstructure that prevailed for funding wildlife projects at international sphere spearheaded by American and Western donors favoured white management. This is why the CCG heads who formed CAMPFIRE were all white coordinated by Zimbabwe Trust which was essentially a British organization managed by Keith Madders as Director General in its UK offices and Rob

Monro in Zimbabwe. Thus, from a dependency theory perspective, local Africans are trapped into depending on the presence of white personnel to get funding for wildlife projects.

The white factor syndrome can be traced back to early times in history when Europeans ventured into the dark continent of Africa in search for minerals, ivory and slaves to export to Europe. With the advent of European colonialism, the white factor syndrome became institutionalised in almost every aspect of human livelihood and was more clearly manifest in the field of wildlife management where it survived virtually up to the present day. Thus, the tendencies of Safari operators in CAMPFIRE which (Murombedzi, 2001) described as "patently racist and alienate and humiliate locals" should rather be more realistically looked at from a global build-up of the superstructure of white factor syndrome that developed over many centuries. It should not be viewed from a micro level of interaction between a safari operator and his domestic servants, who themselves could perhaps be very content to be employed where millions of other people would be unemployed. Similarly, the dependency structures created by colonialism and Western capitalism perhaps explains tendencies observed by Bonner (1993) where Africans throughout the continent showed reverence to white people who they call by various titles of respect such as Bwana and so on. It needs noting that even in Zimbabwe, the Shona translation for a white man is Murungu meaning God in many parts of the African countries.

In his book "How Europe underdeveloped Africa, Walter Rodney (1981) dwelt at length on the subject matter about the submissiveness and inferiority that typify African attitude towards white people. This is perhaps why Europeans throughout the African continent are referred to by adjectives such as bwana in East Africa or Murungu in Zimbabwe.[6] And although some terms of reverence such as bwana can pass for titles of respect, I think the use of the word murungu to be the colloquial translation for a white man in Zimbabwe suggests the height of mental colonization that deserve serious discussion. This is because Mulungu is generally a reference to God in many African countries.

As stated in https;//findwords.info/term/mulungu:

> *Mulungu is a common name of the creator deity in a number of Bantu languages and cultures over East and Central Africa. This includes the Nyamwezi, Shambaa, Kamba, Sukuma, Rufiji, Turu, and Kikuyu cultures. With the advent of either Islam or Christianity, the word "Mulungu"*

[6] It should be understood that virtually the entire modern-day population of Bantu people in Zimbabwe who use the title murungu as a name for white people do so without the intention or knowledge to refer to white people as God. They just use it as a name. This however is not to say that the previous generations of Zimbabweans who adopted the name were not assuming that the white man represented the image of God

was usually adopted to mean the Christian or Islamic God. Today, the name "Mulungu" is also often used to refer to the Christian or Islamic God.

According to Kasere (2022), this reverence towards white people is the function of the white factor syndrome which explains why most post-independent governments continued to favour white people for either appointment in top posts or to advise the leadership on how to run wildlife projects in particular. Viewed from a classic dependency perspective, the white factor syndrome in Africa as applied in this thesis can, therefore, be defined as an unscrupulous crusade that among other things lead, persecute and manipulate people both open and underground in order to ensure that the resources obtaining and flowing in and out of Africa are used fundamentally to benefit white people and the West (Kasere, 2022). Blacks are, on the other side, used mainly for cheap labour or as pawns in the system. In other words, the white factor syndrome, though primarily serving white people, is not defined exclusively on racial lines. This is because in some instances, black people and their leaders would prefer to open their doors more to white people and their ideas than they would do to people of their fellow race. By aiding, participating or deputising white heads in many organisations that sought to transfer wealth to European countries and people without being critical of how adversely local people were affected by the organisation's racist orientation, many black people would also be as guilt as white people in perpetrating the white factor syndrome (Kasere, 2022).

In accounting for the feeling of superiority by Europeans and the reverse feeling of inferiority by Africans, Rodney (1972) argued that racial prejudices were inevitable following many years of slavery and capitalist exploitation of Africans by Europeans. According to Rodney (1972), "no people can enslave another for centuries without coming out with a notion of superiority". His point is that when the colour and other physical traits of enslaved peoples looked different from those of the dominant group, the prejudice inevitably manifested into racism. This, according to Rodney, contributed to the development of racism not only in Europe, United States and other parts of the world where Africans worked as slaves, but also within the colonised corridors of Africa itself.

According to Kasere (2022), the white factor syndrome has a long socio-economic and psychological background to underdevelopment of Africans which dates back to the historical days when European people (so-called the white race or Caucasians), began to interface with non-European races of the world (who were viewed as non-Caucasians). Caucasians, according to Coon cited in Wells (2002: 8) is only one of the human subspecies Caucasoid, the other four being Australoid, Capoid, Congoid and Mongoloid. It is asserted by Coon that "the dominance of the Europeans is a natural consequence of their evolved genetic

superiority" (Wells, 2002). Thus, in line with this thinking and other such racially motivated hypotheses that were never empirically proven, the white factor syndrome should be understood as including a comprehensive interplay of white racialism and Eurocentric values among other factors, which evolved historically to form a social dictum regarded by some scholars as cultural imperialism (Kasere, 2022).

In essence then the white factor syndrome refers to a deep-rooted and ruthless cult of exploitation of other continents and races particularly Africans by white people. It thrives on a process of European imperialist culture which was curved on the belief held primarily by Europeans themselves that because their military and technological superiority was able to crush and subdue other non-Caucasian races then it implied that everything the white people represented, be it food, culture, education and even naked aggression and violence against other races, represented the dictum of modern advanced culture of civilisation. The Europeans enhanced their superiority over many non-Caucasoid races particularly Africans because of the middle-man role they played in transferring technological inventions sourced mainly from outside Europe which they shipped to different parts of the world where they posed to the colonised as the inventors.

The underlying assumption of the white factor syndrome is that the life style, culture and vision of white Europeans provide the only line of reference that Africans must follow for personal and national development. As such, the white factor syndrome involves not only the belief in racial superiority of Europeans, but also the belief that Africans must be exploited, be it by hook or crook, in order to provide for the basic needs and luxuries of Europeans and the white race. Although many may be used to referring to white factor syndrome as racism, the term white factor syndrome coined for the purpose of this thesis is more preferable than racism. This is because it refers to the whole gamut of superstructure of belief system which not only involves how white people felt and treated other races, but also how the black Africans, Asians, Amerindians and other races that were looked down upon by Europeans, began to aspire to work to protect and promote the superiority of the white race while caring less about its negative impact to themselves and their populations at large. Hence the need to start by a description of the white factor syndrome in order to understand the theory of dependency which arose when Mugabe and his government failed to decolonize the mind frame of people who were made to believe in the superiority of white people just because he had struck a private deal with Zimbabwe Trust hoping that he would also share the millions (estimated at US$70m) that Zimbabwe Trust and USAID raised for white CCG members which never went down to help rural communities in any meaningful way.

2.8.1 How Caucasians projected themselves as the superior race above all other races especially Africans

A lot has been published about the belief in the superiority of Europeans over non-Caucasians in general and black people in particular. As observed by Mkhwanazi (2017), there are a number of African scholars or philosophers who trace the history of racism to the writings of early Greek Philosophers such as Aristotle. It is claimed by Ramose that Aristotle's definition of human being as "rational man" referred exclusively to European Caucasians since Africans and other non-Caucasians were viewed as human-like but not human proper (Mkhwanazi, 2017). European views about Africans, according to Mkhwanazi, seem to reflect on the biblical interpretation of the story of creation by European Monogenists and Polygenists. As summed up by Mkhwanazi (2017), the argument by monogenists was that God created only one race, and that only this race (referring to Caucasians), was truly human. Polygenists on the other hand as highlighted by Mkhwanazi argued that if God created many races, then all the other races were not given the same soul, which implied that other races were inferior to Westerners. According to Biakolo who in his essay quoted Levy Bruhl as cited in Mkhwanazi (2017), the views held by whites over blacks always projected whites as the diametrical opposite of blacks. In his five categories of cognition based mainly on misjudgments by Lucien Levy Bruhl, Europeans over the many past centuries regarded themselves as civilised, logical, conceptual, textual and scientific while Africans on the contrary were seen as savage, pre-logical, perceptual, oral and religious (Mkhwanazi, 2017).

When analysed in its philosophical context, a latent function of viewing Africans as inhuman, irrational, savagery, soulless and whatever negative "ism" was deliberately advanced in order to justify the abuse and ill-treatment that black people suffered for over 500 years or so in the form of slavery, colonialism and other tortuous and degrading forms. The history of African slavery which depicts how Africans were hunted and captured like wild animals and ferried into ships for onward trade so as to work for free in Europe and Americas is well known and documented and perhaps not necessary to repeat in detail for the purpose of this study. However, for the purpose of analysing and understanding the deep-rooted inhuman treatment of black people under slavery, Burke (1974: 124) narrated at length how captured female slaves carrying ivory on their heads and babies on their backs would watch their babies shot in cold blood in order for the enslaved African women to commit all their energy behind carrying of ivory. Even more poignant were narrations of how slaves that felt exhausted or sick during the way to the sea were speared to death to ensure that other slaves would not dare pretend to be also ill "... in order to avoid carrying their loads" (Burke,1974: 124).

Perhaps it is important to note that Europeans could never have tolerated similar ill-treatment endured by Africans at the hand of slavery in particular if the same had been directed at their fellow Europeans. Thus even though slave trade was banned, the deep rooted white factor syndrome, based on the belief of the superiority of Europeans over natives of Asia, Americas, Australia and Africa continued to be harbored by Europeans and many of their surrogates throughout the colonial era and beyond, and is the basis upon which preferential treatment is accorded to white leadership in organisations; white values and opinions not only in the wildlife sector, but in every other sphere of life in Africa today. it is even more particularly crucial to understand how the brutality directed at Africans especially during slavery and beyond was cushioned and galvanized by a prejudice held by Europeans that Africans were not their equal beings, and thus deserved no mercy in being abused, whipped into submission, or even killed when it came to serving commercial, labour and leisure interests of Europeans. The feeling that Africans were sub-human or "monsters with souls as black as their skins" (Davidson, 1967: 18), gave perpetrators of violence and other forms of unfair treatment to Africans the much-needed psychological refuge from the guilt that would arise if one thought he/she was ill-treating a fellow human being.

One of the biggest problems caused by the white factor syndrome as highlighted by the new Zambezia school of thought is on how it created a superstructure of inferiority and guilt among Africans with regards to their spiritual system of worship through the spirit medium which white people condemned as paganism. This sense of guilt and shame was so deep that it makes it virtually impossible to assume that Adam, the first man to be created by God according to the Christian gospel, might have been African, worse so a Shona speaking Bantu. The idea seems unacceptable, unimaginable and deplorable not only among Caucasians, but also among African people themselves who feel there is something wrong with scholarship that can suggest or imagine that Adam could have been an African. This is because the demonization of the African institution of the Mwenemutapa was too extreme that it becomes a big challenge for anyone to accept that God might have chosen southern Africa and the Zambezi valley to be the land where Adam was created and then worse so to choose to talk through a spirit medium of a black man or woman such as Mwenemutapa cum Nehanda upon his death. Hence the significance of Oliver Mtukudzi's song Dande cited above which starts by lyrics of protest saying: "Mandiona kusviba mati kuora" (You see my dark skin and think I am rotten or evil) which the Zambezia School of thought claimed to be African Adam of Dande complaining in song.

What is interesting to observe about the so-called civilized world however is that no one contests the view that God could speak through a Christian priest or prophet. Many do not see the Ubuntu connecting factors between the African Mwari religion and all other religions that developed from it to form Christianity,

Buddhism, Muslim and many others which not only use a human being as the mouthpiece to communicate with God, but promote the same principles of humaneness (brotherhood) that observe principles surrounding ten commandments or more which condemned all sorts of behavior particularly killing of a fellow human being, the greed and selfishness that motivate people to steal as well as lack of respect for parents and ancestors (Kasere, 2022). The irony of it all is that all religions seem to have evolved from the Mwari or Ubuntu principles which must have been designed by Adam to ensure that evil and selfish acts would be checked, hence the hypothesis that the Mwenemutapa institution which fostered values of ***humunhu*** (Shona), humane (English) or ubuntu (Zulu) which facilitated sustainable living and sustainable utilization of natural resources in particular should be a principal factor that helps trace Adam's existence around the Victoria Falls where his spirit for brotherhood and perhaps special hormones for protecting people and wildlife were passed on from one generation of the Mwenemutapa family to another.

It is however unfortunate that many of the advocates of a white or Euro-Asian Adam (not African), often associates Godliness with affluence and would even rhetorically ask why sub-Sahara Africans lagged behind in development for many centuries if Adam was African. Even if one may still try to use the dependency theory for the underdevelopment of Africa, advocates for a white Adam may still ask why it is that Europeans were far too developed than the African continent even long before Europeans were able to travel to Africa and why an African Adam never seemed able to prevent or protect Africans from suffering through slavery, colonialism and other oppressive conditions if Adam was an African who lived in southern Africa where he presided over a plethora of underutilized natural resources which included minerals and wildlife which were presumed to have existed in great abundance in the land of Ophir?

The following details of the significance of the Mwenemutapa spiritual system and how it was dislodged by the white factor syndrome from its crucial role of management of ubuntu and wildlife is important, not only to show how Godly the African culture and religion was, but to also show how the disorientation from the African tradition of caring (Kasere in Alyanak, 1996), which the colonial government bequeathed to the post-independent government of Zimbabwe in 1980, led to the implementation of policies and a fast track land reform system that primarily served selfish interests of a few local and international elite while putting ubuntu and wildlife conservation principles in far greater jeopardy. In reading the greater details of the following history of southern Africa and Zimbabwe, one needs to bear in mind that the history is being compiled and brought to public scrutiny for the first time by the researcher of this thesis who is a surviving member of the Mwenemutapa spiritual dynasty. One also needs to pay special attention on how the onslaught, confusion and the demonization of the Mwenemutapa system contributed in retarding a more systematic approach in studying how supernatural powers combined with physical traits that passed on

genetically from one Mwenemutapa to another, made every Mwenemutapa behave defensively and selflessly to protect people and nature from being abused by the unscrupulous people who were capable of doing anything to gain wealth and political control of people and natural resources. African philosophy recognizes distinction between good and bad, scrupulous traders and the unscrupulous; holy and evil and so on. Though latently able to bring about development,[7] the unscrupulous were always at cross roads with the Mwenemutapa spirit which encouraged hard work ethics and fair trade done within acceptable limits of ubuntu. By confusing and demonizing African religion of spirit mediums as manifestations of the devil (Geddes and Grosset, 2000) and the condemnation of the entire superstructure as primitive, irrational and superstitious and therefore not worth observing, modern academics missed an opportunity to comprehensively study socio-linguistic, ecological and biological factors that linked and traced African ubuntu and wildlife conservation to the existence of Adam and Eve in the Zambezi valley. The real problem is that by inheriting and perhaps misinterpreting the Christian gospel, Europeans by the 17th century had developed a skeptical view about any spirit medium, including the Mwenemutapa that fought evil, as demonic. As explained by Geddes and Grosset (2000:206):

> *Originally, in pre-Christian cultures and in non-Christian cultures, the word demon could be applied to a spirit, whether good or evil. Christianity, however characterized them as being evil*

[7] This seemingly contradictory statement of how evil contributes to development draws mainly from a strong African philosophy which postulates that holiness and evil will always co-exist in dialectical opposition to each other. Hence the spirit mediums including the supreme Mhondoro spirit called Mwenemutapa/Nehanda wore a black and white cloth in just the same way the judiciary in the many countries that follow the Roman-Dutch and Anglo-American legal systems wear black and white robes or garments. According to the little studied African spiritual philosophy, the white part of the cloth acknowledged the purity or brotherly aspect of human nature from which the Mwenemutapa/Nehanda draw their inspiration to enforce ubuntu values while the black part of the cloth acknowledges the natural existence of forces of evil and darkness, which will need to be controlled to mitigate their effects on the welfare of the majority of people (Kasere, 2023). This goes a long way to show that much of the civilized culture considered European by modernization philosophers can all be traced to the African Shona-speaking Adam, who as the human ancestor, designed ***humunhu***, human or ubuntu values as the gospel of the Mwari (African spiritual) religion which then spread throughout the world to form all other religions. It is ironic that many Europeans, perhaps due to a deep-rooted sense of revulsion against being compared with black people, might have invested huge resources in studying languages and cultures of continents such as the Arab world and Asia in a bid to investigate their origins, but ignored completely to study languages and cultures of Bantu Africans which show many similarities that prove on balance of probabilities that all people migrated from a Shona speaking African Adam who likely lived in the Zambezi valley as alleged by the Zambezia school of thought (Kasere, 2023). In fact, there is considerable literature that has not been fully appraised which suggests that Asians as well migrated from an African Adam who was Shona speaking. Without mentioning the belief in ancestral worship for which the Asian culture of *feng shui* is fancied world over, many do not realise that the religion of Buddhism which emphasises brotherly care as the virtue needed on earth for one to be able to go to heaven, has its background on ubuntu. This is why many Bantu languages including Shona, Zulu or Ndebele, use the term 'budhi' (as in Buddhism) to refer to a brother. It also needs mentioning that Shona people are often fascinated by Japanese names such as 'Tanaka' which are in common parlance among Shona people. What makes it even more interesting is that some of the words mean exactly the same thing to Japanese and to Shona people. For example, the vernacular name for elephant in Shona is 'nzou' which is the same in Japanese. All these similarities seem to suggest that Asians as well as Aborigines (who use totems) and Europeans who tried to cover much of their cultural practices especially in witchcraft and familiars/deities used such as owls and black cats (Geddes & Grosset, 2000: 66/201), all share a common ancestor with sub-Sahara Africans. This seems to confirm the argument that Adam was likely to be African and that all races of people must have migrated from Sub-Sahara Africa at one point or another (Wells, 2002).

spirits and servants of the devil. Demons thus came to be depicted as having the same kind of shape as the devil.

It is clear that Europeans had confused themselves by adopting a new religion which was incapable of distinguishing between a good spirit medium and a bad one. This shows clearly that the interpretation of the bible was done without the serious intellectual backing of a reasonable man. It made no sense that one would condemn the spirit that fought evil as evil. In just the same way the Bible mistakenly believed Adam and Eve to have been Euro-Asians whose garden of Eden was in the Euphrates (Wells, 2002), the early European interpreters of the Bible also made a huge mistake of conceptualizing and bad-mouthing Adam's powerful holy spirit that would incarnate in the Mwene we Mutapa (Owner of the Earth) as an evil demon. Hence, they paid a heavy price for approaching the Mwenemutapa with their own Christian arrogance described by Vulala (2023) in Shona as '*dzungu*'. *Dzungu*, which literally means confusion bordering on psychopathic tendencies, made European instigators for the invasion of Zimbabwe fail to realise that by venturing into the land of Ophir in pursuit of wealth (Main, 1990), they would not just be unable to slaughter and humiliate a true representative of God's holy spirit namely Mwenemutapa, but were also returning for the first time to the real holy place on earth where European ancestors, and those for all other human races migrated from (Vulala, 2023). When reading the following account of how white people fumbled from as far back in 1550s to try and kill Mwenemutapa, one needs to be conscious of the role and extent that the white factor syndrome played in shaping people's views about the superiority of white people and inferiority of blacks that was not premised on any realistic understanding of how Adam might have promised people that his spirit would continue to resonate in one family so that he would continue to fight and protect all people against evil manifestations that would continue to plague human societies in pursuit of riches and power.

In explaining the significance of the Mwenemutapa dynasty, it is important to note that white people never understood that the reason why Africans bowed down in salutation to Nehanda/Mwenemutapa spirit medium saying "svikai zvakanaka va Sekuru" (welcome and talk without anger grandfather) showed their respect for Adam who before before dying in flesh, must have informed his children and grandchildren that his spirit will continue to incarnate and link with people after his death so that those who grossly violated good practices of ubuntu and wildlife conservation can either be punished or cause natural disasters such as droughts and floods that would punish all people within their societies. Thus, in reading the literature that follows, it is important to observe how Europeans worked to destroy the Mwenemutapa institution and how the Mwenemutapa continued to surface to fight the evil that characterized some of the capitalist exploits that grossly violated Ubuntu principles of 'thou shalt not kill for wealth or power' that some

Europeans tried to use in pursuit of gold since the 1500s. It is also important to pay attention to greater details of how the Mwenemutapa institution was mistaken to be a political institution when it was not, and how the spirit has evaded human execution not only by white people but also by the post-independent black African leadership which had made underground alliances with agents of the West to try and reap huge profits from the natural resources of the country that mainly through the Campfire programme, would be stashed in offshore accounts beyond the reach of ordinary people of the country. The alliance never could understand how the hand of God will allow the Mwenemutapa spirit to permeate not only to promote principles of wildlife management and utilization at global level, but would stand up without any formal government or administrative backing to oppose acts of gross corruption and assassinations that the leadership committed since pre-independence days in a bid to acquire wealth and political power. Another major point that needs to be clarified from the onset is that Mwenemutapa or Mbuya Nehanda are not names of individuals as portrayed in the literature that was produced in colonial and post-independent governments of Zimbabwe as currently conceived and taught in schools as Monomutapa or Munhumutapa. Mwenemutapa or Mbuya Nehanda represented Shona titles of respect that described the ***singular*** supreme spirit medium believed to be Adam's which resonated in only one family and is called Mwenemutapa (when it resonates in a male) and Mbuya Nehanda (when it resonates in a woman). The supreme spirit is different from family or clan spirit mediums which resonate in different clans throughout Africa or even beyond to represent members of a clan or family. Being Adam's spirit, it is the most supreme spirit to which all other family or clan spirit mediums at global level pay allegiance to (Kasere, 2022).[8]

[8] The Mwenemutapa/Mhondoro spirit medium is described in greater detail in sections of Chapter Two and Five below. In comparison to Christian institutions the Mwenemutapa/Nehanda imperial spirit medium of the African Mwari religion may be likened to a Pope in Rome or Archbishop of Canterbury who both will have bishops and priests operating below them in parishes based in different countries worldwide. This comparison, according to Kasere (2022) is significant in this study because British people in 1898 mistakenly killed Charwe Nyakasikana who was one of the thousands of family-ranked spirit mediums in Zimbabwe and not the real supreme Mhondoro spirit medium of Mbuya Nehanda who, like Mwenemutapas, would only be born in one blood line of the Mwenemutapa family that always existed in every generation of people in the Zambezi valley until the time that ***Supreme Kasere*** (the true Mbuya Nehanda's biological grandson) was moved for security reasons to go and live in Zvimba. When reading the Mwenemutapa/Nehanda narration, it must always be borne in mind that white colonialists caused so much confusion when they mistakenly hanged Charwe, who lived at the upper basin of the Mazowe River when they intended to hang and eliminate the real Mbuya Nehanda namely Maretekwa who held the supreme spirit of the Mhondoro (lion) and lived around the lower basin of the Mazowe River in the Zambezi/Dande area where the Mwenemutapa home was always located (Kasere, 2022). As such, the title Mbuya Nehanda refers only to the real Mbuya Nehanda of the Mwenemutapa family lineage, who then lived up to 110 years old when she met her death in Mozambique in 1973. In the context of this thesis, Mbuya Nehanda does not refer to Charwe Nyakasikana, who the British hanged alongside Sekuru Kagubi in 1898. Being a family level spirit medium, Charwe will be referred to as 'Priestess' Charwe since every spirit medium or svikiro or mudzimu of her level is the equivalence of a Christian Priest hence the title Priestess Charwe to distinguish her from Mbuya Nehanda who carried the supreme regional spirit medium of Mhondoro or lion which is referred to as Mwenemutapa when it incarnates in a male. Similarly, the title Mwenemutapa will only be reserved for true members of the Mwenemutapa/ Nehanda blood-line of the correct family and not Gatsi Rusere and Mavhura who were both Catholic-trained imposters that were imposed by Portuguese in the early 1600s for the sake of ceding mining rights to Portugal. (Also refer to Boxes One and Two).

2.9 The significance of the supreme spirit medium in galvanizing people to rebel against imperialism

Zimbabwe's bitterness in launching a violent struggle for independence which manifested more clearly with the violent takeover of land through the 2000 FTLRP can be best understood from a broader context of the country's long protracted history of spiritual resistance against Western imperialism which started as far back as the 16th century when Portuguese people used some of the most ruthless and dehumanizing methods to wrestle both human and natural resources from the continent.

Despite all the factors that can be cited here both internal and external that inspired Zimbabweans to want to angrily lash out at white people and recover land to redistribute to the masses of people, nothing can be more significant than the role played by the Mwenemutapa spiritual institution that is now widely accepted by a new Zambezia social science school of thought to be the lion spirit of the African Adam (which is arguably the biblical Adam), that incarnated in a human body since time immemorial to flush out and punish evil tendencies among people albeit black or white who always wanted to abuse fellow humans in order to plunder natural resources in a manner that denied the majority of people from benefiting from the resources obtaining in territories they inhabited.

Mwenemutapa, a shortened Shona word for ***Mwene we Mutapa***, which when translated into English means 'Owner of the Earth', is generally believed by the new Zambezia Social Science school of thought as having been referring to the grand spirit of African Adam (and perhaps Eve as well) that resonated in every generation through a human body of one family blood line in the Zambezi Valley. The spirit, which represented the topmost Priest or Priestess of the Mwari religion for enforcement of ubuntu principles, was called Mwenemutapa when it resonated in a male, or Mbuya Nehanda when in particular rare occasions, it resonated in a female body. By implication, this means that Adam, who in the first place was made from God's spirit, only died in his human flesh, but his spirit continued to exist in the form of God's spirit that guided humanity to abide by ubuntu principles known as ***hu munhu*** shortened ***hunhu*** in Shona. When interpreted from its holistic perspective, the religious belief about the reincarnation of Adam's spirit in the Zambezi area to enforce ubuntu or humunhu principles is the one that gave rise to a new Zambezia School of Thought which postulates that Southern Africa (not just Zimbabwe), was the biblical land of Ophir whose significance was not only about being endowed with abundance of minerals and wildlife resources, but also of being the range area of Adam's domicile, in which the Victoria Falls together with many surrounding national parks across South Africa, Zimbabwe, Botswana, Namibia, Mozambique and others formed the Garden of Eden. This view which first found expression in Kasere (2022) seemed to be backed by the recognition that the Shona word ***humunhu*** for ***ubuntu***, is the phonetical origin of the English word

'human', which not only rhyme and mean the same thing as humunhu, but suggests also that Adam was Shona-speaking. As such, the English word human is a relic of the European people's origin from Africa, where all human beings, according to recent scientific findings, originated (Wells, 2002).

In his book entitled *The Journey of Man*, Wells (2002) not only disproved the once widely believed biblical view that stated that Adam and Eve's Garden of Eden was in the Euphrates, but also emphasised the importance of carefully studying languages, customs and names to understand our human past. As observed by Wells (2002): "It is likely that the evolution of language does follow the same paths as the migration of modern humans, with an origin in Africa and subsequent dispersal to the far corners of the globe." It was also along similar arguments that Kasere (2022) criticized virtually all models of migration patterns put forward by white people during colonialism which stated that Bantu people migrated from around Congo Zaire and Cameroon as unreliable, baseless and misleading. While acknowledging certain unavoidable shifts whose patterns still need to be studied, Kasere (2022) noted that most of the Bantu people are likely to be indigenous to southern Africa. He said it was wrong to think of Ndebele people as having migrated from Zulu people in South Africa to go and settle in Matabeleland arguing that the Zezuru and Zulu people of South Africa, Zambia and Malawi were probably one ethnic group who split over time. In other words, the word 'Zezuru' was probably conceived of as 'Zezulu'. The Zezulu concept with an 'L' then died off over time as the Zezulu tribe split with one section going southward while the other section affiliating northwards to Chikorekore/Shona language which does not have an "L" or "Q" in its alphabet. Wherever there is "L" the Shona put "R". Considering the close proximity of Zulu people to Great Zimbabwe, there are higher chances that the Zezulus including the Zulu people of South Africa were the ones who constructed the "Great Zimbabwe" ruins or monument before migrating southwards to split with Zezuru who shifted towards the Makorekore of the northern border. It is therefore unlikely that the Great Zimbabwe was constructed by the present day Karanga people who most likely split from the Kalanga people of Matebeleland and Botswana based on the same principle that where ever there is an "L" as in Kalanga, Shona people put an "R" to read "Karanga" (Kasere, 2022).

This confirms the important point for this discussion which calls for caution against the white factor syndrome which has misled many post-independent governments of Africa particularly that of Zimbabwe who mistakenly relied on literature and interpretation of African values and migratory models that were constructed by white colonialists who, as observed by Hill (2014), lacked sufficient understanding of African beliefs, languages and customs. It would have been necessary for post-independent governments of Africa to decolonize the education system that was dominated by distortions and falsehoods that were said about Africans, sometimes out of sheer ignorance on the part of white writers and at times by deliberate

intention to confuse Africans about their past so that they would embrace colonialism as a blessing that came to rescue them from poverty and to eventually lead them to a proper heaven by stopping them to believe in religions which the colonial master condemned as doomed and evil. Hence Kasere (2022) was skeptical, not just about baseless theories of migration constructed by Europeans that alluded that Bantu people came from around Congo or Cameroon (Main, 1990; Swaney, 1989), but also claims made by white people which attributed most of ancient paintings found in Zimbabwe and Southern Africa to Bushmen as if there was absolute scientific proof that Bantu people never had artistic capabilities to draw and express themselves through images that are all attributed by Europeans to Bushmen. The idea for Europeans to come up with imagined theories of Bantu migration was, according to Vulala (2023), to confuse and pacify Bantu people against fighting to recover land since they would be told they also, like Europeans migrated from elsewhere and so did not have absolute rights to complain about land dispossession on land that originally belonged to Bushmen.

It is therefore against this background of distortions, misinformation and demonization of the African tradition and background that the next section goes into detail to show how the Mwenemutapa institution battled to contain and repel violent and divide and rule tactics of white imperialism dating back from the mid-1500s when Portuguese people sought to wrestle gold and other precious resources from Zimbabwe. This history is important not just because it has been completely left out from teaching in Zimbabwean schools, but because it explains the bitterness that had bottled up among Shona people to want to take over their land back as much as possible.

2.10 The tragic assault and demonization of Africans and the Mwenemutapa institution since the 1500s

The history of persecution and brutalization of Africans and the Mwari religion especially the Mwenemutapa institution is long and not easy to summarize comprehensively in a scientific study of this nature. The history dates back many centuries when European Caucasians ventured into sub-Sahara Africa in search of wealth which included minerals, slaves and ivory among other valuables that were highly prized for trade during the time. This historical account is important because it shows how the destruction of the Mwenemutapa system also destroyed the institutional arrangement for wildlife management by white people since the role of the Mwenemutapa institution was to also safeguard and sustainably utilize wildlife. Hence the need to show the holistic picture of how the Mwenemutapa system was destroyed. It also shows

how the spiritual system survived throughout to the present day to fight for ubuntu and wildlife conservation that both the white culture and post-independent government of Zimbabwe had suppressed.[9]

According to Kasere (2021), the tragic account of misfortunes and persecution that besieged the Mwenemutapa and Korekore people in the Zambezi Valley started with the discovery by Vasco da Gama during his 1498 voyage to the East Indies of the alleged existence of huge caches of gold and other valuable minerals in Zimbabwe which Europeans assumed to be the biblical land of Ophir or King Solomon's Mines (Main, 1990). Upon arriving at Sofala in Mozambique in 1502, Vasco da Gama met up with African gold traders who advised his crew that the gold they were selling came from the Korekore Nation in Zimbabwe's Mashonaland which was governed by the Mwenemutapa (Main, 1990; Teede and Teede, 1990).

[9] This statement is important to explain why the thesis has to go into details of how the Westernization of governance in colonial Zimbabwe which continued through to the post-independent era was at cross-roads with the Mwenemutapa spiritual system of Ubuntu which was indivisible with the package of wildlife conservation. It is therefore important to bear in mind that all changes made in every political dispensation which trampled upon the holy spirit of the Mwenemutapa institution and personalities through which the spirit re-incarnated, did not cultivate the spirit of ubuntu that necessitated conservation and sustainable utilization of wildlife most especially in Zimbabwe. Hence the need to follow through, not just the history of how the Mwenemutapa institution (not one person) was violently ostracized since the arrival of Europeans in the 1500s, but also describe and analyse idiosyncratic details and behavior of individuals who were arguably chosen through a biological and spiritual system of heredity to enforce the ubuntu and wise use of all natural resources which included wildlife and minerals. It may therefore be awkward at every stage of describing people and values involved in the Mwenemutapa system to explain how such details will be relevant to wildlife management when the departure point of the thesis is that wildlife conservation does not exist in isolation from the political climate and governance that prevailed at every stage of human existence especially with regards to management and ustilisation of all natural resources including wildlife, minerals and human (human resources). It will also not be necessary to explain at every stage how the details have relevance to wildlife management in Darwendale farms because all projects be they at district or national level are a mirror of the political dispensation albeit under the Mwenemutapa institution or dictatorship of the colonial or post-colonial regimes that followed a pro-western system of management that was diametrically opposed to the God-ordained Mwenemutapa institution. In other words, it would be wrong to assume that Darwendale farms are an autarky which exists independently of policies of a regime in power. The four farms selected in this study are only chosen to demonstrate how policies embarked upon at national level are implemented on the ground. This means that if the Mwenemutapa system of governance, which emphasized brotherhood sharing and distribution of all resources was in power, Darwendale farms would also by and large mirror the ubuntu system of sustainable living as described in the thesis. The principle of operation would also apply if the mode of governance is different. It would be expected that if a political system at national level emphasizes a capitalist mode of production, trends on the ground at Darwendale farms would reflect policies of possessive individualism that mainly characterizes the capitalist mode of governance at national level. It will therefore not be necessary at different stages of the narration to show how the Mwenemutapa/Nehanda imply on micro implementation and evaluation of programmes and projects on the ground. The whole point for Objective One of the ultimate objective of the thesis is to emphasize how management of wildlife and all other natural resources at Darwendale farms and elsewhere in Zimbabwe would have differed if ubuntu and wildlife management ethos that characterize the Mwenemutapa traditional dispensation were enforced. The information shows how the post-independence system violated the traditional ethos of good governance. It shows how Mbuya Nehanda (female Mwenemutapa) and her grandson and great grandson in the Kasere family emerged (not out of volition), to represent the Mwenemutapa principles and ethos that espoused ubuntu and wise use of natural resources (Kasere in Alyanak, 1996). If the examination of the Mwenemutapa dynasty can help trace the origins of the spirit to Adam, then the issues raised in this thesis weigh far beyond personal needs of the glory of being awarded a higher qualification, which I think could have been acquired just by sticking to terms of reference of Darwendale farms. I think the subject matter is much broader and should also make use of correct 'primary' sources of information that come directly from the afflicted Mwenemutapa/Nehanda/Kasere family. This is important especially when considering that the subject matter of Mwenemutapa has never been studied especially in the host country Zimbabwe where government believes in the legend of Munhumutapa which is almost the opposite of the Mwenemutapa institution. This why more information about 'X' and the Mwenemutapa has been provided to beef up contents of addendum.

Believing Mwenemutapa to be "the custodian of King Solomon's Mines and the mysterious land of Ophir (Swaney, 1999: 115) that appeared in bible, Vasco Da Gama immediately christened the Zambezi River "Rios dos bons sinais" (Teede and Teede, 1990: 11). When translated into English, Rios dos bons sinais meant in Portuguese "River of good omen". The name was inspired by the hope in Da Gama that the Zambezi would soon become "the lucrative passage for the gold trade" (Teede and Teede, 1990: 11). Excited by his discovery, Vasco da Gama, upon his return to Portugal, wasted no time to advise Portuguese King Manuele about his discovery, and the King on his part also wasted no time to request exiled Antonio Fernandes to travel to observe Mwenemutapa in today's Mt Darwin whom they believed was the King of the land (Kasere, 2022). It seems the Portuguese King had set his eyes at getting the gold by whatever means. It was therefore important for Fernandes to assess all prospects for Portugal to obtain the minerals either by hook or crook and among the options that Fernandes weighed were either for Portugal to send troops to attack Mwenemutapa or persuade him to sign a treaty in order to gain monopoly "...of the gold trade they now desperately needed" (Main, 1990: 203).

As Kasere (2022) noted from perusal of existing bits and pieces of literature, it would seem there already were many Portuguese and Arabs plying their trade along the Zambezi Valley and the coast of the Indian Ocean by the time Vasco da Gama made his voyage. It is also known that by the early 1530s, the Portuguese had settled in the trading parts of the Korekore nation namely Sena and Tete where they replaced the Swahili as the dominant trading partners with African communities (Machiridza, 2012). It also seems that by that time Zimbabweans under spiritual guidance of Mwenemutapa had become conscious that Europeans wanted to exploit them by offering in exchange for their gold goods that were of inferior value. According to early 16th century records, Portuguese imported cloths from India which they offered at Sofala for a value 20 to 30 times their original cost (Kasere, 2017). For example, to purchase 3 pieces of calico (cloth), an African had to give as much as 285g of gold which took a Zimbabwean an entire season to produce (Main, 1990). The Europeans who had been prejudiced to think of Africans as a horde of barbarians who were ignorant about economics were disillusioned to discover that 16th century barely clothed Southern Africans, who never knew any theory of dependency and underdevelopment, were not willing to easily part with their gold in barter deals that were not fair (Kasere, 2022). Hence the spying visits by Fernandes and later Gonzalo da Silveira were motivated by the need to assess the military prowess of Makorekore so that Portugal could consider the size of army to wrestle gold and other resources from them (Kasere, 2017A).

Studies show that Fernandes made three trips to Mwenemutapa between 1511 and 1514 (Main, 1990). According to sketchy literature available, Fernandes made key observations some of which seemed correct while others seemed far too exaggerated to have made King Manuele believe that in dealing with

Mwenemutapa, the Portuguese were dealing with a properly institutionalised King not a spirit medium. But the reality is that Mwenemutapa, or rather Mwene we Mutapa in full meaning "Owner of the earth", was not a ruler but a Korekore title that referred to the highest priest of the Mwari religion. It referred to the supreme or grand spirit medium of the Mhondoro (lion) through which Adam's spirit spoke to all people who were under different kingdoms or chiefdoms based in Southern Africa and beyond.

It is interesting to note that even though Fernandes tried to explain that Mwenemutapa was a spirit medium of a lion, he went on to confuse when he described Mwenemutapa to be not just a ruler but a Divine King (Burke, 1974). He even went on to describe Mwenemutapa's polygamy in a way that made it sound like a typically organised royalty. As summed up in Burke (1974), the number of official posts obtaining at Mwenemutapa's court was said to include the "chancellor of the kingdom, court chamberlain, military commander, keeper of the sacred tribal relics, head drummer, head cook, head doorkeeper, and others" (Burke, 1974: 108). As of the Queen mother and the nine official wives of Mwenemutapa, "each had her own small court and officials within the palace enclosure, and there were about 3000 serving women also there (Burke, 1974). However, what seemed even more fascinating to the Europeans was the social structure at the so-called King's den where the king's every action was imitated by his courtiers, "so that if he coughed, they all coughed, too; if he drank, they all drank" (Burke, 1974: 108). Among many other observations made by the Portuguese were how subjects approached Mwenemutapa crawling on their stomachs and were not allowed to look at him. His subjects merely heard his voice speaking to them from behind a curtain or screen (Burke, 1974).

It is also suspected that perhaps Fernandes also exaggerated the size of Mwenemutapa's army which was said to number up to 100 000 (Main, 1990). The figure however seemed feasible when considering the characteristic nature of Mwenemutapa's multi-ethnic army upon which the name Korekore is said to derive. As stated by Burke (1974), it was the common practice then that subject kings and province governors around the Korekore nation were expected to send their sons to the Monomutapa (Mwenemutapa) 's court to become pages in his service or warriors (Main, 1990). There seems to be congruency between Burke's account of Mwenemutapa's composite army from different kings and the explanation given by Kasere (2017) that the word MaKorekore, from which the South African xenophobic word Makwerekwere derives, does not refer to a single tribe in the Zambezi valley. It also needs correcting that the word Korekore (plural Makorekore) does not mean locusts in vernacular Tavara language as Main (1990: 187) tried to explain. A locust in Shona or Tavara is 'hwiza'. The term Korekore started as a description of the size of the army that the Mwene commanded which was arguably the strongest in Africa. In boasting about the size of their army to foreigners, the local Tavara of Mt Darwin and beyond described their soldiers as Makorekore, likening

them to swarms of locusts that invaded fields in their fat colonies of thousands (Kasere, 2017). It was also probably out of fear and reference to this army that the San people began to refer to the Shona warriors as Makwerekwere (their accent for Makorekore) as they migrated to southern and western parts such as the Limpopo, Botswana and Namibia as far back as the 14th century (Kasere, 2022).

Although the history of people who served as Mwenemutapa since the death of Adam more than 50 000 years ago cannot be accounted for because of lack of documentation, the most important point to note is that Mwene we Mutapa (Owner of the Earth) was a title, not a name of a person (Kasere, 2022). Mwenemutapa was not a ruler or emperor as white people confused. While in later epochs people organized themselves into modern day States, Kingdoms, Chiefdoms or villages to facilitate governance of people as human populations increased, the Mwenemutapa spirit medium must have begun far earlier at the beginning of times immediately after the bodily death of Adam. Though details of how many children Adam had and how races, sub-races, tribes and languages will remain a subject of speculation and conjecture, it would seem God or Adam chose one of Adam's many children in the Zambezi Valley so that his spirit, even though dead in body, would continue to resonate through a living human body of that particular son or daughter so that he (Adam) would continue to control people to abide by principles of Ubuntu for sustainable living and wildlife conservation of many species of life available on earth.

This hypothesis thus gives rise to the Zambezia school of thought which uses the existence of the Mwenemutapa and evolution of principles of Ubuntu and conservation of wildlife as evidence to suggest that southern Africa, not Euro-Asia, was the home of Adam and Eve and the Zambezi Valley or Dande area in present day Mt Darwin was the area where Adam's chosen offspring that would host the Mwenemutapa spirit was domiciled. According to this school of thought, all the first generation of people born by Adam would worship God through the holy spirit of one son or daughter of Adam that would be referred to as Mwenemutapa, while all people born by Adam's other children would be represented by their ancestral parents who in essence were Adam's numerous children. Thus, ancestral worship became ipso facto the basis of the Mwari religion in which everyone worshipped God through their ancestors while the Mwenemutapa remained the superior or supreme spirit of the Mhondoro (lion) through which "all" people appealed direct to Adam or the Holy spirit that would continue to incarnate through the genealogy of only one of Adam's children that Adam or God had chosen to speak as Mwenemutapa. It is this spirit which, as pointed out by Kasere (2022) has continued to resonate in the Mwenemutapa family bloodline and is called Mwenemutapa when it resonates in a male child or Nehanda when it goes to a female child. It is also the same spirit which the Portuguese misspelt as Monomotapa which had nothing to do with the so-called Munhumutapa that the post-independent government forged from the fantasies of white people who

imagined that Mwenemutapa might have been a name of a person who, according to a Mr Abraham (Davidson, 1972: 171) must have migrated into the Zambezi Valley from as far as present-day Masvingo where he had constructed the Zimbabwe monument (Zimbabwe ruins). White people over the years even confused the spirit medium further and further. This happened because when Shona people knelt down before their chief spirit of Adam saying "svikai zvakanaka vasekuru", they thought the spirit was that of the immediate grandfather of the host, without realizing that it was Adam's spirit that the people referred to as 'sekuru' and not the immediate grandfather of the host. The supreme Mhondoro spirit has continued to incarnate in one family for an estimated 50 thousand or so years if estimates by Wells (2002) of when Adam and Eve first appeared in Africa are anything to go by.

The reason why it only reincarnated in one family is because the body apparatus of the person that houses the spirit, must have certain unique characteristics which are only passed through a biological process that Gregor Mendel called particulate inheritance (Hickman et al, 2001). In simple terms, particulate inheritance refers to the passing on of discrete genes from parents to offspring. The system of particulate inheritance, not only produces unique physical characteristics that induce special hormones that make a Mwenemutapa/Nehanda have higher than average compassion towards fellow humans and nature, but also makes it easier to notice that a fraudster born from outside the Mwenemutapa family who claims to be a Nehanda or Mwenemutapa will be a fake.[10] What is quite interesting or perhaps strange about the spirit and the process through which it is sexually reproduced and passed on from one person to another is on how and why only one child, not two or three can only acquire the traits and how the spiritual powers and mysteries are magnetically attracted to follow and protect that person from being killed. In other words, it remains God's secret that may not be easily explained scientifically why only one child born even in a polygamy with 200 or even more siblings can be able to acquire the physical and spiritual attributes of the Mwenemutapa/Nehanda spirit of the lion and not the others who will remain ordinary people who, where necessary, can only be possessed by a lower-level spirit medium of the family but not that of the Mhondoro which is presumed by the Zambezia school of thought to be Adam's (Kasere, 2023).

[10] This is a very important point that has never been carefully observed and discussed by academics. While it is true that there are many people who, as children started by growing the first two teeth on the upper gums, it is the organ under the tongue of a baby-Mwenemutapa that seems so unique. It is hypothesised that the black snake that coiled itself around the body of 'X' at the age of 6 months, might have been attracted by the small organ that rolled the baby's human tongue to look like a dwarfed tongue of a chameleon. This organ completely disappeared by the time 'X' grew most of the milk teeth when he turned 12 or so months old (interview with Kasere family, 2021). (See Addendum on how a snake seemed to have taken shelter on top of his head in the brains).

It is thus important to observe that the family of the Mwenemutapa may be as divided like any other human family with some siblings playing a supportive role while others will even try to kill the one that becomes Mwenemutapa or Nehanda but fail (Kasere, 2023). The important point to note is that neither the child born to become Mwenemutapa/Nehanda nor his/her fellow siblings pay any particular attention to their differences so much that even when they get old and die, none will be sub-consciously aware or remembering that one of them was born with unique features inside the mouth which normally seem to disappear when the Mwenemutapa child turns one year old or so. A normal peck order behavior normally prevails in the Mwenemutapa family where the relatively younger Mwenemutapa-to-be child can be bashed by fellow older siblings who will also play their normal role to protect him/her against being bullied by other children at school. As children grow up in a family, nobody will be conscious about implications of hereditary features and spiritual signs that would have occurred since childhood. In other words, nobody grows up with conscious awareness that one of them was born with any differences in body features. If anything, the strange features only work as identity marks that show the parents the unique attention the child may need (it may seem to be a deformity that needs surgical attention) but would soon forget about it when the child soon appears normal and even become a source of family pride when he starts excelling at school occasionally. Even he, the Mwenemutapa-to-be child, does not grow up conscious of himself/herself as spiritually special or different in any way as he/she finds himself or herself facing harder and painful challenges in life that raise a sense of utilitarianism or ubuntu that makes him empathize with the suffering and thus work for the good of preventing anyone going through pain and suffering and even unfairness and injustices that he/she might have experienced in life. The important point to reiterate here is how 'X' or any other person grew up being totally immersed by the spirit in a way that made him make spontaneous decisions that were guided by the spirit without being aware or conscious about the influence God made in his livelihood. This point is important even with regards to the behaviour and tendencies heavily criticized throughout this thesis about the negative influence played by President Mugabe regarding conservation of wildlife and other spheres. It is possible that he also behaved spontaneously in a manner that his spirit made him behave. This is just a call for caution that as much as academics have a role to appraise or criticize personalities, it is God's spiritual engineering of people's characters and who breathes into people certain behavior that facilitates the two parallel polar systems (hereby deemed holy and unholy) to entangle or wrestle each other for control over human welfare and utilization of natural resources. People are just controlled by God's spirit to behave like a toy that is remote-controlled by a child to either go forward, stop, reverse or turn left or right. This however does not mean dictators such as Adolf Hitler should not be held accountable for their activities. It only means God's spirit has a role to play and that the Mwenemutapa/Nehanda spirit is carefully designed by God to play a defensive role to ensure human compliance with ubuntu and conservation of natural resources so that natural resources including wildlife

will not be plundered into extinction leaving humanity to starve and also become extinct. This is why ubuntu and conservation must be seen as mutually reinforcing virtues of a Mwenemutapa in just the same way holy and unholy systems are dialectically linked in such a way that one can never exist without the presence of the other (Kasere, 2023).[11]

The whole argument put forward by the Zambezia school of thought which points to southern Africa as the true land of Ophir (Garden of Eden) where human life started is long and detailed and can dilute the thesis's objective of assessing the impact of the land reform on wildlife management if exhaustively discussed here. But what needs stressing here is that even though the Zambezia school of thought uses the Biblical theory of creation as its departure point, the more informed Zambezia theory, or rather hypothesis rubbishes both the utopian philosophy of evolution advocated by Western-educated scientists as well as the view put forward by the bible that Adam and Eve's Garden of Eden was geographically located in Euro-Asia. The two assumptions, especially the Big Bang Theory were the most misleading figments of human imagination which inhibited humans from using socio-ecological factors such as Ubuntu and principles of wildlife management from directing scientific researches, albeit archeological, to objectively investigate and link southern Africa's Zambezi Valley and the Mwenemutapa in particular to Adam's existence in the region at the beginning of human livelihood perhaps 50 thousand or so years ago. There may be a co-relationship between the superstructure (ubuntu and principles of wildlife management) and infrastructure obtaining in the region (national parks, Victoria Falls, Kruger, Etosha, Hwange etc) on one hand, and between the unique ubuntu (humunhu/humane) fetishist behavior of a Mwenemutapa/Nehanda. In other words, there must be nexus between physical characteristics that appear inside the mouth of born to be Mwenemutapa/Nehanda child which disappear in its first nine or so months and the existence of super hormones that endow the Mwenemutapa with an above average level of intelligence and passion for Ubuntu and nature on the other. The point being made here is that the field of science both physical and social seemed to have lagged behind in studying and relating the behavior of people to a diversity of physical traits that individuals among humans and animals are born with which tend to develop certain behavior or passions such as the need to protect people in general in a manner that is remarkablly consistent among all people of different

[11] This is one of the major characteristics of a Mwenemutapa which makes it important that researchers make use of primary sources of information acquired from the Kasere family rather than secondary literature which talked of a Munhumutapa that might never have existed. It would seem that God's power of creation was so special that he designed a Mwenemutapa to be distinguishable to ordinary spirit mediums that would incarnate in thousands or perhaps hundreds of thousands of families/clans throughout Africa and beyond. An examination of literature written to date shows that many people who described the Nehanda/Mwenemutapa spirit medium obtained their information from the ordinary members of the public who assumed that a Mwenemutapa resonated in just the same way like an ordinary spirit medium.

generations or millennia who become Mwenemutapas. As observed by the Nehanda/Kasere family in the 20th century, a would be Mwenemutapa/Nehanda is not only blessed with certain divine or spiritual powers that make other people both national and international behave in a manner that paves way for him/her to perform, but is born with unique facial features that are noticeable only when he/she is a baby. The most apparent physical trait is that the baby-Mwenemutapa starts by growing its first two teeth on the upper gums instead of the usual lower side. Among the far more fascinating observations made by the Zambezia school of thought that may need further investigation is that the usually good-looking baby is born with an extra-ordinary organ that occasionally flashes on the underneath of its mouth when it smiles. This biological organ which disappears or flattens out to form the underneath of a tongue seems to serve as the genetic template which induces behavior that helps the family or parents in identifying and distinguishing him/her from other siblings and people in general. This small special organ might be a biological endowment (not an adaptation as evolutionary scientists would often describe) that may develop hormones or instinctive behavior that make a genuine Mwenemutapa desist from being corrupted by money or other benefits that may be offered to him or her to divert him from focusing in protecting ubuntu interests of the public at large.

Based on this observation and many other pointers consistent with the Mwenemutapa/Nehanda phenomenon since 1500s, the Zambezia school of thought is appreciative of the "Mendelian heredity and the chromosomal theory of inheritance" advanced in Hickman et al (2001: 16). This theory, as interpreted by the Zambezia school of thought from Hickman et al (2001) postulates that humans, like other animals, are endowed with genetic variants "that persist unaltered from one generation to the next". These variants can be scientifically studied to establish hereditary traits that makes a Mwenemutapa-inspired person such as ***Supreme Kasere***'s son 'X 'or 'Bigboy' consistently behave throughout his life in the 20th century to protect economic interests of local communities in just the same way his biological great grand Mwenemutapa parents namely Mupunzagutu (mid 1500s); Kapararidze (1600s), Mukombwe (late 1600s); Nyakambiro (1800s); Nehanda (1900s) and so on consistently refused to grant Europeans the mining rights to unfairly exploit and repatriate gold and other natural resources to Europe since the arrival of Portuguese in early 1500s (Kasere, 2022). It is the most profound departure point of this study that there was a lot more that could have been scientifically observed about the Mwenemutapa's physical and spiritual being that not only helped parents identify, name and protect a Mwenemutapa/Nehanda-to-be baby right from its infancy, but that also traces the role of a Mwenemutapa to the often scientifically-despised theory of special creation. According to this assumption, it is postulated that it was through special creation that God (spirit) endowed Adam with distinct traits or genes that would be passed on through particulate inheritance (Hickman et al, 2001) from one generation to another to control people to observe ubuntu and conservation

etiquettes for sustainable living. It is however doubtful whether the "Mendelian heredity and the chromosomal theory of inheritance" can be able to explain why not every child born by a Mwenemutapa or Nehanda may inherit the unique features of a Mwenemutapa which will then have the force of the blessing of spiritual powers that will make him/her behave consistently as the other Mwenemutapas did generations before. This question undoubtedly touches on a multi-disciplinary field of science and spirituality which is far beyond the capacity of this research to answer.

Nevertheless, the important point arising is that a careful study of the African Mwari religion and the role played by the Mwenemutapa to uphold Ubuntu and conservation principles should be carefully discussed and analysed not only to argue the case for special creation, but to also show on balance of probability that Adam, as the first man to be created, lived in Southern Africa (not just Zimbabwe) where the Victoria Falls and the entire mineral and wildlife-studded region formed the much acclaimed Garden of Eden, or as early European sailors regarded it, the Biblical Land of Ophir (Best of Zimbabwe, 2013).

2.10.1 How the Mwenemutapa institution links African religion and wildlife conservation to Adam's existence in Southern Africa

Thus while nobody would know for sure how the universe, the earth and all things be it living or nonliving came into being, the Zambezia school of thought to which the researcher owes allegiance, leans more towards the divine powers of creation than the scientific philosophy of the Big Bang theory and evolution in explaining the origin of man and all living and nonliving things on earth. The problem, as observed by Kasere (2022), is that much of the literature written about Mwenemutapa or Mhondoro spirit was written by white people who not only confused the differences between the Holy Mhondoro spirit and an ordinary family spirit medium, but also the difference between a spirit medium (Priest) and a sangoma, n'anga or witch-doctor who used oracles or ***hakata*** (Shona word for oracles) to diagnose causes of an ailment as well as to prescribe magic which spirit mediums did not. The white factor syndrome has caused so much confusion and distortion so much that many people today, including academics do not understand the spiritual powers commanded by the Mwenemutapa/Nehanda spirit which they understand to be the same as an ordinary spirit medium. Another related problem is that the white factor syndrome never emphasized the spiritual role played by the Mwenemutapa in natural resource management and utilization which is why many scholars may not find the relevance of the detailed discussion of the Mwenemutapa institution to the study of wildlife management which the current study is concerned with. It may therefore be necessary for those who are not clear about the role played by the supreme Mhondoro spirit to read an interesting article written by Stephen Kasere which appeared in Alyanak (1996).

According to Kasere (2023), the confusion over differences between the superior Adam spirit of Nehanda/Mwenemutapa and ordinary spirit medium manifested when for example Raeburn (1979), after having correctly captured most details about how Mbuya Nehanda would be possessed after song and captivating dances, went on to mistakenly describe Mbuya Nehanda as someone who used bones as oracles. As explained by Kasere (2022), a spirit medium, whether ordinary or supreme (Mbuya Nehanda), differed from a ***sangoma*** or a witch doctor that used bones or oracles as well as prescribed magic or medicine to its suffering or wealth-aspiring client. When correctly described, it will become so obvious that the African social set up the Mwari Deity compares very well with the European/Christian society so much that one can see that one of the systems must have evolved from the other. As clearly explained by Kasere (2022), the role of a spirit medium is like a Priest who prays for the sick while the sangoma is the equivalence of a medical pharmacist or doctor who deals with medicine. It is therefore of concern that the former Vice President, Simon Muzenda who fore-worded Raeburn's book, authenticated it without correcting statements that Mbuya Nehanda would throw her oracles in the air. This is perhaps the very same tragic effect of the white factor syndrome where black people feel too inferior to have the confidence to correct a white man. Of course, in a ***Bira***, (Shona word for a traditional gathering for dance and play to arouse spirit mediums to talk), sangomas, also known in Shona as n'anga (singular) may also be present with their equipment, but a Nehanda or Mwenemutapa, being the supreme regional or global spirit medium will be above everyone as she/he will be communicating God's message without the need of oracles. This point may be hard for most of us Western educated academics, but it is important, not only to understand the reality surrounding the power of the Mhondoro spirit which if truly Adam's, may be held by one person out of the entire global population. This is why the correct information, especially describing 'X' who is still alive is important for academic discourse in this study. It is also important to notice that the top leadership of Zimbabwe must have been aware of the uniqueness of the special features that the supreme spirit medium held. This is because the intelligence of the post-independent government made it a priority to have all family members of the Kasere family surveilled, hence the bizarre method of burial of Mbuya Nehanda in Mozambique which left her head uncovered with soil so that if hacked away, people would think it was taken by wild animals. It is perhaps why the top leadership chose to furnish details about Nehanda only to white people who would not stop to quiz them about spiritual implications of things they required them to write about. (Notice that the details about Mbuya Nehanda were only furnished to Phyllis Johnson and David Martin for the book "The Struggle for Zimbabwe" fore-worded by Robert Mugabe. The other was written again by a white person, Michael Raeburn for his book entitled "*Black Fire*" which was fore-worded by Mugabe's vice president, Simon Muzenda. It shows the two shared the secret about how Mbuya Nehanda, like every Mwenemutapa, was born with unique biological features that they as leaders needed to access for rituals in order to insulate themselves and to garner political support which would be

necessary to protect their interests. There is a lot that the leadership did which shows why they set up intelligence to detect everything that happened in the Kasere family including the bizarre acquisition of body parts of ***Supreme Kasere*** on his death (Kasere, 2023).

The intelligence also worked hard to pursue 'X' throughout his adult life and is said to have tried to kill him and failed (Kasere, 2023). They then offered him a hefty package to join and lead intelligence abroad and upon his refusal continued to block his further studies even at local universities where he taught masters programmes. for fear that the Nehanda spirit will inspire him to expose them. There also must have been nexus between the mysterious deaths of almost all the top leadership who lived with Mbuya Nehanda and the paranoia the top leadership had that Supreme Kasere and his family will discover the truth about the abduction and revelations she made as special instructions for her burial which the leadership hijacked and instead began to set up Kasere and his family for surveillance. The top leadership of the liberation fighters who likely knew details about Mbuya Nehanda who all died before reaching old age may include Josiah Tongogara (the ZANLA commander who died in a mysterious car accident when liberation fighters were returning back home on cease fire in 1979); the Deputy Army Commander of ZANLA, Josiah Tungamirai (who was quoted by Martin and Johnson (1981) as having seen miracles demonstrated by Mbuya Nehanda when he brought a wrong colour of chicken to be slaughtered for Mbuya Nehanda at Chifombo in Mozambique) and Solomon Mujuru (the Deputy Commander of ZANLA who died in a mysterious inferno in 2011 which many believed was an assassination). It seems most of the top brass of liberation fighters who had details about Mbuya Nehanda and where her remains went to without reaching the Kasere family were doomed to die before Robert Mugabe. It would seem there were instructions that had to be observed that no one else would talk about Mbuya Nehanda except Robert Mugabe himself (who fore-worded Martin and Johnson's book) and his vice, Simon Muzenda (who fore-worded Raeburn's book).

Even though Vice President Simon Muzenda through Raeburn (1979: 177) produced a more accurate account of Mbuya Nehanda's real home in the Zambezi Valley than Robert Mugabe who through Martin and Johnson (1981) misrepresented the truth by claiming that Mbuya Nehanda came from his village, the only weaknesses in Raeburn's book, which of course were not of his own making were his lack of understanding of the differences between a spirit medium and a witch-doctor (sangoma or n'anga) on one hand and between ordinary spirit medium of the family and a supreme spirit medium on the other hand. It was perhaps because of the cited weakness that Raeburn went on to describe Mbuya Nehanda in the context of an ordinary family spirit medium. This is shown when he argued that Shona people believed that in the event that the holder of the Mbuya Nehanda spirit was captured or killed, "the spirit would pass on to someone else." All this shows that Raeburn (1979), had gained his knowledge about Nehanda by

interviewing ordinary Shona members of the public who probably included former national Vice President Simon Muzenda (who fore-worded his book), who did not understand the differences between a supreme Mwenemutapa spirit medium and an ordinary clan/family medium. Being a holder of Mwenemutapa or Nehanda supreme spirit medium described as the imperial lion by Mark (1984), a Mwenemutapa/Nehanda is born with special characteristics and spiritual control that will make him/her observe the ubuntu/conservation principles right from birth while the spiritual powers will protect him/her throughout his/her serving term as Mwenemutapa. This means that the spiritual powers accorded to the supreme spirit medium are far stronger than those given to a family spirit medium. This is why this study calls for a careful study of the holder of the supreme spirit medium who, according to Kasere (2023) is equipped with the rightful body or apparatus that is biologically designed and acquired through particulate inheritance to enable him to perform the Mwenemutapa role even without his/her conscious knowledge that he is playing that role.

According to Kasere (2023), the holder of the spirit will be protected by God's spirit throughout his/her life so much that he/she would be unlikely to transgress from observing special ubuntu principles or to meet an accidental death that was not carefully planned or designed by the African Mwari or God who controls the behavior of all people worldwide. In other words, according to Kasere (2023), a host of the ***Mwene we Mutapa*** (Owner of the Earth as referring to Adam) must live long enough to give birth or sire an active (practicing or serving Mwenemutapa) or the passive seed holder (a non-practicing Mwenemutapa). This is why he/she, at any cost, must live long enough to give birth and protect a successor and cannot die just like that as described by Raeburn (1979). However, the principle of longevity and special features endowed to would be Mwenemutapa/Nehanda baby must be qualified because some parents referred to as passive seed holders may not serve as Mwenemutapa if for example the serving Mwenemutapa/Nehanda, such as Queen Elizabeth II in the British context, lived very long to the extent that by the time of her death, only her grandson William (not son King Charles III) would take over as King or Mwenemutapa, in the local Shona context. In such situation of longevity where there would be a grandson or great grandson who will take over, the intermediary parents in between two practicing Mwenemutapas or Nehandas may not even be born with unique characteristics in their mouth or other body parts as marks of identification of a Mwenemutapa because people, especially ***varoyi*** (witches) must not always be able to know who among many or few children born in a Mwenemutapa marriage or extra-marital affair will beget or give birth to the next passive seed holder or practicing Mwenemutapa. The important point to note is that no holder of the Mwenemutapa seed dies prematurely before siring or giving birth to another seed holder or an active Mwenemutapa because before he or she dies, another Mwenemutapa/Nehanda must have been born and protected by both himself or herself as a human parent and the Holy Spirit.

The protective powers of the Holy or Mhondoro spirit are phenomenal and were described by Kasere in Alyanak (1996) or Kasere (1994: 14) in Southern African Encounter Vol.1, No. 3 as the "most dreaded, most respected and most controversial." Unlike the general powers that protects ordinary people or lower-level spirit mediums mistakenly associated with Mbuya Nehanda by Raeburn (1979), the actual and distinct Mhondoro Holy spirit that inspires a Nehanda or Mwenemutapa according to Kasere (1994: 14), has "powers to foretell the future, communicate with the chief and the creator, heal the sick and … see deviant acts committed by individuals against the environment." As further elaborated by Kasere (2023), the great grand spirit of the Mhondoro will also have powers to observe who, among people violate major ubuntu values such as 'thou shall not kill' that all other people must observe. Although there was little written literature about the powers and differences between the superior spirit medium of Mhondoro and an ordinary family medium, Shona people paid special attention to the Nehanda spirit by composing songs that showed her significance and distinction from thousands of clan or family mediums that served all over the country or continent. A good example of songs includes one that was composed by well-known Zimbabwean vocalist Zexie Manatsa which was entitled '***Musango mune Hangaiwa***'. The title track which meant 'there are sacred pigeons in the bushes' was in reference to liberation guerrillas who needed God's protection when fighting for the war of liberation in Zimbabwe in the 1970s. In the song, Manatsa urged liberation leaders to first consult Mbuya Nehanda by saying: "Tangai maenda kuna Nehanda, Mhondoro huru yenyika ino." When translated into English Manatsa was saying that in order to accord the liberation war fighters, the nationalist leaders needed to "first consult Mbuya Nehanda, the superior or supreme spirit medium of the land." Manatsa who also sang 'Baba tipeiwo ndege' (God give us an aeroplane) which also referred to supreme powers of Nehanda, shows that Zimbabweans revered to the supreme spirit of Nehanda and Chaminuka which concurs with Ramose in Coetzee and Roux (2003) who highlighted how Zimbabweans, in dealing with the land issue revered to the Holy spirit of God that manifested through Mbuya Nehanda and others.

But even though the literature shows that people knew the superior value of the Mwenemutapa/Nehanda spirit, huge gaps of literature existed which showed how the immortal spirit started off from the death of Adam and proceeded through every generation of human existence up to Mbuya Nehanda and then to the Kasere family who today continue to suffer and be persecuted because of the spiritual dictates to push for observance of Ubuntu and sustainable consumption of natural resources which the spirit stood for since Adam was created. There also seems to exist a huge gap of knowledge among people and academics in particular who are not aware that a holder of the Mwenemutapa/Nehanda spirit, is not just accorded spiritual powers, but is also born, unlike ordinary persons or family spirit mediums, with certain unique biological

embodiments that enables him/her to perceive and tackle humanitarian and conservation issues more spiritedly than many people. In other words according to Kasere (2023), a Mwenemutapa or Nehanda, who only pass through a special hereditary system from one generation to another in just one family, is born or conceived with an inextricable package that combines spiritual power and unique biological attributes that gives him/her special hormones, instincts, intellect, self-frugal non selfish character of humility that enables him/her to survive persecution in a world where virtually everyone seem more determined to break ubuntu rules to acquire wealth. What this means, in a nutshell is that the chances of a Mwenemutapa dying accidentally as alleged by Raeburn (1979) will be almost zero. The reason why a Mwenemutapa can only die when God chooses the time is because it is only through him/her that the Mwenemutapa seed can survive and passed on in posterity to the future generations. This is why a chosen Mwenemutapa must, right from conception, be made up of an inextricably intertwined human package of biological and spiritual embodiments (Kasere, 2023). These embodiments will include unique biological features in the mouth, hormones, endurance, intellect, humility, spiritual protection and tlryso on which are only passed sexually from one generation to another in the single Mwenemutapa family. These inextricably interlinked characteristics combined with God's genuine spiritual powers of control of the earth and the universe enable the Mwenemutapa to operate safely and effectively. This is the most difficult part about the Mwenemutapa/Nehanda supreme spirit medium to write about. This is because people, especially those educated and socialized through the conventional European education and religious system, find it hard to conceptualize an existence of such a human being. They do not understand that a Mwenemutapa constitutes a singular inextricably intertwined package of a spiritual dynasty that is housed into a human being and genetically passed on through sexual reproduction from one generation to another. Even though the supreme Mhondoro spirit appears to have permanently existed in the Mwenemutapa family since Adam's death fifty or so thousands of years ago (Wells, 2001), it would seem that God decentralized the spirit throughout all human societies worldwide where people like Buddha and Jesus Christ formed religions that attested to the same holy spirit and ubuntu values of the classical African Mwari religion as recent as 3000 years ago. Even though European civilization seems on the face of it to be skeptical of the God ordained dynasty, they must have realized through their cultural history that the spirit of divine intervention is passed on from one generation to another through sexual reproduction. This is why, like the Mwenemutapa spirit that can be passed on from a male (Mwenemutapa) to a female (Nehanda) or vice-versa, was also institutionalized in Europe and Asia as God ordained or divine monarchs where a woman such as Queen Mary, Elizabeth etc formed part of royal dynasties mainly connected by blood to male Kings who used royal names such as Charles, George, William, Henry, Richard and others. It would therefore be hypocritical for Western civilization and academia to deny or demonise existence and strength of the Mwenemutapa spiritual dynasty which passed on sexually from members of the same family since recorded times from Churuchamutapa to

his daughter Nehanda Negupo then to Mukumbura (misspelt Mukombero by Portuguese in Main, 1990: 188) who served in the 14th and 15th centuries. Other notable male members in the family dynasty included Mupunzagutu well known for tragic hosting of Fr Silveira who was eventually sentenced to death in 1561. Then came Kapararidze; Mukombwe; Nyakambiro and Mbuya Nehanda (daughter of Mwenemutapa), who died in Mozambique in the hands of Freedom Fighters in 1973. And since the spirit is real and immortal, it is not surprising it passed on through to Supreme Kasere and eventually to Bigboy or 'X'. It is for this reason that this study opens up to personal and professional life of 'X' to show not only how the Adam spirit of safeguarding ubuntu and wildlife continued, but also how powerful the spirit seem to have protected 'X' from the national and global network of intelligence that sought to kill him because they wanted to get rid of any exhibits and possible witnesses who would testify on how tens of millions of donor funds that were intended to be directed towards rural communities (to promote ubuntu and conservation), would end up being shared by donor representatives, CCG members and top politicians. It is therefore important to read more about 'X' and notice how the spirit worked to protect him even though he himself did not even have an idea that he was Mbuya Nehanda/Mwenemutapa's great grandson at the time since his father had died without revealing it as a security precaution to avoid execution by the colonial government.

It was therefore because of the need to get more information about Mwenemutapa's army and gold mines that the Portuguese monarch solicited services of a Roman Catholic Priest, Fr Gonzalo da Silveira, to leave India and go towards the southern tip of the African continent in Zimbabwe for a spying mission on Mwenemutapa where he arrived in December 1560 (Gundani, 2016).

2.10.2 The choice of Silveira as a spy and the tragic consequences of his death at the hand of Makorekore

An investigation on the background of Fr Gonzalo da Siveira shows that special considerations were made by the Portuguese government on his suitability for the spying mission in Zimbabwe (Kasere, 2017a). Born of noble family in Portugal in 1526, Silveira, according to Main (1990) had joined the Jesuit Brotherhood (Society of Jesus) soon after its formation in 1543 and was posted to India in 1556. According to Main (1990), his mission to India was a great success so much that in his first year alone, he converted 1080 people. And by the time he received instructions to leave India and undertake a 12-month journey to Zimbabwe; Silveira had added another 3233 Indians on his Christian list (Main, 1990). It was therefore on the merit of his success in India that Silveira was chosen for the Mwenemutapa spying project to Zimbabwe. However, even though Silveira was warmly received by Zimbabweans on belief that Christianity was an extension of the same Mwari diety that the Shona believed in (Kasere, 2017a), both Mwenemutapa and Silveira seemed disillusioned about each other upon their first meeting. Da Silveira could not believe that

the simple looking teenage Mwenemutapa namely Mupunzagutu (Gundani, 2016), who lived a modest life with his mother, was the much-hyped King in Portugal that he had travelled all the way from India to meet (Main, 1990: 206). Silveira expected to be formally received by a fancifully dressed King while Mupunzagutu expected to meet a more sophisticated personality for a man of God. It nevertheless did not take long for Da Siveira to bond with Mwenemutapa who sooner regarded Da Silveira as a very close personal friend (Main, 1990). All went well for Silveira who was offered many gifts including livestock by Makorekore people. According to records, the first Zimbabwean to be baptised was Mwenemutapa himself followed by his mother. Silveira's luck however soon ran out as Mupunzagutu, upon being possessed by the Mwenemutapa spirit, was able to correctly detect that the Catholic Priest was a Portuguese spy sent to reconnoiter Mwenemutapa's land of Ophir "for future conquest" (Main, 1990: 206).

Box 1: **Events that showed supernatural powers of Mwenemutapa/Nehanda since 1500s to present**

One of the most fascinating things about spiritual powers of a Mwenemutapa that academics could never explain is on how the Mwenemutapa always survived attempts to kill him/her. Throughout the recorded history of the Mwenemutapa since the 1500s, no one has ever been able to kill the body incarnate of a true Mwenemutapa/Nehanda spirit. The skeptics of the spiritual powers of the Mwenemutapa also cannot explain how primitive people of around 1500 could be able to correctly know Silveira was truly a spy when no one knew the secret that only Silveira knew about himself having been sent by his King to spy on Zimbabweans. The supernatural powers of the Mwenemutapa continued to protect him even later on when Roy Barretto's troops, armed with sophisticated weapons, missed the turn off to Mwenemutapa's home at Mt Darwin, and ended up in a bloody clash with Tonga people while thinking he was fighting Mwenemutapa's soldiers. There is also no doubt that God's hand to protect Mwenemutapa was at play when Barretto's soldiers who upon reaching Mwenemutapa's homeland in Dande (Lower Zambezi Valley) stretching from Mozambique to present day Victoria Falls started dying mysteriously one after another due to Malaria. This seemed strange because there were many Portuguese traders who had come before Barretto who would not succumb to malaria as did Barretto's troops who obviously carried very sophisticated weapons that could have killed Mwenemutapa and his soldiers far too easily if mosquitoes and tsetse flies did not play their role to defend Mwenemutapa. Kasere (2022) also asks whether it was by mere coincidence that on the day Barretto and his 600 or so troops were seated in their ship to bid farewell to many people gathered to see them leave, a strange omen happened when "one of the cannons burst, sweeping the deck with shrapnel and sending a fragment through Baretto's hat?" (Main, 1990: 209). Even as recent as 1890s, the supernatural hand of God must have come to play when the Pioneer Column ended up killing wrong people (Princess Charwe Nyakasikana and Sekuru Kagubi) when they intended to kill the real Mbuya Nehanda, Maretekwa, daughter of the Mwenemutapa who was based at the confluence of the Mazowe and Zambezi Rivers and had no known relationship albeit biological with the slain Zezuru spirit mediums whom the British killed without even realizing they made a mistake. The mistaken killing of Priestess Charwe by Rhodes's men even gave the real Mbuya Nehanda ample time to arrange for transfer of her biological grandson she had named ***Supreme Kasere***[12]*, to go and stay with his maternal*

[12] The subject of Supreme Kasere's nomenclature was briefly described in Kasere (2022) and in an unpublished article which was summarized and presented at a Sanganai symposium which can be cited as Kasere (2023). In the paper entitled "***A critical appraisal of socio-ecological factors that prove on***

balance of probabilities that the Victoria Falls was the much-fancied Garden of Eden where biblical Adam lived*", ** Kasere (2023) gave more fascinating details that not only explained the naming of ***Supreme Kasere and later his son who he named Bigboy, but on how a Mwenemutapa was born with physical and spiritual traits (like Bigboy did) which distinguishes him/her from other people whilst a baby. In explaining how ***Supreme Kasere*** earned his two names, Kasere (2023), started by clarifying differences between modern day system of nomenclature in which a child is given a name on the day he/she is born and the traditional African system whereby a child was only given a name after nine or so months of birth. According to Kasere (2023), during the period of delay in child-naming, the baby would be known as 'mwana' in general or 'bhoyi' or 'tombi' for a boy or girl child respectively. Hence the popular reference to parents among Shona people as Mai Bhoyi or Baba Bhoyi (if child was a boy) or Mai Tombi or Baba tombi (if the baby was a girl) or simply Mai Mwana or Baba Mwana (if they did not need to specify the sex of a child. The delay in giving a child a name was significant to Shona people especially in the Mwenemutapa family because the Shona parents needed ample time to study particular behavioural characteristics and special features of a child so that they gave it a befitting name. As pointed out by Kasere (2023), one strong characteristic that has unfortunately evaded scientific observation about a Mwenemutapa/Nehanda body-person was and still is that he/she is born with unique physical and spiritual characteristics that would make the parents distinguish him/her from other children even when born in a huge polygamous family that was typical of the Mwenemutapa. If Supreme Kasere's son 'X' or Bigboy could be used as a model, a would be Mwenemutapa baby is often distinguished in the first few months by growing his/her first two set of teeth on the upper gum instead of the lower one as done by most human children. During its first 9 or so months, a small apparatus that beautifully flashes with the tongue would occasionally roll the baby's tongue when the child smiles. This may cause apprehension on one or both of the baby's parents, who, if unaware of their being members of the Mwenemutapa family, may contemplate seeking medical surgery. But all the features would disappear in the first few months as the baby's mouth is filled with teeth. Without explaining further about the baby's flashes of intelligence that often fascinate relatives, it would seem Supreme Kasere was born with such features which made the child's grandmother Nehanda to contemplate transferring the boy to go and live far away in Zvimba for his safety as it became clear the white people wanted to kill the successor of the Mwenemutapa – a spirit which rarely went to a woman but did so on Mbuya Nehanda when most males had taken to working with Portuguese people in slave trade. The spirit only goes to a pro-ubuntu person who would not just do anything for money. In fact, it is the spirit which makes the person pro-ubuntu, which is why other than the unique set of teeth, the baby will have other features in the mouth which are believed to induce extra love and extra intelligence which will be supported by the Godly spirit. During interviews with Sekuru Dishon who was Kasere's closest cousin who maintained his rural home in Mt Darwin and who explained for the first time in 2019 the meanings behind Supreme Kasere's names, it emerged that the name given to Supreme Kasere soon after birth was "Kasere". The name as it meant 'the eighth" in Shona was intended to show that he was the correct genuine Mwenemutapa since Kapararidze in early 1600s when Portuguese tried to impose fake Mwenemutapas such as Gatsi Rusere who were not true Mwenemutapas but vassals imposed to sign agreements that transferred Zimbabwean wealth to Portugal. Having been born around 1912-14) when colonialism was well established and entrenched, Kasere had to be whisked away from the Zambezi Valley to go and stay in Zvimba for safety and security. According to Sekuru Dishon cited in Kasere

relative in Zvimba for protection and cover, as it became clear that the British wanted to eliminate even possible spiritual successors of the Mwenemutapa spirit medium so that it will never trouble them again as it had troubled Portuguese people over

(2023), Kasere then had to visit his grandmother Mbuya Nehanda as a juvenile in the late 1920s to get an English name because this was the period when most black people in Southern Africa were adopting Christian or English names to find employment with white people who often struggled to pronounce Shona names. Examples of Christian or English names of people born during the first two decades of colonialism included Robert Gabriel Mugabe; Joshua Nkomo and in South Africa Nelson Mandela which show the trend in adopting Christian or English names. But determined to maintain his identity as holder of the supreme imperial spirit of the Mhondoro but unable to call him 'Mwenemutapa' to protect him from execution by white people, Mbuya Nehanda, according to sekuru Dishon enquired about an appropriate English word to name her grandson and thus called him "Supreme". It is also worth noting that the family was averse to calling a would be Mwenemutapa child by a Christian name and preferred to use a purely English adjective to identify the child. This is not surprising considering the experience the Mwenemutapa endured since the death of Fr Silveira in 1561 at the hand of the Catholic Church. One may also need to note how Kasere called his sixth son 'Bigboy' as reference to the big spirit of Mwenemutapa after noticing unique features in the baby's mouth followed by being coiled by a large black snake at the age of six months which to Supreme Kasere revealed spiritual signs of the Mhondoron spirit normally called Mwenemutapa/Nehanda. 'Bigboy' or 'Biggie' only changed his name while studying Grade Six at Kutama Day School in Zvimba because other children often molested him for often coming out number one in end of year results. Bigger boys provoked him into fist fights asking him to prove why he was called 'Bigboy' when he was the youngest with the smallest body in class. Hence Bigboy decided to call himself by a Christian name which for security and ethical reasons can only be referred to as 'X' in much of this study. It may also need noting that it was not Supreme Kasere who explained his names or membership to the Mwenemutapa or Nehanda family to his own children. This was only done by Sekuru Dishon in 2019, long after Supreme Kasere had died in 1991. In disclosing all the details about Kasere's names and how he was raised by his grandmother (Mbuya Nehanda who was then taken by liberation guerrillas to go to Mozambique), Dishon was pushing for Supreme Kasere's surviving children and family to visit their real home in Mt Darwin so that he would introduce them to the people at Mbuya Nehanda/Mwenemutapa village before he (Dishon) died. At that time in 2019, Sekuru Dishon was 101 years old even though he looked very fit like a 70-year-old man. Interestingly, by that time one of Kasere's sons had started researching on the unwritten history of the Nehanda/Mwenemutapa family (Kasere, 2017) without having had any knowledge or hunch that the Mwenemutapa was his own family and Mbuya Nehanda who was being paraded in statues was his real biological great grandmother. It was also intriguing how he had started researching about Mwenemutapa/Nehanda when he had never studied African or Zimbabwean History to know that there was something wrong with the history that was being taught in Zimbabwean schools or Universities. The powerful spirit seemed to be behind everything the family did which cannot be comprehensively described in a thesis of land reform without diluting or diverting the focus on the theme of the study. But there is a lot especially pertaining to Bigboy's life that shows how global and powerful the Mwenemutapa/Nehanda spirit was/is.

the previous four centuries. Interestingly, after transferring her grandson far away to safety, Mbuya Nehanda, who was supposed to have been killed in 1898, survived to over 110 years old and was the one who was taken by liberation fighters to go to Mozambique in order to pray for safety of guerrillas fighting for Zimbabwean independence. Interestingly, while there at Chifombo, something very strange happened to show God's hand behind Mbuya Nehanda's powers. According to Josiah Tungamirai, who lived with Mbuya Nehanda at Chifombo and who held strong beliefs against spirit mediums being Catholic, told Martin and Johnson (1981) how mesmerized he was with a miracle regarding a chicken that just collapsed unconscious in front of Mbuya Nehanda. He said to Martin and Johnson: "That's when I started thinking about this thing of spirit mediums. There must be some science in this. Some time (sic)we must really go deeply into this because there are some wonders being made by some of these people."

It would also seem God's hand was at play when Mbuya Nehanda's only surviving grandson never opened his mouth even to tell his wife and seven children who all tried in vain to press him to reveal where exactly in Mt Darwin his home was located and why he would never go to visit his relatives who had remained at his home of origin where his own father was buried. It is interesting to note that when Kasere's younger cousin Dishon (aged 102 but looking 70) came to reveal everything about Kasere's background in 2019, ***Supreme Kasere*** *had long died and one of his sons who can only be identified as* ***X*** *for the purpose of this study had also long risen to do all sorts of seemingly God inspired work without any clue that he was the great grandson of Mwenemutapa and Mbuya Nehanda. It was strange how Supreme Kasere's son would not accept to be bribed by thousands of dollars in a deal involving millions of dollars as he insisted the funds had to be directed to rural communities which they were intended. God's hand also seemed at play when attempts were made to eliminate him as the undercover security men who had been charged with tasks to kill him miraculously turned their weapons towards the eliminating the man in charge of the project to eliminate X. Apart from surviving plots to eliminate him, a lot of strange things happened at home and at international level that seem to suggest God's caring hand which have never been shared with the public. As provided for in the addendum, there were a lot of car and aircraft accidents that occurred in CAMPFIRE which timed with efforts to eliminate 'X' including his assassination. Over the short period he served X did a lot of things that seemed inspired. These included among them addressing the U.S. Congress which according to reports made him the first conservation figure from Africa to do so (Zimbabwe Hunter, Apr 1996; Sunday Mail, Oct 1995).In meeting communities worldwide he also spent hours in remote settlements in the North West Province located between Pakistan and Afghanistan with a man one official later confided must have been Bin Laden. This was quite a memorable experience as the emotionally charged meeting which discussed the need to empower local communities to benefit from their natural resources be it oil, wildlife or minerals ended up with the alleged Laden giving X a present to take home as a memento. Although there were no mention of names of people X met, X's 2-week tour of Pakistan (in which he refused a bodyguard that he was offered, was published in Pakistan media (Nasar, 1996) and in Zimbabwe in a CAMPFIRE News article entitled 'Pakistanis 'in love' with CAMPFIRE'., X's trip was published in media in Pakistan (Naser, 1996). There is no doubt that there was spiritual inspiration in X's global tours where he was treated like a hero be it in South America, Asia or even East Africa where he addressed a big gathering of Masai communities and where he was received and sent off with traditional dances like a visiting European Queen or King. What is ironic is that when the whole world seemed excited by him, the government of Zimbabwe teamed up with Western intelligence not only to remove him, but to also kill him. Even though X eventually agreed to resign for fear that the risks would affect the livelihood of his children, there is no doubt that the God's hand was always there for the Mwenemutapa/Nehanda family since recorded history from Mupunzagutu, Kapararidze, Mukombwe, Nehanda and X who all seemed inspired to further ubuntu and conservation of natural resources since time immemorial. It is even interesting that X did not even know that he was the great grandson of Mbuya Nehanda whom the British wanted to kill and ended up killing the wrong person, in either Nyakasikana Charwe or Sekuru Kagubi.*

It is however important to mention that even though Da Silveira was exposed, tried and sentenced to death on charges of spying and sorcery which were instigated by Arabs at the Mwenemutapa homestead, the Shona/Korekore people did not agree to kill Da Silveira. This act of mercy shows how fastidious Korekore people were with Godly principle of "thou shalt not kill" which were in sharp contrast to the Christian atheism that Silveira and many so-called Christians of today blindly followed. As clearly stated by Main (1990: 208) Silveira was executed by four Arabs on the night of Sunday 16 March 1561 (Main, 1990: 208), and not by Mwenemutapa or Zimbabweans. The act of mercy which characterises Ubuntu which recently inspired the South African government to abolish death sentence that had been introduced by the apartheid government, is a typical example of the virtue of clemency that derives from Ubuntu theology. Like true Christianity that evolved from it, the African Mwari theology does not condone the eye for an eye principle of justice. This ubuntu characteristic of Africans is further confirmed in South African case S v Makwanyane (Currie and De Waal, 2013), in which the African government banned the death sentence arguing that the practice violated Ubuntu principles which do not condone an eye-to-eye type of punishment for a crime that concerned killing of a person. This point is important to show how unfair it was for the Portuguese government to later send a battalion that sought to massacre Mwenemutapa and the Korekore people on accusation that they had killed Fr Gonzalo da Silveira when in reality, Mupunzagutu the then Mwenemutapa of the mid-1500s, is said to have gone berserk upon learning that some Muslims had killed Fr Silveira. Even though the Mwenemutapa had found Silveira guilty of sorcery and spying, the Shona people, especially Mwenemutapa were more willing to pardon Silveira and let him leave (Main, 1990: 208).

Although not commonly documented in modern literature, it was never a secret that Mupunzagutu, while not possessed by the spirit, had great affection for Silveira. When it became known that Silveira would be killed, Mupunzagutu (while not possessed), went to the point of privately tipping Silveira to escape. But Silveira, who wanted to die and be remembered in Europe as a Christian martyr, rebuffed Mupunzagutu's advice and voluntarily stayed put for days to prepare himself for his impending death (Main, 1990). Silveira even organised his meal with fellow Portuguese at his residence at Mwenemutapa to bid them farewell and to bequeath his personal possessions to them (Main, 1990). Most interestingly according to Main (1990), Silveira even had ample time to write a letter to his King in Portugal which exonerated Mupunzagutu and blamed his killing on Arab Muslims. And in his letter to his King in Portugal which is hereby quoted verbatim, Silveira stated: "It is certain that I am more ready to die than the Mohammedians are to kill me. I forgive the king who is young, and his mother because the Moors have deceived them" (Main, 1990: 208).

Though not openly taught in Zimbabwean schools and universities, the dramatic end of Silveira's life has been a subject of heated discussion among a few academics who dwelt at length on the topic during their

studies as it became clear that his sentence and killing, provoked vengeance of the Portuguese a few years later. It needs pointing out that the killing of Silveira, even though it was carried out by Arabs and not Zimbabweans was not illegal under international law (Kasere, 2023). As also noted by Berlyn (1969); "It was not difficult to suggest that the priest was a Portuguese spy" meaning that he was not falsely accused for a capital punishment offence that he had not committed. As reiterated by Stephen Kasere, who was also an International Law expert in his own right who had taught International Law at the University of Zimbabwe in the early 2000s, "there was no doubt that Da Silveira was truly a spy and the laws all over the world including Europe sentenced people to death for spying" (Kasere, 2023: 9). This is perhaps why there was no action taken by Lisbon to try and avenge Silveira's death until the Portuguese King who had sanctioned da Silveira's mission to Zimbabwe had died and was succeeded by a 15-year-old King Sebastiano (Main, 1990). The man who initiated talks with King Sebastiano in Portugal to assemble a force that would travel to the Korekore nation to avenge death of Silveira was Roy Francis Barretto (Gundani, 2016). Barretto, also sometimes spelt as Barreto, has been described by Main (1990) as the former viceroy of India and "intimate of da Silveira", who was driven more by personal greed to solicit gold from Zimbabweans than by the genuine need to avenge the death of Silveira.

Thus Mudenge (1988: 203) was right that the Portuguese government's motive for waging war against Mutapa "was to procure the abundance of the wealth in the Mutapa state for the purposes of raising funds for the administration of Portugal and the Estado da India" (Gundani, 2016). But the ruthlessness and savagery that characterised Barretto's attack of ordinary villagers in the name of a Christian crusade showed that Baretto was driven more by romantic jealous and rage because of a perceived relationship that seemed to exist between Silveira and Mwenemutapa. According to Kasere (2022), this factor seemed to have evaded attention of post-independent African historians such as Mudenge (1988) and Gundani (2016) who laboured in vain to qualify Baretto's war in the context of the just war theory. My contention is that 'the just war tradition' or theory upon which the Portuguese Ecclesiastical Council (the Mesa de Conscientia) justified the sending of a battalion in 1569 to Zimbabwe was a farce. Kasere (2022) contends that it was quite clear that Baretto's fury towards Mwenemutapa was driven first and foremost by romantic jealous of the gay relationship that he might have suspected to have existed between Mupunzagutu (Mwenemutapa) and Silveira. While self-enrichment from gold believed to have been abundant in the land of Ophir might have been an additional incentive, it would seem invading the then land of Zimbabwe with a heavy battalion in the guise of avenging Silveira's killing seemed far too remote a reason since Portugal had been well-informed by Silveira himself about the innocence of Mwenemutapa in his dying saga (Kasere, 2022; Main, 1990).

2.10.3 **How Silveira's wealth-driven religion clashed with Ubuntu leading to charges of sorcery**

While the first charge of spying levelled at Da Silveira was straightforward, many Christian critics often do not understand how the charges of sorcery came about. As pointed out by Kasere (2022), to understand where the second charge of sorcery levelled at Silveira arose from, one must first understand how his wealth-driven gospel of Christianity, which must be referred to as Christian atheism, clashed with brotherly principles of ***Ubuntu*** or ***humunhu*** upon which either the true Christian or Mwari theology was founded. As pointed out by Craig Groeschel (2010), there is a fundamental difference between Jesus Christ's real Christianity and Christian atheism which many people call Christianity today which prioritises money-making as the primary objective for praying. Groeschel (2010: 179) cited the US dollar's inscription of the words "In God we trust" to show how Christianity has been corrupted into Christian atheism, which in a way, shows how correct Mwenemutapa was in interpreting Silveira's gold seeking evangelism as a religion that could kill for money. Groeschel (2010) quoted many sections of the bible to show how true Christianity, like the Mwari deity preached against love for money which even influenced Judas Iscariot to betray Jesus. In Luke (16:3), Jesus addressed the inherent contradiction in trying to serve two masters namely money and God saying: "You cannot serve both God and money". Groeschel (2010) went on to quote many biblical verses to prove that the so-called Christian determination to worship God to get rich is not Christianity proper but Christian atheism. He cited Jesus as saying: "I tell you the truth, it is hard for a rich man to enter the kingdom of heaven. Again, I tell you, it is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to enter the kingdom of God" Groeschel (2010: 183). All this shows that Zimbabweans as far back as the 1500s were right and spiritually inspired to condemn Silveira's religion which was devoid of love because of its emphasis to make money by whatever means.

It is often overlooked by Christian critics of the Mwari deity that a major Ubuntu principle that the Mwenemutapa stood for, apart from conserving wildlife and other natural resources and ecosystems, was to guard against human acts that spilled human blood. This is why even today one of the most fundamental, basic and inalienable human rights is the right to life (Nicholas, 1979). With revelations by Mupunzagutu's Mwenemutapa spirit that Silveira was on an evil mission to spy for gold and other minerals thought to be abundant in the holy land of Ophir, doubts began to linger in the minds of Makorekore on whether the Christian religion itself that the Catholic Priest preached was in sync with the Mwari theology which espoused ubuntu or brotherly love which Mwenemutapa had presumed Christianity to represent when he agreed to host Da Silveira at his homestead.

And by inviting Mupunzagutu and other baptised people to drink wine and bread that represented human blood and flesh of Christ, Christianity appeared to promote a cult of cannibalism and sorcery that was

sacrilegious to the Mwari deity whose ubuntu principles gave so much sanctity to human life (Kasere, 2017). And to make matters worse, a biblical story told about Abraham who dragged his son for offering his blood to God, could not blend well with the Mwari deity, which like many other worldwide religions including Hinduism, offered to God animal blood and not that of a fellow human being (Kasere, 2022). The Holy Communion ritual, from which Silveira's second charge of sorcery arose (Kasere, 2022), seemed reminiscent of witchcraft practices to Makorekore who believed that witches revelled by drinking human blood and eating flesh of their dead victims.[13]

2.10.4 **Massacre of Korekore nationals at the hands of Baretto**

In an article entitled "Mwenemutapa: The Untold Story of Agony behind Portuguese Gold Rush in Zimbabwe", Kasere (2021), gives a very poignant account of the massacres suffered by Zimbabweans at the hand of Portuguese mercenaries led by Francisco Baretto. As confirmed in the book entitled *The Zambezi: River of Gods* by Jan and Fiona Tweede (1990: 75), Baretto and his colleague Vasco Fernandes Homem undertook an expedition from Lisbon in the guise of a Christian crusade which reached Zimbabwe in December of 1571. According to Main (1990), there are differing estimates of those who travelled but it seems the figure exceeded 1000 individuals, for there were 600 people on the flagship in a fleet of only three. As explained by Main (1990: 209), "so great was the lure of the expedition that many found their own way to Mozambique and joined independently there."

Upon reaching Chief Sena where protocols had to be made for him to meet Mwenemutapa, Baretto sent a message to Mwenemutapa asking him to send a delegation to negotiate terms that would allow them access to gold mines in compensation for Silveira's death. But as they waited, Portuguese men began to die one after another from malaria (Kasere, 2021). Without any patience to wait, Baretto's troops set up a camp where they rounded up, tortured and ruthlessly killed many villagers (Kasere, 2021). Some villagers were impaled on sharp sticks and some torn apart by bent trees while others were used for target practice, chopped up with axes or fired from cannon (Main, 1990). And as if to confirm earlier fears held by Mwenemutapa that Christianity was a bloody religion that did not value human blood as symbolised by the Holy Communion, one Korekore villager, who pleaded for mercy claiming to be a baptised Christian (perhaps having been baptised by Silveira) was spared death by shooting and was instead hanged (Main, 1990). Baretto could have no sympathy as he pressed Africans to admit and reveal what kind of witchcraft, they

[13] See addendum which explains how, over 400 years later, Supreme Kasere's son 'X' behaved strangely in a manner that avoided baptism even though he did not know that Mupunzagutu was his great grandfather of centuries back who had opposed baptism of people by Fr Silveira who was later sentenced to death for sorcery.

were allegedly using to kill his troops who were mysteriously dying at a rate of two or three a day (Main, 1990).

The brutality of the Christian crusade, though never taught in history in Zimbabwe where virtually nothing about Mwenemutapa and makorekore is mentioned, has been described in greater detail by Main (1990). According to Main (1990), after having massacred unarmed villagers at the Sena camp who were not even ready or aware they were at war with anyone, Barretto decided not to waste any more time with protocol proceedings at a village in Sena where his men were dying from a mysterious disease. He ordered his troops to proceed to Mt Darwin to confront Mwenemutapa. But perhaps blinded by the spiritual powers that always seemed to intervene to protect a genuine Mwenemutapa since time immemorial and even up to post-independent Zimbabwe, Barretto's men exceeded the turn off to Mt Darwin and landed to the Tonga people of Zambia and Zimbabwe who lived around Kariba a few kilometres from the Victoria Falls. There they were intercepted by a battalion of about 16000 men armed with spears and knobkerries (Kasere, 2021). The Tonga people are believed to have put up one of the fiercest battles ever fought on Southern African soils. According to sources, about 4000 Tonga comrades perished at the Tonga battle mainly due to Portuguese cannon fire, while an estimated 200 men, according to Kasere (2021), and 120 according to Main (1990), died on the Portuguese side. It was upon realizing the strength of the Tonga people that Barreto made a U turn and changed his mind from proceeding to Mt Darwin and face Mwenemutapa's100 000-strong army. He then went back to Sena where he found Mwenemutapa waiting to negotiate with him (Main, 1990).

And even though literature is not as clear on how Baretto's war ended, it is claimed by some writers that Baretto died of natural causes on 25 May 1573 (Teede and Teede, 1990: 75), and many of the remainder of his expedition were later slaughtered by cannibals of the Zimba tribe living on the north bank of the Zambezi.[14]

[14] Also refer to discussion in Chapter Five on how the Mutota/Munhumutapa hypothesis is interpreted to represent the diametrical opposite of the holy spirit described as Mwenemutapa or Nehanda which always troubled white people since coming to Zimbabwe around 1550s when Fr Silveira was exposed for spying and sentenced to death. This explanation is important to show how mistaken the post-independent government was in thinking of Mwenemutapa as a person (Munhumutapa) who migrated from near the Zimbabwe Monument in Masvingo area to go and conquer Makorekore people to become Munhumutapa. In article, Kasere (2022) tackled the topic to show how senseless the Munhumutapa migration hypothesis was by asking which of the many spiritual Mhondoro spirit could have represented a single person called Munhumutapa considering that Portuguese had also tried to impose vassals such as Gatsi Rusere and Mavhura? He also asked how a single Mutota who migrated from Masvingo could become Mwenemutapa for over 300 years because the Mutota/Munhumutapa narration as taught in Zimbabwean schools does not fit into the spiritual lineage of the Mwenemutapa/Nehanda family which is well described for the first time in articles written by the Kasere/Nehanda family as narrated in this thesis. The spirit did not migrate from anywhere outside the Zambezi valley since it could only pass from parent to child through sexual reproduction right from the time Adam died 50 thousand or so years ago (Kasere, 2023). This only shows how nonsensical the theory of Munhumutapa (not Mwenemutapa) as projected by the Zimbabwe government is. The Munhumutapa/Mutota theory of migration only shows how confused white people were about the Mwenemutapa spiritual dynasty hence the detailed narration provided in this thesis which shows a trend of spiritual lineage of

2.10.5 **The post-Baretto era of divide and rule: from spirit medium to monarchy**

As noted by Kasere (2022), there has been so much confusion in the scant literature regarding developments pertaining to the Mwenemutapa spiritual dynasty soon after the death of Baretto. This is because the Portuguesse engaged in a combination of strategies that included violent attack of the families of the Mwenemutapa; divide and rule, and imposition of fake Mwenemutapas through the assistance of the Roman Catholic Church that trained their puppets on how to fake the spirit in order to sign agreements that ceded all mining rights to Portugal. The strategies were coordinated by Vasco Fernandes Homem who was assigned through a letter by King of Portugal to take over charge of few surviving Portuguese troops after the death of Barretto. As stated by Teede and Teede (1990: 76), a state of anarchy prevailed for the next three centuries as Portuguese robber barons and their half-caste offspring set up private armies and mini kingdoms along the Zambezi with slavery as the major economic activity. The next 300 years therefore saw a lot of confusion and decline on the role of the Mwenemutapa as the Portuguese pushed to install puppet after puppet while forcing genuine hosts or heirs of the Mwenemutapa spiritual dynasty to go underground. What is however important to highlight at this stage was the most conspicuous strategy used by the Portuguese to pacify Mwenemutapa in the post Barretto era as far back as the early 1600s. The strategy was to work tête-à-tête with the Catholic Church to instigate regime changes at Mwenemutapa (Kasere, 2021). This was achieved mainly by playing the Korekore ethnic people against fellow Shona ethnic groupings particularly the Zezuru. The idea was to implant into succession a Mwenemutapa who would sign a peace truce whose terms included the ceding of mining rights to Portugal. The divide and rule strategy, which the white man effectively applied in Africa through to the colonial period was the same. It was carefully crafted on a philosophy well described by Burke (1974: 135) of granting privileges to tribes which accepted European control while antagonising or withholding privileges to those that refused. Having lost many of their men through death, and with Homem facing difficulties with his men who were trying continually to desert him (Main, ibid: 212), the Portuguese mission under Homem was left with no choice but to bring about regime change to get the leadership that would grant them their wishes.

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biological heredity in one Korekore family from early Mwenemutapas through to Nehanda and Supreme Kasere to the present day. It also shows how British people were confused into killing the wrong Nehanda (Nyakasikana Charwe) when they intended to kill Maretekwa who then had time to transfer her grandson Supreme Kasere to Zvimba to protect the Mwenemutapa heredity that the British wanted to destroy by hanging Charwe and Sekuru Kagubi who were two of thousands of family spirit mediums that were not the imperial spirit mediums that only incarnated in one family bloodline of Mwenemutapa/Nehanda represented today by the Kasere family.

And when opportunity had arisen to succeed the Mwenemutapa in 1607, the Portuguese behind closed doors at the machination of the Roman Catholic Church were able to sneak into succession a Zezuru-trained Gatsi Rusere as the new Mwenemutapa. Immediately upon his installation, Rusere took to pen and paper to sign one of the most celebrated treaties in Europe. Under the treaty, key gold, copper and iron mines in Zimbabwe were to be handed over to Portugal (Main, 1990). In return the Portuguese were to provide security for Rusere who obviously faced serious legitimacy challenges from the Korekore people who could easily notice that he was a fake King as soon as a genuine Mhondoro spirit incarnated. And in addition to security and royal lifestyle, Rusere's two sons and three daughters were to be given Portuguese education and to be raised in Catholic faith (Main, 1990). It was about this time, according to sources, that a personal guard of 30 Europeans and half castes under the Portuguese captain were attached at the Mwenemutapa centre in Mt Darwin (Main, 1990).

It is interesting to observe that as soon as Gatsi Rusere had signed the treaty, Korekore members of the courtiers privately sent intelligence information to chiefs advising them never to show white people genuine mining sites upon their arrival (Kasere, 2021). To that effect, both Chief Manyika and Chief Sena were on record as having categorically stated to the Portuguese that the treaty they had agreed with Rusere was illegitimate, and thus did not authorize them to enter or mine in their respective territories (Kasere, 2021). As expected, Homem 's forces leashed an attack on Chief Manyika in order to seize control of Manyika's area in the Eastern Highlands when Manyika had challenged the legitimacy of Rusere as both King and Mwenemutapa (Swaney, 1999), since Makorekore knew beforehand that a Mwenemutapa was never a political figurehead but the supreme Mhondoro spirit of the lion (Burke, 1974; Mark, 1986).

2.10.5.1 **More deaths as Portuguese impositions virtually collapsed the spiritual succession system**

Havoc however ensued in the Zambezi Valley after Rusere's death as the Korekore were determined that the true Mwenemutapa named Kapararidze (Swaney, 1999: 115) should succeed Rusere while the Portuguese searched for another puppet of their own. According to Davidson, a decisive battle in 1628 enabled the Portuguese to displace the ruling Mwenemutapa (Kapararidze) with a convenient nominee of their own – Mavura. Mavura, whose features when properly analysed from the photograph shown below, was a half-caste Portuguese/African offspring. To further mesmerize and upset the Korekore people, at his inauguration, Mavhura received from King Philip IV of Portugal the gift of a European-style crown and throne that had never been seen anywhere in Africa before (Main, 1990). A year later, this Roman Catholic trained puppet Mavura described by Beryln (1969: 115) as "a Catholicised Portuguese vassal", duly signed one of the most controversial treaties in Zimbabwean history.

The treaty gave the Portuguese a free run in looking for minerals, and if they could find any, in mining and exporting them (Davidson, 1972). Nevertheless, the entire Zambezi valley community did not take this development lying. Annoyed and insulted, affiliated chiefs of the region, according to Kasere (2017B), started to distance themselves from what they called ***makunakuna*** (abomination) of a spirit medium that had metamorphosized into a King. It was quite clear to all and sundry that the Portuguese had forcefully transformed the rank of Mwenemutapa from the sacredness of a high spirit medium to a secular but highly powerful King. A revolt broke out in the areas along the Zambezi from modern Cahora Bassa to the sea which killed hundreds of Portuguese and thousands of locals (Main, 1990: 191) as people cried foul and demanded restoration of Kapararidze as the real Mwenemutapa and nullification of concessions made in the treaty by a fake Catholic imposition Mavhura (Kasere, 2017).

In no time, the wish of Zimbabweans (Korekore nationalists) prevailed and a genuine Mwene (Kapararidze) was restored. From then on, the spiritual rank of Mwenemutapa had become more political than spiritual as Zimbabweans tried to block Portuguese from recruitment, imposition and influence on succession procedures that traditionally were supposed to follow spiritual protocols of months perhaps years of waiting and certainly not the fast-track succession of biological hereditary system that functioned for chiefs in Zimbabwe and Kings elsewhere

Fig 2.1 **Mavhura: Fake Mwenemutapa**

Source: Kasere (2021)

Africa and Europe. This is why instead of following spiritual procedures which required the Korekore to wait for incarnation of the spirits to choose a successor, upon his death, Kapararidze was quickly succeeded by his brother Mukombwe who again stood firm against the wishes of the Portuguese right to the time of his death in 1669. After Mukombwe, the Portuguese hoped that his son Mhande, whom they hoped to become their vassal would take over to help their agenda. But instead, Mukombwe was succeeded by his brother Nyakambiro (Main, 1990) who, upon his traditional installation as Mwenemutapa, wasted no time to invite reigning Chief (Changamire) to unite to get rid of the Portuguese from Zimbabwe (Swaney, 1999).

By that time, many of the Portuguese had moved southward towards the Zezuru and even further down to the Karanga people where many Zimbabweans, unaware of earlier atrocities the Portuguese had committed

in the Zambezi Valley, seemed more accommodating of the white people who had become more tactful and sleeker in using the Bible as their public relations tool to gain acceptance. With the aid of few Europe-made foods and goodies that the southerly tribes had never tasted or known before, the European gold diggers cum missionaries began to preach strongly in condemnation of the African Mwari religion and to project Korekore people as heartless pagans who had killed an innocent Man of God in cold blood. Knowing not to underrate the sagaciousness of Africans as experienced in the Zambezi Valley, the Portuguese were careful not to mention that their man of God (Silveira) was a spy in the first place and that thousands of Korekore people had been butchered by Baretto's men in the Zambezi Valley. Having impressed many Africans who came to believe in the superiority of white people, the Portuguese continued to blindfold many people with Christian evangelism which carefully disguised the coldblooded white imperialist agenda to expropriate minerals and other resources that the Korekore people and their genuine Mwenemutapas controlled. There was no dissonance at all on the part of white people in abusing religion for an inhuman capitalist agenda. This pointed towards the nature and character of the white factor syndrome which, to use Stanley Mudenge's words, was "part of bigoted arrogance inspired by a mixture of Christocentric and Eurocentric worldviews which…afflicted men of European descent over the centuries" (Gundani, 2016: 75).

Comprehensive details of how the Korekore nation dealt with Portuguese and drove them out of Zimbabwe are lacking. But as pointed out by Swaney (1999), it had taken the southern state of Guruhuswa and the Changamire dynasty to attack and remove puppet Mavura as Mwenemutapa in the 17th century. The new genuine Mwenemutapa who took over from Mavura formed an alliance with the Changamire of the day to force the Portuguese out of Zimbabwe. There however seemed to exist not enough documented literature on names of Mwenemutapas that succeeded Mavura throughout the 18th and 19th centuries except that the Mwenemutapa spirit, for the second time since the 15th century went to Mbuya Nehanda whose real name was Maretekwa shortened Tekwa by the 1890s when the British Pioneer Column invaded Zimbabwe with the aim of killing the reigning spirit and its successor in order to end the Mwenemutapa-spiritual resistance against foreign imperialism for good.

It however needs noting how the post independent government led by Robert Mugabe seemed to have suppressed the history of Mwenemutapa underground thus creating confusion among the already confused generation of well-educated Africans who could not even connect Mbuya Nehanda to be the daughter of Mwenemutapa whose powerful spirit was the same called Mwenemutapa when it resonates in a man and Mbuya Nehanda when it resonates in a woman. Many people even got confused by the government's attitude of treating Mbuya Nehanda like someone who never had a family and so the population at large

never seemed bothered at all to find out whether the spirit stopped functioning at the end of Mbuya Nehanda's life or that it proceeded as expected to the next generation of the family bloodline to fight imperialism and reduce the chain of dependency that white people started to build as far back as the 1500s.

2.10.6 **The untold story of Mbuya Nehanda's demise**

Contrary to the over-exaggerated hype accorded Mbuya Nehanda by the state in Zimbabwe which launched a statue and named streets and buildings after her name, the real truth is that a lot of things must have happened to Mbuya Nehanda and her Mwenemutapa spiritual ancestors which the post-independent government of Zimbabwe seemed to want to shelve under the carpet as much as possible. As explained by Kasere (2022), Mbuya Nehanda, who was the biological daughter of the mid-19th century Mwenemutapa, who gave birth to only one son who in turn sired only one child namely ***Supreme Kasere***, was the host of the mhondoro supreme spirit medium which for many generations appeared as Mwenemutapa in successive generations of male Mwenemutapas who included Mukumbura, Mupunzagutu, Kapararidze and others that white people mistook for Kings and Emperors which they tried to eliminate or replace with puppets in order to seize gold as described by Kasere (2021).

It may be worthwhile to note that of all genuine Mwenemutapas known in literature, the most well-known according to Portuguese records was Mupunzagutu of the mid-1500s. This is because of the role he played in hosting Fr Gonzalo Silveira. Very little is known about the only other female Mwenemutapa namely Nehanda Negupo who succeeded her father Churuchamutapa in the early 1300s. But Mbuya Nehanda (Maretekwa) who is generally known as Mbuya Nehanda, commands the most widely available literature because of her recent service and description provided by both her relatives and liberation war fighters who had an opportunity to live with her at their headquarters at Chifombo, Mozambique.[15]

It would seem Ramose (2003), a renowned South African academic, whose paper on land issue in Zimbabwe is widely read and cited by law students worldwide, was right in describing Mbuya Nehanda not

[15] It needs noting that the title Mwenemutapa or Mbuya Nehanda only referred to the supreme spirit medium of the Mhondoro and not to thousands of lower ranked family or clan mediums. The Pioneer Column when intending to kill Mbuya Nehanda at the confluence of the Mazowe and Zambezi Rivers in Dande hanged Charwe Nyakasikana whom they captured at the upper Mazowe River near Harare and hanged in second Street in the capital (Wits scholars, 2024). This means that the title Mbuya Nehanda only rightfully refers to the regional/supreme spirit medium and not to Charwe. This is why Charwe is referred to as Priestess Charwe (female Priest of the Mwari Deity or mudzimu in Shona) while Mbuya Nehanda who then lived up to about 110 years and died in Mozambique in 1973 may be distinguished from ordinary spirit mediums as the supreme Priestess (English) or Mbuya Nehanda (Shona). It also needs noting that Mwenemutapa was never a name of a person whom white people and post-independent African government confused as Monomotapa and Munhumutapa respectively. Mwenemutapa was always a title. Hence every Mwenemutapa had his name such as Mupunzagutu; Kapararidze; Mukombwe etc. It also means that the supreme Mhondoro spirit in the rightful Mwenemutapa bloodline only incarnated two times in females

only in terms of her significance on the land issue, but also on her holiness and humility that most people associate with Christianity. According to Ramose in Coetzee and Roux (2003: 560):

> *Nehanda was of the same mould as the famous holy men and women about whom we read in Christian literature. She was reportedly simple, ascetic, and averse to public acclaim. And yet she had an influence over her followers that in its own Shona way, would have been comparable to that of Mahatma Gandhi. Before her, Shona men and women of every rank humbled themselves as if they were of no consequence whatever because in their eyes, she was god's lieutenant and the intermediary between god and his people and between them and their ancestors. Indeed, they felt that she was above everyone throughout the country, black and white, above the Church as well as the Government (sic)*

There is also no doubt that the government, and indeed her great grandchildren at Kasere who could relate much of the symbolic language she used to occurrences in their family, learnt a lot from Mbuya Nehanda. Having been a true Mwenemutapa whom people addressed as 'owner of the land' (Raeburn, 1978), the high commando of the liberation struggle, who later became government authorities seem to have been told a lot about the fights that earlier generations fought against imperialism. Names like Chitungwiza and others came from the mouth of Mbuya Nehanda to refer to a place where many Portuguese people perished when the Church, they used for praying and shelter near Harare, was set ablaze by angry Zimbabweans who at long last had come to know about their wicked activities done in the name of Christian crusade. But of course, considering many blunders government seem to have made since coming to office in 1980, it would seem the future Zimbabwean leaders then did not understand that the place Mbuya Nehanda referred to as Chitungwiza was not where they placed Chitungwiza. Mbuya Nehanda referred to a modern day specially protected Catholic stand called Silveira House near Circle Cement in Mabvuku on the eastern side of Harare, not the south of Harare towards Seke where the government constructed a new suburb called Chitungwiza. It would seem that the leaders, being largely Catholic, either did not want the truth about atrocities committed by the Catholic to be understood or were more preoccupied with thinking about how best they would make money for their individual and family enrichment upon gaining power.

The attitude of making money which made fighters not to pay attention to spiritual details provided by Mbuya Nehanda later manifested as government did everything differently. Hence the statement that *the making money make sense* or *the kill him before he kills you* tendence practised by government to eliminate rivals, (Zvikaramba 2023) showed the extent to which the government leadership snubbed Mbuya Nehanda's Mwenemutapa background of ubuntu virtues which were antithetical to selfishness worse so intentional killing of a fellow human being. It seems to suggest that nationalist leaders and the liberation war commanders did not listen attentively to the nonagenarian's supreme spirit medium on how to relate

and run the state and decolonise the minds of Africans through a government syllabus that would, upon gaining independence, teach people the Nehanda/Mwenemutapa-led struggles the country went through in fighting European imperialism.

At the expense of being blamed for belaboring the Nehanda issue too far, a point that many people do not seem to appreciate is that Mbuya Nehanda never voluntarily agreed to be taken to Mozambique to go and pray for liberation fighters. As well articulated by Kasere (2022), the over 110-year-old and frail woman had put up a strong resistance to avoid being taken to Mozambique insisting that she preferred that guerrillas had to consult her from her Mt Darwin home. She is only said to have acceded when misled into thinking that her spirit had consented during the previous fits of possession (Martin and Johnson, 1981). It also seemed clear that the liberation war guerrillas led by Cde Chimurenga, upon taking her to Mozambique assumed wrongly that Mbuya Nehanda must have been the successor of the spirit medium Charwe killed by British invaders in 1898 (Martin and Johnson, 1981). They did not know that the colonialists had made a mistake and that the frail woman they now carried to Mozambique was the real Mbuya Nehanda that the British intended to kill who then had ample time to transfer her grandson for safe-keeping some decades before she was to be taken to Mozambique. But as Kasere (2022) noted, Mbuya Nehanda must have been neglected during her stay in Mozambique. This is because her captors only learnt from a scent that the old woman had died some days back. If they were feeding her and taking care of her illness, they would have noticed her passing immediately, without having to discover she had died some days later. All this raise moral and human rights issues pertaining to Mbuya Nehanda's dignity and welfare. The most pertinent question that arises is whether there was no infringement of Mbuya Nehanda's human right by forcing her to go and live in captivity at an advanced age of more than 110 years old and then let her die a miserable death away from members of her family who needed to give her tender and palliative care that a person of her age deserved.

It must also be mentioned here that Mbuya Nehanda's remains have never been presented for burial to her grandson's family or anyone known to the family up to the present. It is believed President Mugabe, as head of State was solely responsible for the disappearance of the remains of Mbuya Nehanda. It may need reminding that when news broke out in Dande that the British Pioneer Column in the late 19th century had killed the wrong person in Priestess Charwe Nyakasikana who was one of thousands of lower ranked family spirit mediums, the real Nehanda at the confluence of the Mazowe and Zambezi Rivers at the homestead of Mwenemutapa in Dande, rushed to transfer her only grandson Kasere to go to a faraway place in Zvimba communal area and instructed him never to mention his relationship to her because it was suspected the British wanted to also kill the possible successor of the Mwenemutapa spirit. Thus by the time Mbuya

Nehanda was 'abducted' to go to Chifombo to spiritually lead liberation war fighters, she of necessity had to reveal the secret of her surviving grandson by telling leaders that upon her demise her remains would be taken for burial to her only biological grandson in Chirau, Zvimba (Kasere, 2022). It seems the dark side of human nature characterized by greed and selfishness reared its ugly and evil face to show how personal power-hungry interests that lay under the surface for waging and leading the guerrilla warfare, influenced the liberation fighters to adopt a bizarre method of burying Mbuya Nehanda in a manner that would make it easier to access her body parts for satanic rituals (Kasere, 2022). In a continent where the barbaric practice of using human flesh and bones for rituals was a common practice (Gelfand et al, 1985), satanic ethos for burial of Mbuya Nehanda which would allow leaders to easily take away body parts to witch-doctors for rituals seem to have been followed. According to experts, rituals would involve crushing the bones and flesh of the deceased which would be combined with magic for the ambitious leader to drink and bath (Kasere, 2023). This is why the top leadership, who furnished details about Mbuya Nehanda to Martin and Johnson (1981: 98), described how Mbuya Nehanda was buried only two feet deep on the ground with the head left dangling out on the open ground without being covered by soil. Though no one explained in Martin and Johnson (1981) why the leaders of the liberation struggle buried Mbuya Nehanda like that in 1972 and what then happened to the head all the years up to the time the leadership of government ordered exhumation of Mbuya Nehanda's body at independence for reburial in Zimbabwe, the bizarre burial seem to explain why the central intelligence of President Mugabe's government seemed preoccupied with surveillance of ***Supreme Kasere*** and his family particularly his son 'X' (Bigboy) as briefly explained in the Addendum.[16] A question that may arise that may be of interest to social scientists is whether the motive behind isolating Mbuya Nehanda's head from burial could link with the allegations commonly circulated in Zimbabwe that the heads of Priestess Nyakasikana (whom British colonialists mistook for Mbuya Nehanda and Sekuru Kagubi who were killed in 1898 were taken to Europe. If true, one may not help wondering whether the British also wanted to use the heads for rituals or whether they wanted to scientifically study them to prove or disprove claims that a Mwenemutapa or Nehanda was born with an extra-human organ or pirtuary glands that would flash under the mouth of a baby Mwenemutapa in its first 9 months of age and then disappears perhaps to form the under-surface of a tongue as the baby's mouth is covered by teeth.[17] This organ, which has never been scientifically proved is hypothesized to be the one that induced hormones of higher intelligence and love that made a Mwenemutapa behave more protectively

[16] Box Two has been transferred to addendum and converted to Section A: Strange things happened in CAMPFIRE

[17] Reader can refer to article on Addendum titled: "***Is a Mwenemutapa born with biological endowments not commonly found in many people?*"**

of nature and the public good interests of people (ubuntu) when it came to exploitation and distribution of the benefits derived from natural resources (Kasere, 2023).[18]

Kasere (2022) raises many questions with regards to the manner Mbuya Nehanda was buried. One boiling question is on whether the intention of forcing Mbuya Nehanda to cross into Mozambique was not well calculated beforehand to isolate her from her relatives so that the liberation war fighters would have easy access to vital parts of her body for rituals upon her death? Was it not obvious that the reason for not covering her head with soil was for the leaders to be able to hack off the head by night which would have vital parts such as "lips, nose, eyes, ears" among others which Garfield et al (1985: 43), identified as the most favored parts in a human body for rituals? Was it also not the same reason why Mbuya Nehanda's grandson ***Supreme Kasere*** was also buried without certain body parts inside the mouth and trousers department when he died in 1991? This, as Kasere (2023) argued, seems to suggest that witchcraft had long developed to know that a Nehanda or Mwenemutapa, apart from being inspired by the holy spirit to act protectively of people and wildlife (that all emanated from the garden of Eden), was born with certain unusual human organs especially in the mouth which triggered supernatural protective hormones inherited from Adam which were probably passed genetically through a process of heredity and chromosomal inheritance described by Gregor Mendel as particulate inheritance (Hickman et al, 2001). Does this not raise concern about Mbuya Nehanda's rights as a human being to deserve proper burial?

But far more rituals seem to have been made using Mbuya Nehanda's body parts including bones at independence when the leadership requested that Mbuya Nehanda's remains be exhumed from Mozambique for re-burial at home. With the President well-known to come from Zvimba where Kasere lived, it seems the body parts went for rituals and that an arrangement was made with a family of a totally different family of one of the often-favoured candidates for ministerial appointment to pose as the legitimate family of Mbuya Nehanda's grandson should anyone developed the courage to question the top leadership of where the exhumed remains of Mbuya Nehanda went to. This is perhaps why Martin and Johnson (1981) were furnished with what now seemed to be public relations literature of bluff on behalf of top government leadership when they wrote that Mbuya Nehanda came from Msengezi area near the President's home in Zvimba. This seems to have been intended to confuse people especially the Kasere family who would think that perhaps there existed another Mbuya Nehanda of Zvimba who differed from theirs who lived in the Zambezi valley, who looked after ***Supreme Kasere*** (note emphasis of name 'Supreme Kasere' is maintained

[18].

throughout to distinguish the father of the researcher from his children who also use Kasere as surname). It is interesting how Kasere, when working as a cook for white people in today's Avondale, used to travel by night to reach Dande to see his grandmother Mbuya Nehanda until he had to be stopped because of high risks of being noticed by colonial security agents or of being eaten by lions in the wilderness as he crossed very dangerous forests on foot to visit his grandmother in Dande. So, by the time Mbuya Nehanda was carried to Mozambique in 1972, Kasere had since stopped going to Dande as he married his Zezuru wife in Zvimba.

Without realizing it, an earlier book written by Michael Raeburn entitled *Black Fire* fore-worded by Mugabe's former Vice President, Simon Muzenda contained details of how the real Mbuya Nehanda (Kasere's grandmother), used to pray for liberation fighters at her home in the Zambezi valley (not Msengezi) shortly before she was taken to go to Mozambique. Raeburn (1978) gave all details about Mbuya Nehanda which confirm that she had then to be taken to Chifombo in 1972 without the knowledge of her only grandson Kasere who was in Zvimba. And so, when the top leadership claimed Mbuya Nehanda came from Zvimba area, it was only because Mbuya Nehanda had told the guerrilla leaders that after her death, she had to be buried by her only grandson who lived in Zvimba. The sad thing for the Kasere and their Mwenemutapa family is that they never received the remains of their great grandmother who died at Chifombo and it may not be appropriate for this study to describe details of things that have since happened to the Kasere family which make it imperative that they just have to bury their great 'ambuya' so she will rest in peace.

The suspicion that Mbuya Nehanda's remains were used for rituals is confirmed by the fact that the Kasere family never received remains of Mbuya Nehanda up to now. It needs noting that even though President Mugabe throughout his political career often swore by Nehanda, during his entire 38 years as leader, he never thought of installing Mbuya Nehanda's statue which was only done after his death. Of course President Mugabe's government must be given credit for renaming streets and buildings including hospitals "Mbuya Nehanda", which affirms the respect that Shona people in particular accords the supreme Mhondoro spirit that always incarnated in one family called Mwenemutapa. However, it seems very unfair that the family should never be accorded the rights to bury their great 'ambuya' just because of the mania some people have in believing in the power of rituals for their success in business and political careers. This mania haunts Mbuya Nehanda/Mwenemutapa descendants who always worry of losing their own children and grandchildren once they are identified as the real biological descendants of the Mwenemutapa dynasty.

Does it not raise suspicion that up to now nobody in Zimbabwe knows where the grave of Mbuya Nehanda is and who buried her without the presence of her only surviving grandson whom Mbuya Nehanda herself named “Kasere” (first name meaning the eighth legitimate Mwenemutapa since the coming of white people in 1500s) and “Supreme”, which was misspelt Suprene or Cyprene by officials (by which Mbuya Nehanda wanted an English word to distinguish the supremacy of the Mhondoro Mwenemutapa spirit from ordinary family mediums). Surely, Mbuya Nehanda’s remains could have been buried at the Heroes Acre so that she would be celebrated along with other national heroes during the Hero’s Day but surprisingly, nobody knows where her grave is. Amidst all the mysteries concerning her death and burial, first at Chifombo in Mozambique and later in Zimbabwe, does it not raise suspicions that upon the death of President Mugabe, his relatives refused to have his body buried at the National Heroes Acre as they demanded that a special mausoleum without a door or window be constructed to protect his remains from being taken by his successor for rituals? This seems to confirm that the ritual thing is a tradition in ZANU PF and the post independent government.

One school of thought suggests that President Mugabe must have joined the struggle on false claims that he was related to Supreme Kasere in Zvimba in order for him to have been accepted as the rightful leader for guerrillas who were extremely divided on tribal lines. This line of thought seems to have merit when considering that Mbuya Nehanda (Maretekwa) had died in 1973 and revealed that her only survivor was Supreme Kasere who lived in Zvimba. It is also important to observe that during the period 1974-5, guerrillas were so divided and murdering each other as different major ethnic groups wanted a leader who came from their region-hence the suspicion that Chitepo (a Manyika) was killed by a Karanga faction led by Tongogara and Tongogara in turn was silenced in a conspiracy involving Mugabe and Manyika group who wanted to avenge the killing of Chitepo (Kasere, 2022). President Mugabe, who came from Zvimba, must have won the confidence of the two divided factions by claiming that he was a member of the extended family of Supreme Kasere to appear inspired by the Nehanda spirit. This would be important for him to earn the trust of the commanders who had lived with Mbuya Nehanda and got fascinated by her spiritual powers. This then would explain why there was determination to take Mbuya Nehanda’s remains to embark on a well-known system called ‘kutora mudzimu’ (taking the spirit medium) which required him to use the remains of Mbuya Nehanda which would be crushed by a witch-doctor, boil and bath water mixed with crushed remains so that the spirit would be husbanded into his body and family so that he would then become part of the Nehanda/Mwenemutapa spiritual dynasty and be accepted by the divided members of the liberation movement to become the leader of the country.

This hypothesis has a lot of merit when one considers the extent to which Supreme Kasere's family, including Mbuya Nehanda's nephews whose father Foya (who looked after Supreme Kasere in Zvimba) had to be surveilled by close relatives of President Mugabe since independence in 1980. Being African himself, the President must have lived a life of fear that one day the supreme spirit of Mbuya Nehanda might reincarnate in its rightful family and expose him for what he and other leaders had done in order to gain power and wealth. It needs mentioning that virtually the entire members of the Mapondera family mentioned in the Helen Suzman Foundation report and other-well-known personalities who became Ministers converged on one member of the Kasere/Foya family in New York for 37 years since independence (Kasere, 2023). The family member who can only be known as 'A', who was the youngest son of Foya (who was entrusted by Mbuya Nehanda to look after Supreme Kasere when colonialists killed the wrong person for Mbuya Nehanda) hosted the Mapondera brothers throughout his stay in the U.S. without an idea that they were family members of President Mugabe. It is interesting that almost all the key Mapondera brothers took turns to stay at 'A's residence in New York as 'A' freely expressed his preference for Abel Muzorewa over Robert Mugabe for leadership of Zimbabwe. It is also interesting to note that when 'A' died in 2020, the main speaker at the graveside was the well-known member of the Mapondera family whom Mugabe seemed to trust the most when considering the number of boards which he was placed to represent Mugabe during the entire 37-year period Mugabe ruled Zimbabwe. It needs mentioning that Supreme Kasere's son 'X' as the nephew of the deceased was the master of ceremony at the particular funeral.

This ritual hypothesis is also important as it may explain why almost all guerrilla leaders who stayed with Mbuya Nehanda in Mozambique including Tongogara, Tungamirai, Cde Chimurenga and Solomon Mujuru mysteriously died. There must have been a big fear that the top brass may reveal that President Mugabe was not related to Supreme Kasere as alleged (Kasere, 2023). It may also explain why efforts in a book by Martin and Johnson (1981) which Mugabe fore-worded, explained that Mbuya Nehanda came from a village next to the village where President Mugabe came from in Zvimba. This seemed to have been intended to confirm that Robert Mugabe was truly related to Kasere whom Mbuya Nehanda had insisted would be the one to whom her remains should be passed on to for burial. (Refer to addendum for surveillance that the Kasere family experienced since independence).

Thus, if true that the remains of Mbuya Nehanda were used for ritual, then there is no hope that Mbuya Nehanda will ever be accorded a burial by her biological relatives. It also explains why Mugabe always swore by Mbuya Nehanda. It needs noting that he, as far back in 1983 swore by Mbuya Nehanda that if Britain failed to transfer funds for land reform as agreed at the Lancaster House Conference, then Britain

and white people would not blame him if people resorted to violence to show them who the real owner of the land was in Zimbabwe (Ramose, 2003).[19]

With all the long details described above which describes how the Mwenemutapa and Makorekore people fought wars against imperialism and how Mbuya Nehanda died such a painful death without being cared for by her people in the Zambezi valley, I think it is now necessary to review the literature about land reform in Zimbabwe which shows that the agenda for the 2000 FTLRP was driven not by the need to empower the masses with prime land as the vital means of production to uplift their standard of living, but because somewhere along the 20 years of Mugabe's leadership since independence, Britain and white people seemed to have outsmarted him by not paying his family a fair share of dividends raised by Zimbabwe Trust since 1981. Though the exact figure raised through Zimbabwe Trust has never been properly declared, conservative estimates provided by the former CAMPFIRE directorate show that the amount increased from US$5m in 1981 (blocked funds) as documented by Bonner (1993) and Zimbabwe Trust (1996) to over US$60m as donors of the West poured millions into the trust fund on the persuasion that it was to be used to help rural communities conserve many species of wildlife particularly the elephant (Kasere, 2008). And as if not paying the President a good share was not enough, the British and white people seemed to have shifted their support towards the newly formed political party namely the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC), which would then be expected to put in place a new structure, possibly with some checks

[19] It is important to clarify that criticisms leveled at President Mugabe and his government should not be imputed as applicable to members of his surviving family who probably also differed with what might have transpired during the war of liberation concerning Mbuya Nehanda and the manner the post-independent government was administered. President Mugabe's personality must always be treated as idiosyncratic to him as his personal attributes and should not be taken to suggest that every member of his family was a representative caricature of him. Every person must be criticized according to what he/she does because as argued in this thesis, every family and siblings in it are never homogeneous and will always have personalities of either of the bi-polar spiritual orientation often classified as evil and holy. What this means in the context of this thesis is that President Mugabe along with other people in government and outside were individuals who reserves right to be accountable for their own idiosyncratic behavior. It therefore does not mean that every member of the Mugabe family must be judged as representing the personality of their father, husband, uncle, nephew or whatever relationship including friends and employees who worked with the former President. Even if they benefitted from the government of the time, the benefits are rightfully theirs because it is natural that in every system, some people benefit while others may not. It is human nature or a fact of life. This is also true in the family of the researcher where family members including children do not necessarily agree with the writer's views. People always differ and President Mugabe's family should not be treated any differently as people who were independent beings, who even if they supported the ideas of the former President, could also have behaved involuntarily in just the same way a soldier would, under command not be held accountable for carrying out duties as commanded by the system under which they operated. Further research actually shows that there were many members of President Mugabe's extended family who chose to become Ugandan citizens and never returned to live in Zimbabwe because they did not agree with the President and the way he led his life (Zvikaramba, 2023). This just reinforces the point that family members should never be treated as homogeneous.

and balances, to manage the funds for the land reform because the levels of corruption that Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher had complained about as early as 1983 (Ramose, 2003), had developed to highly uncontrollable levels under President Mugabe by the year 2000. This is why, even the Utete Report (2003), which was used as the mouth piece to justify the senseless fast track blamed the decision on Prime Minister Tony Blair and the alluded British interference in politics of Zimbabwe as the major factors that triggered the 2000 invasion of white-owned farms. The question is why did the Zimbabwean President, who had shown his corrupt tentacles so clearly by transferring millions of dollars to Britain expect British people to continue sending millions and perhaps billions of donor funds with full knowledge of how he used members of his family (Maponderas and many others) to divert funds easily using personalities the Zimbabwean people were not aware to be related to the President?

It is therefore the main argument of this thesis that Britain acted for the good of Zimbabweans who did not know enough of how President fooled everyone right from the time he joined to assume leadership for the guerrilla movement in the mid-1970s through to independence when he diverted blocked funds and then hid behind reconciliation from taking over the land while pushing the British to release more funds which would be diverted by him. A very careful assessment shows that former President Mugabe took advantage of Mbuya Nehanda's statement that she wanted to be buried by her grandson Supreme Kasere who lived in Zvimba. Upon the assassination of Herbert Chitepo in Zambia which some people interviewed believe was initiated by power hungry Mugabe (Kasere, 2022), Mugabe must likely to have claimed to be related to Kasere in Zvimba so that the divided guerrillas would accept him as the relative of the powerful Mbuya Nehanda who died in their hands in 1973. This then explains why most of people who knew about Mbuya Nehanda including Tongogara, Tungamirai, Mujuru and many others including those who kidnapped Mbuya Nehanda to go to Mozambique had to all die before they revealed the truth about the President's fraudulent claims of being related to the Kasere/Nehanda family which he was not. This explains why Martin and Johnson (1981) had to be made to write in their book (fore-worded by Mugabe himself) that Mbuya Nehanda came from place nearby President Mugabe's village in Zvimba which was not true. It shows Mugabe who occupied a senior position in ZANU, must have fermented divisions in the guerrilla movement soon after Mbuya Nehanda died. Knowing that she had revealed that her grandson was in Zvimba, Mugabe must have hatched the idea to fake relationship with Kasere/Mbuya Nehanda so that he would assume leadership of ZANLA forces by fraudulently claiming to be related to Mbuya Nehanda whom the guerrilla leaders had heard for themselves saying that her grandson (Kasere) lived in Zvimba. Such claims would have been designed to neutralize the divided guerrillas, who were fascinated about Mbuya Nehanda's powers and would welcome Mugabe as the grandson of Mbuya Nehanda. The whole issue of ascendance of Mugabe boils down to the question of how Mugabe trusted that he would himself be accepted

as ZANLA leader when he and Tekere walked the journey to Mozambique soon after Chitepo had been killed? The whole saga of ascendance to power may explain why Mbuya Nehanda's remains had to be used for rituals in witchcraft process known by Shona elders as 'kutora mudzimu' (taking the spirit) which some families among Shona people practiced to transfer a family spirit medium from a female child to a male sibling because the overzealous belief in male primogeniture in some families made them fight for male domination of the spirit so they did not end up bowing to orders of a female who would instruct males on what to do in running family affairs (Kasere, 2023).[20] It also explains why the Mugabe intelligence since independence had to keep a close watch on the Kasere family because the leader knew the supreme spirit, if not successfully taken through rituals, would incarnate in its own bloodline and then expose the President that he was not truly related to Mbuya Nehanda which would have exposed him to be a fraudster. The hypothesis would then answer why Mbuya Nehanda was never properly buried even in the national heroes acre or least of all, what happened to her remains which the President ordered to be exhumed from her shallow grave in Mozambique at independence on false claims that the remains had to be properly buried in Zimbabwe for her soul to rest in peace.[21]

It is therefore against the background of the President's corrupt tendencies and fraudulent shenanigans and background of selfishness that this thesis turns towards reviewing literature that shows a lot of both internal and external factors that all played part in influencing Zimbabweans to want to take over land from white people which President Mugabe took advantage of to make himself look as the only true champion for economic empowerment when all he cared for was to divert millions if not billions of dollars into his own pocket which British Prime Minister, Tony Blair, as also acknowledged by the Utete Report (2003), stood tall and defiant to prevent.

[20] More researches show that some African families used to practice the 'kutora mudzimu' rituals in Zimbabwe (Kasere, 2023).

[21] Academics and readers may need to refer to discussion in Chapter Five which shows that Mugabe's true paternal origins were Malawian but only based his claims to be Zezuru because of his maternal ancestry. This shows that even his claims to be truly Zimbabwean were fraudulent if paternal background was anything to go by. As such one can not blame the British for objecting to release funds that could have been diverted from use by Zimbabweans. This also to a certain extent mitigates the behavior of white CCG members who also could not yield to the President's fraudulent behavior of wanting donor funds to pour into Zimbabwe for it to be diverted by the President, who, from 1989 was part of a fraud that saw the creation of CAMPFIRE only for boondoggle purposes (Clifton, 2015) when the truth was that no community initiatives existed in the country to benefit Zimbabwe's grassroots people from ivory trade and trophy hunting of the elephant which faced CITES ban in 1989. All the wildlife management factors and the land reform must therefore considered on the merits of the fraudulent character that Zimbabweans had as their leader.

2.11 Factors that influenced the drive for land reform in Zimbabwe

Contrary to the widespread academic belief that Mugabe was the messiah for liberating Africans and to give them back their ancestry land that had been unfairly expropriated by Europeans, the literature review seems to reveal that dynamics for land reform had been set in motion at international level before President Mugabe had come to power in 1980. Thus, even though President Mugabe stole the limelight at Lancaster House which made him appear to be the most passionate revolutionary determined to recover the land, the revolution for land reform had since been active at international level and President Mugabe found himself at the right place and right time to assert himself as the only person through whom the land issue in Zimbabwe could be resolved. The review also observes that Mugabe also received a lot of external pressure from more experienced Frontline State leaders such as Tanzanian President Julius Nyerere, who tipped Mugabe to stand firm on the land issue during Lancaster House talks, and not bow down to pressure by the British government which wanted to safeguard interests of white people to keep the land they had acquired through violent means when they invaded Zimbabwe in the late 1800s. President Mugabe then emerged to acquit himself as the formidable negotiator and leader who had the best interests of Zimbabwean masses at heart while using the opportunity to negotiate deals that will enrich him and his family with no regard whatsoever to the plight of ordinary people who needed prime agricultural land for their survival and development.

2.11.1 A review of global trends of agrarian reforms and their possible impact in influencing Zimbabwe to carry out land reforms upon gaining independence

A synoptic review of literature shows that Zimbabweans, in their plight to embark on land reforms, might easily have learnt from trends of land reforms that occurred in almost at different times around the globe. The land reforms which covered almost the entirety of the 20th century varied in objectives and types. Some sought to achieve political objectives while others sought economic objectives. Some were violent while others were peaceful. Some were inspired by the dependency theory as an ideology while others were encouraged by rational economic theories supported by the World Bank. There was great diversity in the nature of the land reforms with some seeking to privatise land while others sought to nationalise it. Whether it is called land reform or agrarian reform, the operational concept covers five main types of reform, classified according to whether they deal with land title and terms of holding, land distribution, the scale of operation, the pattern of cultivation, or supplementary measures such as credit, marketing, or extension services (Tuma, Britannica, undated). According to Britannica (undated), the concept of land reform has varied over time according to the range of functions which land itself has performed: as a factor of production, a store of value and wealth, a status symbol, or a source of social and political influence. But whatever the nature, objective or ideology that guided the land reforms, it is important to note that the

reforms were never evaluated on the basis of how they impacted on wildlife -hence the literature that exists dwelt largely on who, why and how the people benefitted from the reforms, with little or no literature published to show how the reforms affected wildlife. This is understandable considering that the goals for sustainable living and development are a fairly recent phenomenon which were inspired mainly by the Brundtland report which paved way to the Earth Summit held in Rio in 1991 which, as described by Kasere S in an article entitled "Degradation" (Sunday Times, Jul 1992), called upon the entirety of the earth to observe principles for sustainable living.

On the Western bloc, land reforms occurred in almost every country most notably in Mexico, Brazil, Nicaragua, Chile, Cuba and many others. However, except for the early example of Mexico, land reforms in Latin America have been relatively more recent and appear to have come only in response to the threat of social and political instability and mounting international pressures (Tuma, Britannica, Undated). The post-World War II land reforms in the region must be seen against a background of rapidly increasing population and of extreme contrasts between plantation economies and small units; high concentration of land ownership, income, and power and dire poverty; modern farming and relatively backward cultivation methods; and nationalism and extensive foreign ownership of land (Tuma, Britannica, Undated). While it will not be possible to go through country by country, special mention should be made of Mexico, which has had a long and complex history of land reform as a result of the peasant struggle dating back to the Mexican Revolution of 1910. According to Appendini and Nuijten (2002), peasants' right to land in Mexico became a constitutionally formalised right in Article 27 of the Mexican Constitution (1917), thus initiating a series of land reform processes that followed thereafter. A decree of 1915 had voided all land alienations that had taken place illegally since 1856 and provided for extracting land from haciendas to re-establish the collective Indian villages, or ejidos (Tuma, Britannica, ibid). The 1917 constitution reaffirmed those provisions but also guaranteed protection of private property including haciendas. Nevertheless, a combination of loopholes, litigation, and reactionary forces slowed implementation, and effective reform came only after passage of the Agrarian Code of 1934 (Tuma, Britannica, Undated).

In Asia, 22 countries are on record for having attempted to implement land reform programmes in the period between 1945 and 1980s after gaining their independence. Land reforms played an important part in state building, which was characterised by inward-looking economic policies. One of the earliest documented land reforms in Asia was the one instituted by the Communist Party under the leadership of Chairman Mao Zedong in China in the period 1949 - 1976 (Klein, 2021). The effects of China's agrarian policy on peasant living conditions and the Chinese economy were generally accepted as positive, genuine, and impressive (Tuma, Britannica, No date). Many other land reforms followed in Asia including Japan, India, Bangladesh,

Sri Lanka, Pakistan, the Philippines, Indonesia, Taiwan, North and South Korea, Thailand and many others (Tuma, ibid). The reasons for pursuing land reforms in many Asian countries were both economic and socio-political (Quizon, 2013) and all had legislative backing for their legitimacy.

The post-independent land reforms in Zimbabwe must also have been influenced by land reforms that were carried out throughout the world including Africa. Many countries in Africa in general and southern Africa in particular carried out land reforms of some sort since gaining independence and all had embarked on a legislative process as the basis of their land reform. In east and southern Africa in particular, the only countries that had been ravished by war namely Angola, Burundi and Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) are the ones known to have failed to carry out land reforms by 2001 (Wily and Mbaya, 2001). Uganda, Tanzania, Zanzibar, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Kenya, Rwanda, Mozambique, Lesotho, Malawi, Namibia, Swaziland, Zambia, South Africa and Zimbabwe all had initiated some land reform processes. According to Wily and Mbaya (2001), Uganda, Zanzibar, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Mozambique, Namibia, Zimbabwe and South Africa were already on implementation stage while Kenya, Rwanda, Swaziland and Malawi were on Planning Stage.

It is however important to mention that almost all the agrarian reforms that occurred worldwide were never evaluated on the basis of how they impacted on wildlife (Mograbi et al, 2020). Hence the literature that exists dwelt largely on who, why and how the people benefitted from the reforms, with little or no literature published to show how the reforms affected wildlife. This is understandable considering that the goals for sustainable living and development are a fairly recent phenomenon which were inspired mainly by the Brundtland report which paved way to the Earth Summit held in Rio in 1991 which, as described by Kasere S in an article entitled “Degradation” (Sunday Times, Jul 1992), called upon the entirety of the earth to observe principles for sustainable living.

Nevertheless, when assessing the snowballing effects of land reform on Zimbabwe, it may be necessary to segment the global influence according to (a) the socialist bloc and (b) the capitalist West.

2.11.1.1 **Influence of the Socialist bloc on Zimbabwe**

Although land reforms seem to have had a snowballing effect on many developing countries, there are two countries whose land reform models deserve recognition for their direct influence on Zimbabweans. The first was the Chinese Revolution which was instituted by the Communist Party under the leadership of Chairman Mao Zedong in China during the period 1949 - 1976 (Klein, 2021). This is because many

Zimbabwean liberation war fighters went to China for their military training where they were radicalised on the land issue (Martin and Johnson, 1981; Raeburn 1978).

Upon assuming power in 1949, the Communists led by Mao Zedong in China confiscated the lands of landlords and rich peasants and redistributed about 46.6 million hectares among 300 million landless and poor peasants (Quizon, 2013). Each family received an average plot of 0.15 hectare. Land redistribution was quick and was completed within three years, by 1952. As redistribution resulted in small, fragmented farms, collectivisation in the 1950s proceeded in four stages, which included organising people into Mutual aid teams and Agricultural Cooperatives (Quizon, 2013). It is therefore not a surprise that many liberation war fighters such as Josiah Tongogara who went for training in China in the 1960s were indoctrinated into fighting for land in Zimbabwe (Raeburn, 1978) so that they would institute rightful reforms at independence that in one way or another typified the Chinese model.

The second land reform that seemed to have directly influenced the thinking of Zimbabwean leaders was the UJAMAA, which was instituted by former Tanzanian President, Julius Nyerere in the 1960s. UJAMAA (or "familyhood") policy of the 1960s supported collectivized agriculture in a number of government-sponsored planned settlements. These settlements were over-reliant on government finance and gradually dwindled in number. On a much larger scale, the "villagization" program of the 1970s moved millions of people into villages according to which a group of families would live, work, and make decisions together and share the costs and benefits of farming the land. Although Zimbabwean land reform programme differed from the Tanzanian ujamaa, it is generally accepted that it was President Julius Nyerere who impressed upon the leadership of Zimbabwe to put the land reform high on the agenda not only during the years that guerrillas fought for independence, but also during the Lancaster House talks in the late 1970s (Astrow, 1983; Makumbe 1986). However, the controversial influence by the Frontline States in bidding for favourable land reform conditions was acknowledged by Ramose in Coetzee and Roux (2003: 554) when he stated that: "Under pressure, not least from the Heads of State of the Front-Line States, the Patriotic Front reluctantly accepted this particular agreement." This particular agreement referred of course to the Lancaster House agreement, and suggests that there was division among the leadership of the Frontline States where leaders, such as Kenneth Kaunda whose country had been devastated with bombs because of hosting Zimbabwean guerrillas, advised Joshua Nkomo to conclude a peace settlement that would end the war as soon as possible while Julius Nyerere who advised Robert Mugabe, pushed for the most favourable settlement which would empower Zimbabwe's post independent leaders to recover land from white farmers for redistribution to the indigenous people (Makumbe, 1986) who, according to Ramose (2003), were the land's rightful owners.

2.11.1.2 **Influence from the Western capitalist bloc on Zimbabwe's land reform**

It must be quickly pointed out that pressure for land reform was not just a product of Marxist thinking. Land reforms were also advocated by modernization theories of capitalist orientation of the West that viewed land reform as an effective and necessary way to end hunger (Hunger Project, 1985). Proponents of this school of thought argued that redistribution of land and equitable land tenure must be key factors in any successful program to end hunger (Hunger Project, 1985). Law professor Roy Prosterman is highly recognized for having devoted his life to the study of land reform issues (Hunger Project, 1985: 169). Prosterman's active role started in 1966 when he came upon a law review article that advocated land confiscation as an acceptable tool for land reform in Latin America (Landesa, 2011). The idea seemed utterly dangerous to Prosterman who responded with his own law review article entitled "Land Reform in Latin America: How to Have a Revolution without a Revolution". In his response Prosterman urged democratic and market-friendly land reforms which included full compensation for land acquisitions (Prosterman, 2011). The author was also of the view that land reform must be put at the core of development and strongly opposed left wing ideas advocated by the dependency theory which, typical to the 2000 FTLRP, advocated land grab without compensation. Instead, Prosterman postulated democratic and market-friendly land reforms which included full compensation for land acquisitions (Prosterman, 2011).

There are many other scholars who advocated land reforms as the most suitable strategies to end hunger. Among them were Sterling Wartman and Ralph Cummings Jr who also emphasized the central role played by land reform in the food system (Hunger Project, 1985: 169). The two viewed land as more than just a factor of production and a source of wealth in developing nations, but also as a principal source of social status. Of course, like any theory, the land reform paradigm had its own share of critics (Hunger Project, 1985). Notable among them were those scholars who argued that hunger will not be ended without fundamental changes in the power structure (Ibid). But the volumes of land reforms implemented in the course of the second half of the 20th century in Asia, Europe, South America and Africa all testify to the overwhelming trust that global leaders placed in support of land reforms as a strategy advocated by the dependency theory to achieve development in general or to end hunger in particular.

It must be noted that the World Development Report of 1980 which was published in the exact year that Zimbabwe gained its independence did acknowledge and set the mood for agrarian land reforms, which were generally referred to as the green revolution. The report advocated subdivision of large farms into smaller units, which defined the strategy Zimbabwe pursued in subsequent years. In its address, the 1980 World Development Report cited the success story of green revolution that occurred in developing countries

such as India and Brazil. It observed that although most farms in developing countries were small, the small minority of large farms accounted for most of the area, yet there was wide-ranging evidence that smaller farms outperformed larger farms in value added per acre (Hunger Project, 1985: 170). In the context of India, the report cited the Farm Management Studies that covered 3,000 farms in six states, which found that the larger the farm, the smaller its output per acre. Such studies, according to the World Development Report (1980) suggested that redistribution of land in large farms into smaller ones in many cases would increase output and employment (Hunger Project, 1985).

2.12 **Land reform progress in Zimbabwe during the 1980-2000 period**

According to literature reviewed, modest progress was made by the Zimbabwean government to implement agrarian reforms, which in the early 80s were well-known as resettlement programmes (Moyo, 1994). The little progress was attained amidst restrictive limitations imposed by the Lancaster House constitution on one hand, and formidable resistance by white commercial farmers on the other (Herbst, 1990; Mandaza, 1986). While the African petty bourgeoisie used state and party structures to pile pressure on government to undertake necessary reforms, white commercial farmers were able to put up strong resistance by forming themselves into a powerful interest group known as the Commercial Farmers Union (CFU). Using Jeffrey Berry's definition of interest group simply as "an organized body of individuals who share some goals and try to influence public policy," (Hill, 1996) identified the CFU as one of the strongest interest groups on land which was instituted by white commercial farmers in Zimbabwe. The CFU is therefore well-known for having put up strong resistance to government efforts to take-over land from white people for onward redistribution of land during an agrarian land reform exercise initiated by the post-independent government in Zimbabwe.

It however needs to be acknowledged that in the spirit of reconciliation and restrictive terms of the Lancaster House agreement, the government, in first few years of coming to power, had planned to resettle 162 000 peasant families during the 1980 – 83 period through the willing buyer-willing seller arrangement, but only managed to resettle only 42 000 families (Herbst, 1990; Moyo, 1994). After that modest progress, the land issue fizzled off quietly from national agenda. As observed by Herbst (1990), apart from prohibitive costs of purchasing land for resettlement which the government continued to use as an excuse, there were other factors that also contributed towards government's loss of enthusiasm for further resettlements. Firstly, according to Herbst (1990), the government realised that they simply did not have the organisational capacity to resettle the herculean target of up to 162 000 families they had set for themselves. Secondly, the government realised that if they continued to acquire more farms, they would render many of the 263 000 farm workers and their families redundant with nowhere to go (Herbst, 1991).

The government's seemingly slow pace on land reform soon after ascending to power in 1980 while it was welcomed by Western countries, raised sarcastic reaction among writers such as Astrow (1985), who chronicled how Zimbabwe's revolution had lost its way. To some critics, this seemed to confirm the dependency theory's view that upon gaining power, African leaders will have nothing better to do than to take on the role of manager for the Western enterprise, and "... set up their countries as brothels of Europe" (Fanon, 1990). Although the post-independent leaders continued to blame their slow pace on land reform on the Lancaster House restrictions, literature analysed shows that high levels of corruption cited by British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher on Mugabe's government were legitimate concerns that explain why Britain reneged on its Lancaster House promise to fund the land reform processes in Zimbabwe.

It needs reckoning that when it was presented to Mugabe that the massive corruption in his government hindered the funding of the land reform, Mugabe surprisingly chose not to respond to corruption charges, but instead swore by the spirit of Mbuya Nehanda to threaten uprising by Zimbabweans if Britain reneged from funding the land reform programme as previously agreed (Ramose, 2003). It is important to note that even though the Lancaster House agreement had come up with a mutually agreed on conditions that encouraged a willing buyer-willing seller transfer of land, Britain seemed well informed about high level of corruption in Mugabe's government which lacked effective checks and balances to limit or control high levels of corruption committed by Mugabe who had a very clever strategy of using his blood relatives who used different surnames to conceal their link to the President.

In an article entitled "Uncle Bob Lends a Hand", the Helen Suzman Foundation (2001) published an article in which they explained how President Mugabe had over the first 20 years of his rule diverted plum political jobs and state-funded contracts to a network of clan members who included among them the Mapondera siblings and other relatives. Despite having placed his nephew Innocent Mugabe as the Director of the most feared Central Intelligence Organisation (CIO) until Innocent's death in June 2001, Mugabe's other cousin Leo, according to the Helen Suzman Foundation (2001), was owner and chief executive of a construction and telecommunications consortium, Integrated Engineering Group (IEG). IEG had been awarded contracts running into billions of dollars to construct public buildings, often ahead of far more experienced companies. Its biggest coup came in 1996 when it was awarded a contract to build the new Harare International Airport terminal, in association with the Cyprus-based Air Harbour Technologies. The IEG's tender, according to the Helen Suzman Foundation (2001), was fourth behind bids, but was awarded the airport tender nevertheless. The contract awarded for the building of the airport was for US$500million (Theroux, 2002: 366).

As pointed out by the Helen Suzman Foundation (2001), the Mapondera family also played a significant role in representing Mugabe in different organisations. Hosea Mapondera was former director-general of the Zimbabwe Broadcasting Corporation, while John and Esnath sat on the boards of various government-owned companies. In fact, members of the Mapondera family were an almost permanent feature of Mugabe's boards throughout his 37-year rule in Zimbabwe. For example, in each of the numerous mining and environment boards published in the Herald of 5 February 1999, President Mugabe's inner circle relatives featured in almost every one of them. Among the notable names featured included Chris Mapondera who was put in the Parks and Wildlife Board and Leo Mugabe who was placed in the Tourism Board (Herald, 11 February 1999). John Mapondera, who at one time was appointed CEO of Zisco Steel, had also been placed in so many boards of government-owned companies since 1980. He was also the one mentioned by Zimbabwe Trust to have assisted in handling the US$5m blocked funds in 1981 alongside Cornelius Mubi whose relationship to Mugabe has never been openly revealed in literature. Mubi however died in the mid-1980s but his surviving family members, especially daughters and occasionally their spouses, continued to be appointed in ambassadorial and state security senior directorship posts.

The practice of appointing family members in key organisations of economic and financial significance prevailed throughout President Mugabe's 37-year rule and had almost become the norm rather than an exception by the time the President was removed from power. For example, on 6 June 2011, the Herald announced a new board for a newly created government owned company namely the Tobacco Industry and Marketing Board (TIMB). Interestingly the Chief Executive Officer was from President Mugabe's Matibiri family namely Andrew Matibiri while among numerous board members associated with big names in government that inundated the Board was John Mapondera (Herald, June 6, 2011). On 14 November 2011, the same government-owned Herald published an announcement by Reserve Bank of Zimbabwe that the TIMB would be handling $30m for export incentives for tobacco farmers who sold their crop during that marketing season. It had become typical Mugabe leadership style that almost all key financial posts or projects would be managed by his inner-circle relatives. His sister Sabina the mother to Innocent Mugabe, Leo Mugabe and Patrick Zhuwawu, was strategically positioned as ZANU PF's Secretary for Finance, while his nephew Elisha Mushakarara, a former permanent secretary in the Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning, was made the chief executive of the state financial services group Financial Holdings (Finhold) which owned Zimbabwe's fourth largest bank, the Zimbabwe Banking Corporation (The Zimbabwean, 26 July 2007). And when diamonds were discovered at Chiadzwa in Manicaland, the President appointed a relative to be Minister of Mines while mining tenders were salvaged by companies owned by the army generals and the Presidium (Human Rights Watch, Jun 2009). The article by Nyamunda and Mukwambo (2012) exposed details of how Mugabe's no-nonsense patronage system worked at the

discovery of diamonds at Chiadzwa which turned into an orgy of death as the state bulldozed its way to allow the registered mining companies of its choice to move in and start mining operations. It may also be interesting to observe how the Mugabe-family juggernaut descended on the wildlife sector during the 2000 Land Reform period to cause so much conservation havoc as Ministers close to the President used their authority to win hunting tenders for their personal safari companies (Mr X Files, 2010).

It would seem Britain had a good understanding of President Mugabe's corrupt acts which started as early as 1981 through the mismanagement of the over US$5 m blocked funds which President Mugabe transferred to England to start a British organisation called Zimbabwe Trust (Bonner, 1993; Zimbabwe Trust, 1996). The corrupt activities in which Mugabe used his close relatives namely John Mapondera and Cornelius Mubi, seemed to have pacified Mugabe's zeal to take over land by force during the first 20 years of independence. It also pacified his control of the wildlife sector as white people ganged up around Zimbabwe Trust to form programmes such as CAMPFIRE which facilitated white people to transfer millions if not billions of dollars generated from trophy hunting to offshore accounts particularly the United States. What this means is that through Mugabe's secret involvement in Zimbabwe Trust, his post-independent government made developed countries of the US and Britain far richer in receiving millions of dollars of hunting income that were deposited abroad and not used to pay poor communities in rural areas who got virtually nothing from hunts conducted in their own backyards. On the land issue in particular, Mugabe, then Prime Minister, in a seemingly spirit of reconciliation, adopted a stance which assured white commercial farmers of retaining their vast tracts of land. It seemed to be out of his genuine spirit of reconciliation and pragmatism when Mugabe assured his support to white farmers saying they would always be relevant in the commercial farming sector "for the next twenty years" as long as he, Mugabe, remained in the position of influence (Herbst, 1990: 56). By having influence, Mugabe seemed to suggest that white people and the West had to support him to remain in power so that only he would personally influence their continued possession of farms.

It also needs recalling that this was the crucial time that Mugabe's decolonization process seemed to be totally empty and distanced from the spiritual background of the Mwenemutapa as he as he embarked on government policy of embracing imperialism by not teaching in schools the real history of how white people used brute force since the 1500s to get gold and other precious resources for shipment to Europe. His strategy was for schools not to teach poignant details of the injustices and atrocities committed by white people against Mwenemutapa spiritual leadership which saw thousands of Makorekore people in the Zambezi valley being killed by gunfire since the 1500s. And much to the pleasure of the British and white people, Mugabe even retained the name Mt Darwin in its colonial form as he did names of many

government schools including Moffat Primary, Alfred Beit, Churchill High, Roosevelt Girls High and many others as a gesture to show his appreciation on the important role that colonialism played in giving him and many of his colleagues a good education which enabled him to speak English so well and to win him accolades both at home and abroad (Zvikaramba, 2023). It was also at that time, as stated by Astrow (1985: 174), that Mugabe assured the West that he would not take land from white farmers but would "leave the things as they are". It needs noting that though Mugabe's sudden softening of heart towards taking over land from white people was greeted with joy and praise by Western countries, the gesture attracted attention of many white writers in the 1980s who commented sarcastically of how the Zimbabwean land issue had become a lost cause.

As many people in the West worried about winning over Mugabe to avoid violent takeover of land from white people, virtually no one both in Zimbabwe and international level read that Mugabe had started on his dictatorial plans to build a pariah state which will rubbish fundamental principles of human rights and the most esteemed democratic institution of balance of power (Zvikaramba, 2023). By amending the constitution and making himself the executive President, Mugabe was able to appoint almost in every organ of the state his own trusted friends and blood relatives most of whom had to be issued new birth certificates that would reflect names and places of origins that made them look as if they were not related to the President. Most of Mugabe's relatives and cronies would since 1980 be placed to head different organs of the state such as the judiciary and security services including the Central Intelligence Organisation (CIO); the police; national parks and many other state institutions and private organizations such as media, Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs), Universities and opposition parties where they would pose as independent business men or academics, yet being very close relatives of the President as well as employees of the President's Office whose work was to sniff at everyone both in Zimbabwe and abroad who may dare complain about the leader's corrupt activities. As pointed out in a paper by Zvikaramba (2023) entitled "The Dearth of Democracy in Zimbabwe: From Smith's Hot Pan to Mugabe's Hell Fire", Mugabe's kith and friends, who used different surnames to Mugabe to appear unrelated to the President, were the worst in causing disappearances and deaths of so many innocent people. This was because in most cases the undercover relatives of the President and cronies, motivated colleagues to speak out their bottled-up feelings and opinions about Mugabe thinking they were talking to friends, only for the friends to then privately organized for their disappearance or killing through accidents and robbery cases that would never be investigated (Zvikaramba, 2023).

On the land issue in particular, it is interesting how Mugabe would use excuses such as the Lancaster House Constitution as a constraint to taking over land while he grabbed every opportunity to forge underground

partnerships links with international capitalism to perpetuate the dependency syndrome that allowed many businesses including hunters to repatriate untaxed millions of dollars to offshore accounts (Zvikaramba, 2023). No wonder Astrow (1985) observed how white people and imperialist forces felt a sense of victory over the land issue in Zimbabwe and worked heartily to assist Zimbabwe with foreign aid, which further entrenched the country's economy deeper into dependence on the Western Bloc. Even Americans exclaimed, "We are tremendously pleased with the position Mr Mugabe has adopted…", whilst The Times of England made the point that the "British Government …rather unexpectedly got what it always said it wanted" (Astrow, 1985: 159). But far more pleased was a white farmer in Zimbabwe who perhaps spoke the mind of many of his colleagues when he said: "Let's face it, he's impressive. If he sticks to what he's been saying, we 'll be better off with Mugabe than we 'd have ever been with Muzorewa" (Astrow, 1985, 163). It is therefore important to note that during the entire 1985 – 1992 period, the land issue had virtually died in Zimbabwe as the country's highly literate population was more concerned with finding jobs and turning their economy around. Although droughts occasionally caused food shortages, Zimbabwe's agricultural sector, along with other economic sectors, seemed to operate competently so much that for quite a long time Zimbabwe had acquired an enviable niche as the breadbasket of the region. Commendable efforts were made by both government and non-governmental organisations to assist communal farmers to boost their agricultural productive levels (Mumbengegwi, 1986).

Even among academics, exhortative literature to press for land reform had virtually died off by 1990. Instead, what dominated literature on land was the debate on whether the government was ever committed to land reform in the first place? Moyo (1991) proffered two schools of thought to try and explain why President Mugabe's government developed cold feet on the land issue soon after gaining power. The more dominant argument was an understanding of the realities in southern Africa that justified President Mugabe's reconciliation policy which removed a radical land acquisition on the agenda (Moyo et al, 1991). The other dependency theory proffered was that the government was from the start petty bourgeois in character, and events since independence, in particular the exploitation of leadership positions for accumulation of wealth, were consistent with such tendencies (Moyo, 1991).

Having danced defensively about the government's land reform agenda since the mid-1980s, President Mugabe emerged at Independence Day in April 1993 when he forcefully argued, in historical context, that land redistribution was fundamental and had to be implemented speedily (Moyo, 1994; Ramose, 2003). According to Moyo (1994), the President's speech "emphasised the important role that land plays in reconciling blacks and whites, in resolving the national question by providing land rights for the majority and in guaranteeing the rural poor the basic means of their survival. But far more significant about the

President's speech was how he arrogated to the state as a sovereign entity, the role it needed to play on land reform. Moyo (1994) deduced from the President's speech that a comprehensive land reform policy based on a land redistribution programme, although not quite fully conceptualised by the state, assumed that it was "the prerogative of the state to adjudicate over not only the rights of landowners, but also the land rights, needs and demands of the "voiceless" rural majority and other aspirant segments of society. When properly analysed, this confirms the view I have sought to demonstrate that the poor in particular, despite claims by Moyo (1994) that land reform enjoyed broadly based popular support, actually never mandated the state to be their voice ever since the land issue started to feature in policy statements the elite often composed for public consumption. Moyo (ibid) noted that there was limited consensus building around the multitude of questions which surrounded such land rights and demands the President talked about. As far as Moyo (1994) was concerned, there remained "numerous differences over its design, implementation and its legitimacy".

Using mainly state power, the petty bourgeoisie among the blacks also formed themselves into powerful interest groups that called upon government to support capitalist initiatives by emerging small and large-scale business persons among local Zimbabweans. The most notable formation was the founding of indigenous business lobbies, which coalesced around the Indigenous Business Development Council (IBDC), to design a development strategy and ideology, which instrumentalized black nationalist capitalists as a critical requirement for balanced economic growth based on internal investment and employment creation (Moyo, 1994). Another important development was the formation of the Zimbabwe National Farmers Union (ZNFU), which lobbied strongly for re-distribution of land. As a result of sober and more progressive lobbies for land reform, the Parliament of Zimbabwe enacted the Land Acquisition Act of 1992. As Moyo (1994) chronicled, the Land Acquisition Act of 1992 was clearly a liberal market-oriented approach to land reform. This is because it rejected the land occupations and land claims by the erstwhile dispossessed rural masses and urban population which lacked land for housing, and also because it tampered marginally with the freehold land market. Unlike during the 1980s, the Act was intended to define the location and quality of land to be acquired through the designation mechanism. While it specified that land acquisition would be compulsory for reasons of public good, the Act provided for "fair" compensation, especially when previous and current tax rebates on farm investments were added to the then existent compensation prices.

2.13 **How violent takeover of farms was necessitated by the need to crash political opposition**

A lot could be written about further developments on land distribution at the push of mainly politicians and other well-placed elite among blacks during the 1990- 2000 decade. The resistances government

experienced with the white farmers, who could not easily part with their land, tells a lot. What is important for the purpose of this study is to note how the land issue was manipulated to save personal political interests of ZANU PF and President Mugabe in launching the FTLRP in 2000 and how proceedings affected wildlife management programmes in the country. It is the basic underlying assumption of this thesis that what seemed to have provoked ZANU PF and President Mugabe to contemplate violent takeover of land from white farmers in 2000 was the support the newly formed political party namely the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) was gaining from among the majority of Zimbabweans after having scooped virtually all urban seats in the 2000 General Elections. As observed during that period, the President blamed his change of fortunes on white people and the West for allegedly inciting people to vote for the opposition. During Mugabe's vitriolic campaigns, white people were blamed for having influenced Zimbabweans to vote "NO" to the March 2000 national referendum by offering transport particularly to the farm workers to go and vote. This is why after the referendum resulted in the NO vote, the President quickly moved the agenda to Parliament to amend the old Constitution and the Land Acquisition Act (1992) with a clause to compulsorily acquire land for redistribution without paying compensation (Muchapondwa, 2003: 5).

This perhaps explains why after having been cooperating well with white people and the West himself for almost 20 years since independence, the President seemed to have been angered by MDC's alliance with white people. Shortly before the violent processes to take over farms started, there was a splashing on state media of videos of MDC leader Morgan Tsvangirai dining with white people, which was used as evidence that opposition was returning the country to white people in reversal of the Zimbabwean independence. The democratic right for white people as citizens to associate and to join a party of their choice seemed to have re-awaken Mugabe to the realisation that white people were 'snakes'. In his speech to radicalise people, which was delivered at the 2000 Independence Day holiday, Mugabe referred to white people saying, "The snake we thought was dead is coming back again. The whites are coming back!" (Theroux, 2003: 372). This attitude was also manifest when so called liberation war heroes called the Drummonds to warn them about the intended invasion of their farm saying: "You have been pushing the MDC…we are going to kill you" (Theroux, 2003).

Mugabe's anger shows that as far as he was concerned, independence had only come for black people and not white citizens who did not have a right to associate and join a party of their choice. It seems Mugabe always wanted to patronize white people as if they were foreigners, who reserved no basic political and civil rights except through his own discretion. When looked at from a human rights point of view, the government was treating white people as if they were not full citizens of Zimbabwe, who reserved rights to participate in national politics of their country. In describing white people as the snake that we thought was

dead (Theroux, 2003), Mugabe seemed to suggest that the white people had brought it upon themselves to suffer the wrath of the chaotic FTLRP because of their snaky behavior of working with the MDC. The implication being that the FTLRP was triggered by other factors other than the genuine demand and need to redistribute land to needy people. But the question that is often overlooked by many academics who see nothing wrong with the President's reaction is whether it was not racial discrimination and violation of basic and inalienable human rights to expect fellow citizens not to enjoy freedom of association with any political party of their choice in their country of birth, just because they were white? Tsvangirai was Zimbabwean, his MDC party was also legitimately registered and white people especially farmers were also Zimbabwean. The view that the land reform and all the subsequent hardships experienced by Zimbabweans were intended for Mugabe's political survival was expressed by Daniel Compagnon in an article entitled "A predictable tragedy: Robert Mugabe and the collapse of Zimbabwe". According to the author, it was Mugabe's policies of political survival, characterised by disregard for political rights and economic welfare of fellow Zimbabweans which predictably led to the economic and political ruin that Zimbabwe experienced since 2000 (Zimudzi, 2012)

Concerns for human rights should be raised when one questions whether there was justification to use violent techniques of land invasions by seemingly organizing people who posed as war veterans yet noticeable by many Zimbabweans to be rather too young a generation to have gone to fight in the liberation war that led to independence in 1980. The strategy seemed intended to instill fear among white and black people who did not approve violent takeover of farms having voted NO in a referendum. In his interview with Paul Theroux, Peter Drummond noted that one of the invaders who claimed to be an ex-liberation war fighter never went to the war. Instead, he worked as a driver during the struggle (Theoroux, 2003: 375). Moral questions also arise as to why the land invasions were only timed to take place shortly after Chenjerai Hunzvi's had assumed leadership of the War Veterans Association and not by other committees of leadership during the entire 20 or so years of the existence of the association. What made it even more suspicious was the fact that Hunzvi was, according to Theroux (2003), apparently troubled by an incurable disease which, according to ethical requirements of the University of Witwatersrand, may not be ethically right to disclose for the purposes of this thesis. But considering the magnitude of suffering caused by the FTLRP, I think it is important for academic purposes to probe why it only took the new leadership of a medical doctor who knew he would die soon to invade white farms when other war veteran chairmen that preceded him for two decades would not? It may be necessary to find out from psychologists whether the kind of disease that killed Hunzvi, or knowledge that he would soon die, did not affect his mental capacity in making rational decisions when he led pockets of youthful land invaders most of whom were apparently far too young to be war veterans.

Doubts also exist as to whether Joseph Chinotimba, the man who was visualized on media assaulting white people on the day the land invasions began, was a genuine war veteran. This is because literature is so quiet about the man's background and when exactly he joined the war of liberation and under whose command. The man seems to have only surfaced during the land invasions without any known background of participation in previous war veterans' forums to press for any cause for war veterans let alone land issues. In a country where many vociferous war veterans had been recognized and rewarded by posts, it raises questions as to why this man had been overlooked for patrimonial reward for almost 20 years considering that he worked as a mere general hand with the Municipality of Harare by the time the land invasions started. Without a clear background of his participation in the war and war veterans affairs, it would seem that the whole saga of land invasions was carefully organised and orchestrated by insiders to the President's inner circle who wanted to prove the earlier threats by the President that if Britain reneged to honour its commitment to pay compensation for farms, then masses of people would protest and resort to violence (Ramose, 2003). It seems Zimudzi (2002) was right to say that the land reform was well orchestrated to suit personal interests of President Mugabe.

Thus, the whole spate of violence that ripped Zimbabwe since 2000 in the pretext of a land revolution must be properly classified not as a people's revolution as some pro-Mugabe blood-thirsty anarchists may argue, but as the continuation of a culture of violence and intimidation that Mugabe had always used as tactics to gain power since overthrowing Ndabaningi Sithole in a coup to take over the reins of power in the leadership of the guerrilla movement (Zvikaramba, 2023). It was the same violent approach which Mugabe used to ferment tribalist unrest in the guerrilla movement which led to the assassination of Herbert Chitepo in Zambia in 1975. The important point here is that it was not right to disobey the democratic expression of the will of people who voted NO in the 2000 national referendum which proposed constitutional reforms that sought to allow the takeover of white-owned farms without compensation. The whole thing smacked of Robert Mugabe's anti democracy culture built into ZANU PF as a party which never allowed democratic processes to determine leadership posts where intimidation, coups and assassinations dominated the decision-making machinery (Zvikaramba, 2023).

Arguments presented by Ramose (2003) to justify why the government ignored the NO vote at the 2000 referendum are indeed intriguing and seem to confirm the arrogance assumed by academics about the sanctity of their own reasonable values. To start with, Ramose (2003) seems to be arguing for disenfranchisement of the majority when he says that the referendum in Zimbabwe was of no consequence because the voters, or rather "the majority of the population in Zimbabwe is [was] illiterate". Despite

appearing to be contesting Zimbabwe's renowned post-independent claims as one of the most literate countries in Africa, Ramose implicitly raises a contentious question as to how far the outcome of General elections in Zimbabwe and perhaps the whole of Africa should be accepted as a legitimate representation of the will of people if levels of literacy are supposed to be the criteria used for measuring validity of elections or referendums? This is particularly significant in Zimbabwe where President Mugabe and ZANU PF had always justified their mandate to rule the country on the basis of popular mass vote garnered largely from rural people who are arguably far less literate than those in urban areas who tended to vote more resoundingly in favour of opposition Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) since its launching in the 1990s. If Ramose's reasoning should be followed to its logical conclusion, then it makes no sense to accept validity of general election victories enjoyed by ZANU PF since independence in 1980 which were based on nationwide mass vote if one has to repudiate validity of a nationwide mass vote for a referendum based on same voters.

It also seems Ramose (2003) had so much faith that Zimbabweans could never vote against the land issue perhaps on similar assumptions made by other writers such as Herbst (1990) who believed that Shona people had so much attachment to their land and would want to recover it at any cost. This thinking comes out more strongly when Ramose argues that the 'no' vote of the referendum was not for the land issue which, according to Ramose, could have yielded a YES result if it had been voted for as a separate issue. Ramose seems to hold the view that because President Mugabe preached land reform as a guerrilla leader mainly since the Lancaster House talks and continued to pay lip service to it without doing much to resettle people upon becoming leader of post independent Zimbabwe, then it was fait accompli that the majority of Zimbabweans yearned to take over land from whites at any cost and would not have voted NO to the 2000 referendum if they were literate enough to know that they were voting against their wish. A reality check however seems to suggest that the land issue was actually the major campaign point for advocates of the YES vote who themselves included the land issue in the referendum with the aim of roping up support for ZANU PF and President Mugabe.

The argument raised by Ramose (2003) that the NO vote to the March 2000 referendum was not on the land issue but on other constitutional matters must be dismissed with the utmost contempt it deserves This is because the argument seems to postulate disenfranchisement of people's democratic right to participate and decide on serious matters that affect their lives. It does not seem correct to suggest that people of Zimbabwe were blind or irrational about the implication of their NO vote on the land issue when they voted no at the 2000 referendum. Ramose (2003) seems not to realise that there was no single issue on the proposed new constitution that had received more attention than the land issue. Infact, according to my

personal observation the entire state-owned media which always backed Mugabe and ZANU PF seemed to have over-played the land issue during the campaign for the YES vote to the point that people even got tired of it. The land issue was being used as the tramp card for mobilizing support for the people to vote YES on the hope that people still regarded President Mugabe as the only one capable of providing them with land, and not the opposition. It is my humble opinion that the land issue was oversubscribed throughout the Vote YES campaign period by ZANU PF and members of the Presidential family, who, since independence, had lost touch with the needs and feelings of the people who were now more focused to demand better policy commitment from the leadership that seemed almost bankrupt of fresh ideas and continued to talk land as a political gimmick to win their vote since the attainment of independence in 1980. Based on the above arguments, it is clear that the FTLRP was never instituted for the good of the masses of people but to serve the former President Robert Mugabe's desire to remain in power for as long as it would take him until perhaps when his wife or any of his children were mature to take over. With a false belief that even the spirit of Mbuya Nehanda had been trammeled through rituals to always protect him and his family, Mugabe seemed to have put more trust in the power of the devil to the point that he had become a liability than an asset to the cause of development of the Zimbabwean people. Hence there is a new school of thought dubbed 'the traditional small tiger approach', which argues that Zimbabwe had great potential to have developed more rapidly like the so-called small tigers of south east Asia such as Singapore, Taiwan, India, Malaysia and a few others had Mugabe not adopted skewed and self-centered policies of land reform and economic development that were antagonistic to the self-frugal spirit of the Mwenemutapas who resisted underdevelopment and unfair exploitation of natural resources by Europeans since the 1500s. The small tiger school of thought postulates that Zimbabwe could have developed far more rapidly had Mugabe not indulged in weird, selfish adventurism that defied and trampled upon sacred virtues of the Mbuya Nehanda/Mwenemutapa spirit; and also applied heartless policies of elimination of many people which according to Shona tradition provoke spiritual retaliation called 'ngozi' from the dead. According to specialists, '*ngozi*' refers to a vengeful spirit for wrongs done against the dead, and in its most severe form can come as natural disasters that can affect an entire region if the annoyed spirit is that of a Mwenemutapa/Nehanda which is regional. This is why, the traditional small tiger school of thought observed that upon starting on a positive note of attaining high growth rates of 11 % in 1980 and 10.7 percent in 1981, Zimbabwe's fortunes suddenly changed. A devastating drought and a world recession led to dramatic fall of economic growth rate to 1,4 percent in 1982 and to -4,2 percent in 1983 (Kadhani in Mandaza, 1985). Thus, things never seemed to work so well for Mugabe and Zimbabweans throughout Mugabe's 37-year rule, with the worst coming after embarking on the FTLRP which, as already argued was embarked upon mainly for Mugabe's selfish interests.

2.14 Wildlife, its cultural significance and how both colonial and post-independence activities affected its management in Zimbabwe

In discussing the broad subject of wildlife management and how the land reform affected the management of wildlife in Zimbabwe, it may be important to start by observing the seemingly obvious but crucial axiom of the centrality of land as the basis for both human development and wildlife conservation. In discussing how the colonial system of wildlife management evolved, reference must be made to the sections above that discussed how culturally important conservation of natural resources were to Zimbabweans prior to the coming of white people. This is important as it shows how wise Africans were under the leadership of Mwenemutapa and how changes brought about by the colonial era tied the wildlife economy to the dependency structures that alienated local communities from benefiting from wildlife and then move on to show how the CAMPFIRE programme emerged as a multi-racial management model that promised active participation of local communities in decision making regarding the management of wildlife resources obtaining in and around their villages. It will be particularly important to see how the multi racial model worked to change the protectionist attitudes that prevailed and how the community-based natural resource management stimulated wide academic researches and dialogue on wildlife as a competitive land use system despite strong opposition that was brought to bear by animal rights organisations domiciled mainly in the West.

2.14.1 Spiritual significance of wildlife before the advent of white colonization in southern Africa

As noted by some scholars (Kasere in Alyanak, 1996; Vulala, 2023); long before the colonization of Africa by Europeans, Africans had a well-established system of wildlife conservation that was overseen by the Mhondoro spiritual system tete a tete with traditional leaders. Reference here may need to be made to an article entitled “Campfire: Zimbabwe’s tradition of caring”, which was published by the United Nations, in which Kasere in Alyanak (1996) explained how the Mhondoro spirit, which as discussed above referred to Mwenemutapa/Mbuya Nehanda, was believed to be able to detect and punish human acts that violated principles of conservation and sustainable use. This inalienable role of the supreme spirit medium goes to explain that principles of wildlife management were inseparable part of ubuntu since man and nature were all part of a spiritual system in which both man and animals inter-depended on each other hence the need for mutual survival.

Even though it is important to describe how the African system worked, I think the most important question that needs to occupy the minds of scholars is on whether this fascinating system evolved on its own in the African continent or whether some supernatural powers that at the time of creation facilitated the continuation of Adam’s spirit through bodies of the chosen family known as Mwenemutapa, imposed the

system of conservation for all people to abide with. This is because as we analyse how the system worked, it becomes clear that the ubuntu system, which included natural resource management, must have been imposed by the supernatural powers of an Adam regarded as Mwene we Mutapa in Shona, because it just does not seem feasible that humans, at their most primitive stage perhaps 60 000 or so years ago, would have been so preoccupied with coming up with a rational conservation system that safeguarded needs of future generations given the natural propensity for people to want to outcompete others in harvesting natural resources – a tendency which Garreth Hardin described as leading to the tragedy of commons (Chiras, 1989). It is interesting to observe that virtually all ethnic groups living in Southern Africa in particular share a lot of traditional and cultural values on conservation whose significance is often taken for granted or ignored by many western trained policy-makers, academics, donors and project managers who assume that the values evolved on their own over the centuries without linking them to supernatural powers of the creator. In his article, which seemed to have stimulated a lot of writings, researches and teachings on African values on conservation, Kasere in Alyanak (1996), whose ideas were corroborated by Vulala (2023), explained how everyone in Africa, especially those in Southern Africa, was taught from childhood both the material and spiritual values of trees, forests, animals, water, snakes, birds and a host of all other wild species of fauna and flora (S Kasere in Alyanak, 1996).

With regards to conservation of plants in particular, random cutting of trees was not permissible among almost all the tribal groupings settled in Zimbabwe in particular and the Southern African region in general (Kasere in Alyanak (1996; Vulala 2023). As Kasere in Alyanak (1996) points out, no tree was to be cut unless necessary. In Botswana for example, most trees could not be clean-felled other than in exceptional circumstances and with prior permission of the chief (Ntsala D in Matowanyika J et al 1994). And in Zimbabwe in particular, trees such as the Parinari curatellifolia for example were sacred and had to be preserved for the spiritual wellbeing of individual households and the entire community. It was always under that tree where the people gathered to pray for rain or other needs (Kasere in Alyanak 1996). Trees like the *Upacca kirkiana*, *Strychnos cocculoides*, and the *Azanza garkeana* were preserved to provide a wide range of fruits at different times of the year (Kasere, 1996).

Most, if not all African ethnic groups preserved certain forests which they regarded as sacred. Most of these sacred forests were largely “no go areas” (Kasere, 1995; Vulala, 2023). Any human being risked disappearing for good if he loitered into the area. It was mainly in these forests where traditional leaders were buried, and certain protocols had to be applied before any human encroachment could be allowed into them (S Kasere, 1996). This way, the African people allowed for the much-needed protection of biological resources, a system which was not as costly to maintain compared to Western-type protected areas which,

as pointed out by Tuxill 1998 cited in Vulala (2023), require heavy financial and human resources for effective protection. Even though many people were gatherers and hunters, various ethnic groups were guided by spiritual values on what, when, how and why certain species had to be preserved, hunted or collected. There was no need to spend millions of dollars in protecting conservation areas because everyone under the Ubuntu or Mwari deity owned and survived from the resource and therefore had an interest in checking on the behavior of others (Vulala, 2023).

Top priority was accorded to conservation of wild fauna. According to Kasere in Alyanak (1996), all people belonged to clans which were identified with a particular totem. These totems, according to Kasere (1996) rendered it taboo for each clan to kill, hunt or eat certain types of animal species. An individual risked contracting a serious disease or ailment such as madness for eating the animal of his or her totem (Gelfand et al, 1985). Totems still exist among most communities living in Africa especially the southern region. Among the Ndebele people who are predominantly found in South Africa and Zimbabwe, surnames such as Ndlovu, Dube, and Nyati refer to elephant, zebra and buffalo respectively (Kasere in Alyanak, 1996). And in Zimbabwean Shona, these totems are known as Nzou, Mbizi Mazvimbakupa and Nyati respectively. There are also people who belong to many varying totems of animals such as ***Mhofu*** (eland); ***Mbeva*** (mouse); ***Shumba*** (lion); ***Soko*** (monkey/baboon); ***Humba*** (pig); ***Nungu*** (porcupine); ***Hungwe*** (fish eagle) and all sorts of animal species and sub-species (Vulalo, 2023). Totems (which were not animals) also made it unethical to abuse other natural resources such as water. This is why some totems and surnames used in Zimbabwe, Zambia and Malawi refer to other natural resources not necessarily animals. Thus, while Zimbabwean totems such as Gushungo (crocodile) and (Hove (fish) refer to water dwelling animals, there also exist totems such as Dziva which refer to bodies of water such as dams or lakes as well as surnames such as ***Mvura*** which means water or ***Rwizi*** which means river (Vulalo, 2023). Interestingly, some Shona people still give their babies English names such as ‘Rain’ to emphasize the value of water (Interview with 36-year-old lady called Rain of Chinoyi, Zimbabwe).

The issue of water seems to be of cultural significance throughout most of Sub-Sahara Africa and the southern region in particular where the Mwenemutapa institution seem to have survived undisturbed for many centuries since its presumed institutionalisation by Adam in the Zambezi valley in Zimbabwe. Among the Tswana people of Southern Africa especially in Botswana where water has always been a scarce commodity, a number of interesting taboos were evolved and reinforced by tribal laws in a bid to prevent droughts that caused loss of rains. For example, the appearance of frogs, swallows or millipedes was regarded as focus of rain since, by tradition, these animals were viewed as God’s cultural agents that brought rain (Ntsala, 1994). Hence it was believed that the destruction of such animals would result in severe

droughts. Interesting in this respect was the fact that although the millipede provided very effective medicinal powder for eye infections, this powder could only be obtained from millipedes which had died from natural causes. If a millipede was killed either deliberately or by accident, the culprit could exonerate himself by counting its legs (Ntsala, 1994). Considering the number of legs and the complicated traditional counting method, this constituted an extremely arduous task.

Ntsala (1994) actually described a very interesting account of how animals of medicinal value were conserved in Southern Africa in general and Botswana in particular. The killing and consumption of vultures and other rare and ecologically important species such as ox pickers, egrets, secretary birds, eagles and many others would not be eaten throughout Southern Africa. In Botswana, the hunting of the rare but tasty Kgori or Kori Bustard was strictly reserved for the chief. If the bird was killed accidentally, the tribesman had to take it to the Kgotla, or tribal council, and if he failed to give a satisfactory explanation, he was severely punished (Ntsala, 1994). It may be important to observe that despite lacking in sophisticated weapons such as guns to hunt animals for food, the traditional system treated most species that could easily be captured without much effort as sacred and taboo to eat. This worked well to conserve some species of animals such as chameleons which could have been easier to catch hence people never ate them.

All reptiles including snakes, lizards and tortoises were not edible and could in certain cases be only harvested in small quantities by traditional healers for their healing power (Ntsala, 1994). Typically, in Zimbabwe, animal species of the cat and dog families were taboo to eat while the lion and giraffe were royal game that could not be hunted. Animals such as the pangolin were eaten only by the chief (and at independence the president received so many pangolins as a sign of his importance).

To show how effectively revered the totemic system was among the indigenous people, intermarriage between members of the same totem was not permissible (Kasere, Southern African Encounter, Vol. 1, No.3, 1994). The system of prohibiting intermarriage between members of the same totem was also observed by Erika Bourguignon (1970) to exist among the Australian Aborigines, which shows their cultural linkage to their African roots and perhaps to the Mwenemutapa institution which many believe to have been institutionalized by Adam before people had multiplied and migrated to live in different regions of the world. When looked at more critically, by prohibiting intermarriage within the same totem, the system worked well for conservation since a family often ended up compelled to preserve two different species at the same time – that of the wife and that of the husband. Kasere (1996) also argued that the entirety of modern system of protecting wildlife through protected areas which only allows hunting outside national parks was enforced prior to colonization in Zimbabwe through customs that did not permit encroachment

into sacred forests. The system showed great conservation wisdom in that wild animals were able to escape into sacred areas for sanctuary and protection which enabled them to reproduce without human disturbance (Kasere, 1996).

And even though there lacked conviction and understanding among many European writers on how the Mwari deity functioned as Adam-determined religion to induce compliance in enforcement of conservation values among African people since man's emergence on earth, many of the white writers however do also acknowledge the role that the African system played in conservation and sustainable utilization of wildlife resources (Bonner R, 1993; Child G, 1995; Kalen and Tragardh, 1998). Even though some white skeptical writers such as Bonner (1993) attributed African discipline in wildlife conservation and sustainable use to lack of sophisticated weapons that would wipe out wildlife populations in big numbers, Kalen and Tragardh (1998) observed that the stone-age hunters and gatherers in Africa actually made a conscious effort never to over-hunt but limit number of wild animals hunted only to their daily subsistence. These ancient people only killed fully grown mature wild animals, and left the young and potential mothers unharmed (Kalen and Tragardh, 1998). It thus follows that there is symbiosis between the African tradition and the so-called Western civilization of trophy hunting for sport whose principles and etiquettes require hunters to select fully grown mature males for shooting while sparing females and the young (Kasere, 2024).

Stuart Mark's studies in Zambia where the Mwari or Mulungu deity also prevailed as the overall religion to enforce values of the Ubuntu brotherhood and conservation of natural resources through the Mhondoro or Mpondoro spiritual system were also a confirmation by a white researcher that the African system always exercised restraints on hunting to guard against over-killing of wild animals. In a study based on Zambian community of Valley Bisa, renowned hunter and Social Anthropologist Stuart Mark (1984) made very interesting observations not only on how the Zambians believed in the powers of the ruling spirit of the lion for which he titled his book "The Imperial Lion", but also on how hunting among the people of Valley Bisa, like many communities throughout Southern Africa and beyond, observed certain taboos and protocols which were associated with sustainability. Mark (1984) noted that not everyone could just take weapons to go out and hunt animals in the forests. This is because hunting was a specialised field in which elders played a central role in recruitment of hunters and in determining and controlling type of weapons used to take quarry.

Both the dead and the living played a part in selecting who became hunters. For one to become a hunter as observed by Mark (1984), he had to be selected by ancestors through a vision that came as a dream, and elders would have to first interpret the dream in order to carry out onerous procedures to certify the

candidate as a career hunter (Mark, 1984). What these procedures implied was that hunters carried out hunts not for their personal aggrandizement but to feed the entire communities. Mark's view, which forms part of the bigger gap of conservation information that this analysis seeks to fill, corroborates Kasere's observations in Alyanak (1996) which reiterated how large mammals killed were shared by the community at large to ensure that no one under the traditional ubuntu system went to bed hungry to justify unsanctioned hunts that endangered wildlife and provoke harsh reaction from God who often caused droughts and other catastrophes as punishments for not observing conservation or Ubuntu values. This point is important and has not been adequately addressed by advocates of Ubuntu who, according to Vulala (2023) only talk about Ubuntu virtues of brotherhood without showing why the virtues of sharing food were necessitated by the need to guard against abuse of wildlife resources by sections of communities that would not be catered for through the well documented system of welfarism that characterised Ubuntu.

2.14.2 **How people and animals are all linked to an invisible spiritual universe**

The African system of spirituality seems to be a very important link to show how Adam, who was presumably created by God from a spirit, not only continued to live through a human body to communicate as Mwenemutapa, but also organised people to respect one another (ubuntu) and all natural resources to live as one common whole to help sustain mother earth, which according to the African theology that modernisation philosophy has tried to rubbish as backward superstition, is part of the huge spiritual universe. It is quite interesting to read that even as recent as 1967, soon after Zambia had attained her independence, subsistence hunting with the use of muzzle-loading guns remained a sanctimonious and specialised field which was subjected to traditional controls because of the belief that animals too have a spirit (Mark, 1984). Mark (1984) explained the psychological trauma that afflicted hunters if traditional ethos for humane treatment of animals were not observed during hunts of medium to large-sized mammalian specimens. This is because Ubuntu as principles for sustainable living under the Mwari deity socialised people to believe in spiritual connectivity of humans with nature and wildlife in particular which most academics educated through the western-type system never seemed bothered to understand, let alone respect. As observed by Mark (1984), Africans believed that animals, like humans also had a spirit or "shades" according to Mark (1984), that would come back to haunt those who killed them without observing proper humane and spiritual procedures.

I think it is important to stress for the purpose of this study how Ubuntu functioned to prevent people from killing each other and assess parallel structures that operated to control people to desist from overhunting or abusing animals. It needs observing that prior to the imposition of the apartheid and the colonial system, Africans did not separate people's spirituality from that of animals. In the context of humans, Ubuntu and

the Mwari deity highly regarded the sanctity of life and did not condone murder or witchcraft that ended people's lives prematurely. As much as they believed everything living would one day die, the system paid particular attention to ensure that humans who died had not been bewitched or murdered. This is why Africans consulted witch doctors widely upon someone's death in order to verify that no foul play was behind a person's demise (Gelfand et al, 1985). It is because under the African system, the 'thou shalt not kill' principle that became one of the key ten commandments under Christianity and other religions that are all believed to have emerged from the Mwari deity believed angry spirits (described as "shades" in animals by Mark, 1984) of people who died of foul play would rise up and above the body of the victim immediately before their burial to indicate their readiness to fight back in what Shona Zimbabweans described as 'ngozi'. Ngozi, which Ramose (2003) also described in his article on land issue in Zimbabwe, is known to torment family members of the one who killed another human being. Members of the family of the killer would experience the most ravishing misfortunes and even deaths until that family paid a heavy compensation for spilling blood of the deceased (Gelfand et al, 1985).

Perhaps the observation made by Mark (1984) that animals also had 'shades', (shadows) that would come back to haunt and cause madness in those who wrongly killed them can be best understood in the context of the theory of sacred balance postulated by Darrell Addison Posey (1999). Posey, who presented his theory of sacred balance in a huge compendium published by UNEP entitled Cultural and Spiritual Values of Biodiversity, projects African values in a manner that make them compare very well with Chinese feng shui which has been highly publicized and praised in Western literature (Brown, 1999; Heaton, 1998), despite its emphasis on ancestral worship which Europeans ironically condemned in Africa. As far as Posey could observe, Africans, like other indigenous communities elsewhere, view everything and everyone as spiritually connected to God and the Universe. This view was well elaborated by Posey (1999), like Kasere (1996) who described the 'sacred balance' that linked Africans with their wildlife and the spiritual base. Posey (1999) observed that though conservation and management practices are highly pragmatic today, indigenous and traditional people generally view their conservation knowledge as emanating from a spiritual base. According to Posey, all creation to the indigenous people is sacred, and the sacred and secular are inseparable. Posey observed that spirituality to the indigenous people is the highest form of consciousness, and spiritual consciousness is the highest form of awareness. A key point made by Posey (1999) is that indigenous and traditional peoples frequently view themselves as guardians and stewards of nature. Harmony and equilibrium among components of the cosmos are central concepts in most cosmologies (Posey, 1999).

Posey (1999) elaborated his sacred balance theory by further citing Opoku (1978) who postulates that the distinctive feature of traditional African religion is that it is: 'A way of life...At the root of it is a quest for harmony between man, the spirit world, nature and society' (Posey, 1999: 4). Thus, according to Possey (1999), the unseen is as much a part of reality as that which is seen – the spiritual is as much a part of reality as the material. In fact, there is a complementary relationship between the two, with the spiritual being more powerful than the material. Just like Chinese feng shui (Collins, 1999), the community is of the dead as well as the living. And in nature, behind visible objects lie essences, or powers, which constitute the true nature of those objects (Posey, 1999).

It may be important to observe similarities between Asian religion and culture with the principles of African Ubuntu to support the hypothesis that all other cultures and religions evolved from an African Adam whose lion spirit resonated in one family or clan that lived in the Zambezi valley where Adam was most likely to be domiciled to enjoy, not only the fascinating picturesque we now call the Victoria Falls, but also a huge diversity of plant and animal species that form some of the most attractive tourist features in what we now call Kenya, Tanzania, Angola, Mozambique, South Africa, Swaziland and many others within and beyond the region which then formed one huge geographical area undivided into countries which constituted Adam and Eve's paradise that is generally referred to as the garden of Eden.

2.15 Did Ubuntu and wildlife etiquettes evolve on their own or were imposed by a supernatural force?

One of the most intriguing questions which has never been determined or answered by academics is whether the most formidable rules of Ubuntu especially those regarding wildlife conservation evolved on their own out of human goodwill or were imposed by God through some Leviathan that threatened punitive consequences if not obeyed. While no one would ever know for sure how the earth started and who created it together with all fascinating things in and around it including the sun, stars and the whole universe (which will forever remain chimerical subjects for human comprehension), a closer examination of how effective Ubuntu worked seems to suggest that the superstructure for human cooperation and sustainable living must have been imposed by a supernatural being. What this basically mean is that the Ubuntu superstructure as we know it, including the complex conservation system believed to have evolved over 10 000 or tens of thousands more centuries back, (Kalen and Tragardh, 1998; Kasere, 1996), was highly unlikely to have evolved on its own among ancient cave-dwelling Africans, if primitive people, as Western liberal philosophy often postulates, lived in a state of nature where life was likely to be nasty, brutish, cruel and short (Hobbes, 1651).

The point arising is that the theory of evolution is seriously flawed especially when it is recklessly used to explain the dark historical past of a phenomenon, thing or idea whose starting point of existence is not only unknown, but often not attributed to God's power of creation. This is particularly true when trying to investigate the mysterious background of Ubuntu, most especially the well-thought-out conservation ideas which, when looked at from our Western educated perspective, seem far too magnanimous and forward-looking that no satisficing human being of the primitive era, except perhaps a supernatural being, could ever have foreseen its necessity and usefulness for sustainable living. When we stretch our human imagination far deeper to speculate how life and societies began, one most puzzling thing is how some virtually undressed ancient people of Africa, who shared no common language except perhaps suspicion and hostility towards each other, could be able to gravitate towards forming a social contract that would tacitly bind them and their future generations to harvest wildlife and other natural resources sustainably. While it feels good to explain how good it always has been for Ubuntu to share food especially meat from animals hunted (Kasere, 1996); to take turns to drink traditional beer from the same bowl (Burke, 1974) and many other virtues of communal brotherhood, what is often not explained by Ubuntu advocates is why only Africans and other indigenous cultures seem to have evolved towards living such a selfless livelihood of sharing and wildlife conservation while other cultures especially in the north pursued a civilization of selfishness and wildlife destruction. How could there be such vast differences in civilizations when the starting point for all humanity is presumed to have been the very same state of nature that Hobbes (1651) described articulately in his book entitled The Leviathan?

Although Hobbes (1651: 83) mentioned that his state of nature was ideal and that no such state need ever have occurred, he also stated that a state of nature actually existed among "the savage people of many places in America". There is no doubt that his notion of savage people seemed to compare well with prejudices held by white people in the Elizabethan era about primitive African communities being human-like but not human proper (Mkhwanazi, 2017). When we use the Hobbesian scenario as a starting point to investigate how the African societies and Ubuntu arose, it is quite baffling as to how a human population of raw and uneducated minds, who probably lived as independent family units scattered all over the sparse mountainous range of the sub-continent, were able to converge for the sake of brotherly cooperation and wise use and conservation of natural resources. Could such coming together for the common good have been attainable without being coerced, coordinated or led by someone that all people and tribes respected and submitted to? As far as Thomas Hobbes was concerned, it must have taken a Leviathan, some powerful monster to force people to tacitly agree to a social contract to be good towards each other but a definition of a Leviathan as a devil or monstrous sea animal raises questions on how the devil would be an advocate for holiness when violation of the good seems to be the pre-occupation of the devil. It is therefore mind-

boggling as to how primitive people of Africa came up with some etiquettes which not only forced them to live a communal livelihood of sharing food, but also sub-divide themselves into animal totems to safeguard wildlife; avoid cutting trees willy-nilly; prevent hunting in sacred forests, as well as many other taboos that allowed for effective conservation of natural resources.

The historical trend taken by Africans towards effective conservation seemed to suggest that some divine intervention was at play from the beginning to prevent natural evolutionary trends towards deterioration of fruits of nature in line with what American Biologist Garrett Hardin described as the tragedy of commons. Hardin postulate that when a group of people have uncontrolled access to a commonly used natural resource, the resource will be degraded (Chiras, 1989; Kalen and Tragardh, 1998). This, according to Hardin, arises because "the rational economic behaviour of the individual generates an overall deterioration of the resource base" (Kalen and Tragardh, 1998: 14) owing to the well-known tendency by people to want to out-compete each other to over harvest and benefit more from a commonly owned resource. But much to our amazement, the Ubuntu system that emerged in Africa before the coming of Europeans to the so-called dark continent, had instilled a high level of self-enforcing discipline in management of natural resources so much that even when all alone in the forests, people refrained from violating environmental laws for fear that the invisible Mhondoro spirit would always be watching and ready to punish deviant behavior (Kasere, 1996).

Thus, where Hardin's theory of the tragedy of the commons prevailed in Europe where capitalism forced people to scramble for natural resources for the sake of acquiring personal wealth, in Africa, particularly Southern region, the proximity of the Mwenemutapa institution in the Zambezi valley was a constant reminder that the Mhondoro spirit was real and watchful. Hence there was strict abidance and training of people from childhood to be disciplined when venturing into the wilderness to harvest the fruits of nature (Kasere, 1995). So there seems to be a co-relationship between one's proximity to Adam's former Garden of Eden and one's adherence to Ubuntu values. The more people moved away to settle as far as Europe, the more people turned more pragmatic and oblivious to the principles of the Mwari deity and sustainable living. And the more people moved away to settle far from Southern Africa, the more they were able to form new pragmatic religions including those that emphasized personal aggrandizement and generation of riches.

In southern Africa where Adam's Mwenemutapa spirit resonated in one family in Dande, conservation and ubuntu principles played a huge part in retarding the development of capitalism and manufacturing of guns to hunt and defend property. It was not because Africans had a weaker mind than Europeans who ventured

into manufacturing of guns, but because Africans had strong taboos about killing, be it of a fellow human being or animal. Ubuntu in its classical Adam nature, did not encourage violence and hunting to wipe out species of animals to the point of extinction. Fights among humans had to be restricted to natural use of fists so that when the fight extended beyond certain acceptable levels, fellow human onlookers had to intervene to avoid deaths. When venturing in the wild, no one was allowed to scramble for fruits. In the wild, people only picked wild fruits that were ripe and fallen on the ground – a practice which not only guaranteed other people access to fruits at different times of the day, but also wild animals such as monkeys, squirrels, bird species and others which also depended on the very wild fruits for nourishment. All this seem to support the hypothetical view that the Mwari deity was the original religion introduced by Adam and that all other religions particularly Christianity evolved from it. This is because there are fascinating similarities between Christianity and the African Mwari theology that suggest that the Old testament might simply have referred to the Mwari deity which passed through unrecorded epochs to Egypt and to the Middle East so much that by the time it was described in the bible, people did not realise that the religion had spread through diffusionism from Southern Africa as Adam's religion and ten commandments stemming from Ubuntu or ***hu munhu*** (being human) as ubuntu is called in Shona (Kasere, 2022).

With that background in mind, it is now necessary to analyse literature that shows how the colonial and post-independent governments of Zimbabwe coped in managing wildlife resources in a manner that empowered or disempowered local communities to reduce or increase the country's economic dependence on the international capitalist system whose history and propensity to over-exploit Africa's human and natural resources has been well documented especially by dependency theorists.

2.16 **Development of the wildlife industry as a form of ecological imperialism**

An examination of literature seems to suggest that the major factor that contributed towards the establishment and insulation of the white factor syndrome in the wildlife sector in Africa was the advent of colonialism itself. Though the history of European pilferage of African resources started as far back in living memory when whites ventured into Africa searching for Africa's precious resources, one of the most central and least understood forms of wildlife utilization rampant in Southern Africa which needs elucidation because of its symbolic significance to the white factor syndrome is trophy hunting for sport. Often referred to as 'trophy' or 'safari hunting', sport hunting is strictly a kind of wildlife utilization practiced mainly in Africa to promote a European culture sport for rich upper-class people of Europe and the United States (Kasere, 2024). The history of trophy sport hunting, as conceptualised by Campbell in Campbell et al (1996), is intimately tied in Africa to the development of a recreational culture, especially among the upper aristocratic classes of Europe and the United States, who sought pleasure, adventure and

a sense of chivalry from hunting wild game in risky natural environments for fun as opposed to utilitarian gain.

As explained by Dickson (2000), the colonial approach to conservation provided the starting point for all wildlife conservation efforts that exuded through to modern post-colonial era in Africa. According to Mackenzie (1988), cited in Dickson (2000), these colonial policies were shaped by economic interests, beliefs about race and social order and views on the appropriate way to relate to the natural world. Mackenzie in Dickson (2000: 163) observes that hunting went through several stages, but of particular significance was the emergence of the idea that hunting was to be pursued as a sport, rather than for more pragmatic reasons such as ivory trade (which was rampantly carried out by European traders) or subsistence hunting (which was commonly pursued by African people). The important point to observe is that sport hunting did not only evolve as a European culture for and by the white race, but also as a class stratification phenomenon among the white people themselves; or as Dickson (2000:165) puts it, "as a social differentiation within the settler communities." Thus, according to Mackenzie as cited in Dickson (2000: 165), "hunting and conservation can be seen as 'a complex network of economics, social, racial and cultural relationships."

Closely linked to the development of sport hunting in the colonies was a growing belief in the conservation of wild game species by white colonial governments and for white communities at both local and international levels. Since heavy hunting by Europeans prior to colonialism and in the early days of colonial rule in the 20th century had resulted in considerable reduction of animal numbers, it became the task of the empire itself to preserve wild animals. This was meant to ensure a supply of quarry for European (sport) hunters (Dickson, 2000) and to accord visiting Europeans and settlers a sense of being in the 'Garden of Eden' while viewing species that were long extinct back home in Europe (Kalen and Tragardh, 1998). This led to the colonial governments in embarking on conservation measures that were extremely insensitive to the socio-economic needs and security of African communities, some of whom were evicted from their homes to pave way for the creation of game reserves and other protected areas. In Africa, this marked the genesis of the white factor thinking of conservation and sport hunting as privileged territories that were incompatible with the presence of human communities (Dickson, 2000). And among European settlers themselves, sport hunting became a preserve for the social elite.

2.16.1 **Evolution and development of colonial regime for wildlife conservation in Zimbabwe**

The evolution of the management system for conservation and exploitation of wildlife and any other natural resources during the colonial period can best be understood from the perspective of a chain of dependency

structures that the colonial government had established between the developed countries of the West as the centre, and developing countries such as Zimbabwe serving as the periphery. This relationship in the wildlife sector did not only allow a Western culture of conservation to prevail over an African civilization. It also allowed for entrenchment of exploitation of wildlife resources in the periphery to continue benefitting Western countries at the expense of the periphery. Though the entire economy of the periphery was enmeshed in a dependency relationship, the relationship was particularly more manifest in the tourism and wildlife sector, where Zimbabwe, like many other peripheral states was structured to depend on Western countries for markets and investments among other things (Khan, 1997; Lepp, 2008; Manyara and Jones, 2009). Although total figures of total foreign investment in Zimbabwe cannot be obtained, it is generally estimated that over 80 percent of consumptive and non-consumptive tourists that come to the country hail from the Western block of countries (CAMPFIRE News, Nov, 1994).

It is, therefore, because of the structural ties established between the centre and periphery that Bryant and Bailey (1997) cited in Muboko (2021) noted that most of the environmental challenges faced in developing countries are an indication of broader political and economic forces which are often linked to the spread of capitalism. Hence the argument by Muboko (2021) that past political, economic and environmental injustices dating to the colonial period underpin some of the controversies unfolding in the conservation sector. It was then on the basis of creating unfair structures of dependence that the history of trophy hunting and conservation generally created controversial legal and institutional frameworks, inequitable economic development opportunities, and an unequal politics of race and of access to resources (Muboko, 2021).

Like almost elsewhere in Africa, the colonial system in Zimbabwe was not friendly to the African civilization for wildlife conservation, which it denigrated as primitive and outdated (Ocholla, 2007 in Muboko (2021). Hill (1993: 114) also noted how the history of wildlife conservation in Zimbabwe carried "elements of racism, particularly the early land conservation laws". No wonder by 1901, the British South Africa Company (BSAC), which administered the colony since occupation in 1890 introduced Eurocentric laws that virtually banned indigenous people from hunting game as they practiced since time immemorial. These laws came against a background of greatly depleted population of game at the hands of Europeans, who had virtually wiped out the population of wild animals particularly the elephant and rhinos. They introduced the concept of the 'King's Game' under which the State and an aristocracy in the form of whites, assumed control of wildlife on all land. Earliest game laws in the 1900s were implemented by the general administration, particularly the police (Child, 1995: 81). The game laws, by and large, sought mainly to protect large mammals and birds in compliance with the Convention for the Preservation of Wild Animals, Birds and Fish in Africa of 1900 (Cumming, 1990). Kasere (2024) further noted how the international community over the years allowed institutionalization of structures of dependence in which millions of

dollars generated by safari operators had to be banked in offshore accounts because hunting quotas granted to safari operators could only be marketed at places such as the United States. Even funding of conservation programmes required that Africans could only be represented by white-dominated organisations such as Development Associates in Zimbabwe and Zimbabwe Trust (USAID, Mid-Term Report, 1998).

In a WWF Series Paper No. 12 titled "Wildlife Products and the Market Place", David Cumming (1990) noted that the period 1900 – 1950 saw an elaboration of the game laws and emergence of institutions to enforce protection of wild animals. Apart from the physical disarticulation, these laws and approaches had a spiritual and philosophical impact on Indigenous people by substituting their conservation philosophies and traditional ecological knowledge systems for western conservation knowledge deemed to be superior (Pimbert and Pretty, 1997). The first government officers to be employed full-time on the preservation and control of wild animals were appointed in the Forestry Department in 1928. And by 1950, with the promulgation of the Game and Fish Preservation Act of 1929, a Department of National Parks had been established under the Ministry of Internal Affairs (Zimbabwe Trust, 1992). In a booklet entitled Wildlife: relic of the past or resource of the future? Zimbabwe Trust (1992) observed that the department that had been established under the Ministry of Internal Affairs acquired full responsibility for game and Fish preservation, which it retained until 1950. The same act, according to Cumming, provided a legal framework for the establishment of the Wankie Game Reserve (now Hwange National Park), the Victoria Falls Game Reserve, the Urungwe Game Reserve (now the Mana Pools National Park and Chewore Safari Area) according to Child (2000). Three of the Zimbabwean parks established in the Zambezi valley namely Hwange, Mana Pools and Matusadona today according to Nolting (1990: 378) "rate as three of the best reserves in Africa" when measured according to the system of protectionism tailor-made along what Child B (2000) described as Yellowstone standards of Western countries. In 1952, a separate game section was created in the Division of Agriculture and Lands. Its main purpose was to destroy animals causing damage to stock, crops and property. It is important to observe that throughout the colonial period, the management structure of national parks was made up of white people while blacks were doing manual supportive works (Murombedzi, 2001). This means that only white people knew the value of trophies abroad.

To accommodate trophy hunting interests of the West the colonial government passed the Wildlife Conservation Act of 1961 which, according to Child (1995: 180) established a number of controlled hunting areas (CHAs). Nyakasanga, Urungwe and Sapi, in the lower Zambezi Valley became the first controlled hunting areas to be created. These, according to Child (1995), were followed two years later by the Tuli Circle in the south-west of the country, and the Wankie Controlled Hunting Area (CHA), which formed a wildlife buffer zone along the northern boundary of the Hwange National Park (ibid). However, following

the dissolution of the Federation in 1964 according to Cumming (1990), the two agencies responsible for administration of conservation were merged into a single department of National Parks and Wildlife Management which by now, according to Zimbabwe Trust (1992), was responsible for 14 national parks, eight game reserves, and five CHAs. This situation prevailed until the passage of the 1975 Parks and Wildlife Act. In other words, as explained by Child (1995: 81), the well-known Department of National Parks that prevailed in post-independent Zimbabwe until it was commercialized, "resulted from amalgamation of the Southern Rhodesian Department of Wild Life Conservation and the Federal Department of National Parks that had jurisdiction only in Southern Rhodesia, now Zimbabwe."

According to Child (1995: 81), two events in the late 1950s modified attitudes of the colonial government to transform from strict protectionism in favour of sustainable utilisation. The transformation of the department into a scientific organization owed much to the efforts and wisdom of Rhodesia's former Director of the National Museum, Ray Smithers who organized a visit to Zimbabwe of three outstanding Fulbright scholars from the USA. These scholars namely Thane Riney, Ray Dasmann and Archie Mossam who according to Child G (ibid) rose to international fame, contributed significantly in shaping the ideas behind the enactment of the 1975 Parks and Wildlife Act which is highly celebrated as the hallmark of the success of the wildlife conservation industry in Zimbabwe.

2.17 **The 1975 Parks and Wildlife Act**

The 1975 Parks and Wildlife Act, is largely reputed as the cornerstone of Zimbabwe's modern policies of wildlife management. The Act was a milestone in giving legitimacy to commercial farmers to utilize game found in their respective areas. The Act was key in the following three aspects:

(a) Re-defining Wildlife: The Act extended the definition of wildlife to include all vertebrates and invertebrates, and so provided a more holistic basis for genuine conservation of biological resources throughout the country.

(b) Empowering landholders: Though the State was (as is the case now) ultimately responsible for wildlife conservation outside protected areas, the Act freed landowners of restrictions which outlawed use of wildlife as a resource.

(c) Defining conservation goals: The Act gave legal force to diversity of conservation goals by making proper provision for conservation areas through designation of different types of protected areas. The act demarcated Parks and Wildlife Estate into six major classes or categories of protected areas. The six categories were Zimbabwe's 11 National Parks, which cover a total land area of 27 038 square kilometres (sq. km); Safari areas which take up a total of 23 670sq. km; 14 botanical gardens; Botanical Reserves, Sanctuaries and Recreational Parks.

2.18 **Economic viability of wildlife utilisation as a competitive land-use option**

An assessment of economic viability of wildlife utilisation as a land use option is essentially a cost-benefit analysis to determine advantages and disadvantages of setting aside large tracts of land for wildlife management, when compared against potential benefits derivable from other conventional uses such as agriculture or livestock. Such an analysis helps, among other things, to understand why game ranching in Zimbabwe and other countries developed rapidly as more and more land users in commercial, communal and state lands introduced game species on land that was otherwise used mainly for cattle ranching. With only 2% of Africa's land area set aside for protection of wildlife, and with over 95% of Africa biological resources found outside protected national parks, the observations by Kalen and Tragardh (1998) that "the survival of Africa's wildlife is essentially a land use issue", makes a lot of sense. A cost-benefit analysis for conservation of wildlife is therefore necessary, not only to show costs for maintaining protected areas, but also to stimulate discussion on whether conservation should be forced upon governments and land users on moral grounds, or whether wildlife should be made to pay for its survival by being treated as an economic commodity that can be conserved because of its financial and ecological significance to a landholder. This is because unlike in developed countries where there are enough fiscal resources to budget sufficiently for environment and conservation, in developing countries such as Zimbabwe, the desired conservation of species would be chimerical if wildlife management is not treated as a viable land-use option that competes well with other land uses such as agriculture to generate the much-needed income for national development (Kasere, 2008).

Emerton (2001), in an article entitled "The Nature of benefits and the Benefits of Nature" in Hulme and Murphree (2001), identified three categories of costs which add together to form the total economic costs of using land for wildlife management. These are (a) Management Costs, (b) other feasible costs to land users and (c) Opportunity costs.

(a) Management Costs: These costs include cost of equipment, capital, wages, running costs, policing and others. In managing a national park, for example, the Parks and Wildlife Authority in Zimbabwe will incur capital costs to build offices, homes for personnel and to purchase vehicles, motorbikes, guns, helicopters and many other gadgets. A huge chunk of money is also spent on allowances for board members, salaries and wages for staff and day to day running costs.

(b) Feasible costs to land users: These include, among them, costs incurred by farm holders and rural communities because of living with or near wildlife that harass them. Such costs include livestock losses, crop destruction, damage to buildings or injuries or deaths caused by wildlife.

(c) Opportunity Costs: These according to Emerton (2001), refer to foregone profits that can be generated by the land allocated for conserving wildlife.

Emerton (2001) observed that wildlife costs in a developing country such as Zimbabwe can be substantial. For example, total costs to Kenya Wildlife Service were over US$14.5 million in 1992, of which over half was spent on wildlife management and conservation, and annual expenditure on rhino and elephant conservation alone were US$0.4 million and US$1.9 million, respectively.

Emerton (2001) also observed that wildlife areas in East and southern Africa are primarily agricultural zones, supporting livestock and arable production. Wildlife competes with crops and livestock for land, water and other resources. Provision of necessities for the upkeep of wildlife can be so stressful, especially with regards to the elephant. In his thesis, Muchapondwa (2003) explained the costly feeding habits of the African elephant in Zimbabwe. According to Muchapondwa, an elephant eats an average of 150kg of vegetation per day. Its choice of food plants will be determined by what grows locally, what was learnt from its mother, and what it has discovered by trying new food items. Even though food crops are not the primary food for elephants, they have been known to like cobs, sorghum, millet and sweet canes, which they eat amid huge trampling. Muchapondwa (2003) also notes that though elephants are thought of as "gentle giants", they will destroy crops, fences and homes in their search for food and trample anyone who stands in their way.

Deodatus (2000), in Prins et al (2000), in an article entitled Wildlife damage in rural areas with emphasis on Malawi, noted that crop losses in Malawi in 1991 were valued at US$29 million at producer level; US$54 million at consumer level and US$58 million on loss of exports and increased imports. According to the author, several wild carnivore species ranging from lions to smaller carnivores such as genets predate on livestock and poultry. Occasionally, elephant or other large herbivores are responsible for killings as well. To confirm this, Deodatus (2000) pointed out that in 1992, elephants killed six cattle, three goats and six sheep in Laikipia District in Kenya. Such statistics vividly contrasts with those of the United States where only 0.2% of the total value of livestock is lost to predation (Deodatus, 2000). Cases of people injured or killed by wildlife are also well known and documented and may not need to be specified here.

Emerton (2001) further noted that the land, labour, funds and other resources allocated to wildlife conservation are opportunity costs in the sense that they have alternative uses in other forms of land use systems. Protected areas for example could be given over to agriculture or be used for other economic

activities. The opportunity costs of wildlife are, therefore, the income and profits foregone from those activities which are precluded or diminished by allocating resources to wildlife conservation.

According to Emerton, the net agricultural opportunity cost of alternative land uses and earnings foregone to the Kenyan economy from maintaining nearly 61 000 square kilometres of land under protected areas was US$203 million, some 2.8% of GDP and equivalent to support up to 4.2 million Kenyans. The combined net returns from wildlife and forestry of US$42 million are inadequate to offset these costs. In Zimbabwe, a figure of US$212 million per annum is estimated to be the opportunity lost from using national parks for cattle ranching instead of wildlife (Child, 1995).

2.18.1 **Economic benefits of wildlife considered relative to livestock**

A glance on literature shows that wildlife activities under game ranching offer many economic advantages to land users that have often been overlooked by policy makers worldwide, especially when carrying out land reforms. It is mainly because of lack of appreciation of economic value of wildlife that policy makers often prefer subdividing large farms into smaller units to enhance agricultural productivity (Earshaw and Emerton, 2000; Hunger Project, 1985; Landesa, 2011) instead of joining the farms to create bigger ecological space for wildlife conservation and to benefit land users.

Although comparative studies between game ranching and agriculture are not as comprehensive to date, there seems to be overwhelming evidence to suggest that wildlife offers many economic returns that can complement, compete or outcompete agriculture in many respects. Hopcraft in Prins et al (2000) confirmed that use of mainly non arable land for wildlife management had higher economic return than livestock because advantages of wildlife included many uses that have become big economic ventures in many African countries. The main uses of wildlife as identified by Hopcraft (2000) included tourism of all sorts, tented camps, lodges, walking and riding safaris, hunting of all kinds including bird hunting, and a culling programme for management of the herds. Other side ventures that may also develop at or around wildlife and tourism projects that may be beneficiary to rural communities will include curio production and selling; collection and selling of different wild fruits; mushroom, wild vegetables, roasted insects, including mopane worms, termites, locusts, edible beetles, birds and many other species of fauna and flora that are valued as delicacies by the African people (Kasere, 2008). These resources can be harvested sustainably and even packaged for marketing if communities are accorded the necessary tenure and exclusive rights to utilize natural resources found within their wildlife ranges or zones (Ibid).

Brain Child (in Prins et al, 2001) argues that in theory, wildlife should have a comparative advantage in the non-agricultural savannahs because of the wide range of recreational uses and products it supplies, combined with ecological attributes of indigenous multi-species systems. Child (1995) also points out that both agriculture and wild resource management are socio-economic processes for converting ecological productivity into human wellbeing. As far as Child (1995) is concerned, the dichotomy between agriculture and wildlife production are more apparent than real. But after highlighting the ecological costs of mismanagement of livestock in terms of soil erosion, Child reiterated that the real advantages of wildlife over livestock enterprises are economic rather than ecological. This is because wildlife has both charismatic and utility value in that the same animals can be sold more than once. Populations used for game viewing can also be used for light recreational hunting, before they are harvested for meat. Thus, according to Child (1995), wildlife production adds an economic tier to a meat producing system with little, if any, loss in food production. The author argues that although trophy hunting as practiced in much of Africa and angling are consumptive, few animals are removed and these activities are usually less of a strain on the environment than general tourism. The animals removed as trophies are mostly male surplus to the breeding needs of the hunted population, so that the potential to over harvest is of economic not biological significance.

It has also been observed that benefits associated with agricultural production are often over-estimated because of an evaluation system that does not properly account for investments in cost of production and subsidies made by both land users and the state respectively. It may be stating the obvious to say crop production, like livestock production, requires a lot of input. These inputs, with regards to agriculture may include costly seeds, fertilizer, insecticides, and labour that have to be borne by the land user in Zimbabwe more often with support from the state and donors. According to Earshaw and Emerton (2000), a range of protective measures have been put in place in East and Southern African states to stimulate domestic crop and livestock production. These include duty and tax exemption on imported agricultural inputs; low interest credit facilities; agricultural price fixing; protection against imported commodities and heavy spending on agricultural research and technology development (Earshaw and Emerton, 2000). In contrast, the authors argue that wildlife inputs are more expensive in market terms because they are subject to taxes from which agricultural inputs are exempt. Thus, there is low spending on wildlife research in general (Earshaw and Emerton, 2000).

It must, however, be mentioned that the real economic value of wildlife has not been clearly articulated relative to crop production in the past. This is especially true because trophy hunting operations have been largely shrouded in secrecy making sport hunting appear like a mafioso syndicate (Kasere, 2024). Very little has been disclosed in literature to show how hunts are marketed and how much the safari operator

receives abroad where marketing of trophy hunts is often made at regular safari conventions such as in Reno, Las Vegas (SCI, Aug 2020). This is why even former President Mugabe revealed lack of knowledge of what international clients paid to hunt animals soon after the killing of Cecil the lion (Clifton, 2015). And with Walter Palmer known to have paid US$55,000 to hunt Cecil the lion (a lion is often quoted as fetching US$3,500),[22] one wonders how much is fetched by an elephant which is often quoted at a price much higher than the lion. With a hunting quota allowing one safari operator to hunt up to 40 species of game animals including several bull elephants (which can exceed seven), lions, leopards, buffalos and many others, one wonders how many millions of dollars only one hunting quota can generate if correct estimates of prices of wildlife quotas are provided for.

2.18.2 **Ecological considerations**

Some researchers have also observed that overstocking of livestock in much of Africa's arid and semi-arid land can cause severe degradation of land and that the only rangelands that remain in pristine and healthy condition are those where wildlife or native species exist as dominant fauna. David Hopcraft, in Prins et al (2000), whose studies observed severe degradation of land due to overstocking of livestock in Kenya, postulates that the re-introduction of wild herbivores into their own ecosystems that have already been degraded by livestock can help in rehabilitation of ecosystems. This is because each of the species re-introduced would eat specific, preferred vegetation whose growth is often accelerated through hormones from the saliva. Food chains are re-connected allowing diverse species of fauna and flora to flourish. Hopcraft (2000) pointed out that cattle have their own grazing preferences which often allow palatable vegetation to be overgrazed and disappear, leaving the coarser vegetation, along with invasive species to take hold while bare patches and erosion increase. According to Hopcraft (2000), the resulting loss of termites would create droughts underground, reduce fertility and stunt vegetation growth.

Hopcraft (2000) further points out that wild animals, just like plants in its own environments are more successful and better suited than cattle. They are adapted to local diseases and need no expensive dipping or inoculations. Many kinds of wildlife species, especially antelopes in their environment are also adapted to dry conditions, living with little or no water, as they have evolved mechanisms that control water loss. These mechanisms include highly efficient kidneys, varying body temperatures and dry pelleted droppings. The high-water requirements of domestic animals and daily trekking to water leads to soil compaction which prevents water absorption, reduces vegetation growth and contribute to erosion (Hopcraft, 2000).

[22] The significance of the pricing of Cecil the lion is discussed in detail in Chapter Five.

A very important point was raised by University of Wits scholars to say that while selective grazing can reduce pressure of fodder species, it needs also noting that reduction of land degradation through rewilding should depend on stocking levels. This is perhaps the argument that Zimbabwe has always used to allow cropping of species which would allow farmers engaged in wildlife projects to increase their food security and even create butcheries that sell game meat which according to studies, is on great demand throughout southern and east African countries (Barnett, undated).

In considering wildlife ventures, it is however important to factor in negative impacts caused by some species such as the elephant and lions which can be a menace. Hence the need for CBOs in wildlife ventures to include a detailed impact assessment study which shows what kind of species the project will use for both tourism and hunting and what measures will be taken to mitigate negative effects including the spread of communicable diseases such as foot and mouth and problem animal control in general. Communities also need to consider availability of water especially when they also want to stock elephants which require a lot of water estimated to be about 225 litres each day for a fully grown adult (Muchapondwa, 2003). The impact assessment may also give a cost-benefit analysis showing whether it will be more advantageous to use the land for wildlife management than cropping and animal husbandry. The skills to conduct impact assessments are widely available to RDCs following intensive training they received from USAID in particular (CAMPFIRE News, Dec 1995).

2.19 **How Western civilization influenced development of game ranching in Zimbabwe**

The historical development of game ranching, like all wildlife management activities that emerged during the colonial era, are a revelation of how an intricate bond of structural dependency developed to link Zimbabwe with the developed countries of the West. In the relationship, most African countries, including Zimbabwe (Rhodesia), served as the 'periphery' while the developed countries of the West clearly manifested as the "metropolitan centre" (Child, 1995; Lepp, 2008; Manyara and Jones, 2009). This is more apparent when considering how Zimbabwe's wildlife management system in general and game ranching in particular evolved to depend on the expertise of Western countries for its development. As noted by Manyara and Jones (2009), the nature of political power in the periphery signifies a strong link with the core in which the elite classes of the periphery, be they white or black, appeared to be junior partners of the core countries. Observations made by Khan (1997) of how the wildlife and tourism sector in general created a dependence on export markets, increased the degree of foreign dominance and controlled the tourism sector are very well applicable to both consumptive and non-consumptive tourism in Zimbabwe.

Thus, when discussing game ranching, it is worthwhile to note that its full scope and range involves both consumptive and non-consumptive tourism. Non-consumptive tourism includes commercial recreational activities such as tented camps, lodges, walking and riding safaris (Hopcraft, 2000) and other forms of photographic safari and adventure while consumptive tourism "may involve sport hunting, live animal sales and cropping" (Grootenhuis and Prins, ibid). As observed by Lindsey et al (2006), who cited Barnes (2001), Kiss (2004) and Thirgood et al (2006), ecotourism represents one means of generating revenues from wildlife. It has proven successful in creating income from and for several major national parks and privately owned wildlife areas in Africa, and to a lesser extent communally owned wildlife areas. However, since there are not enough tourists to generate revenues for all of Africa's protected areas or for most of the wildlife habitat that occurs outside of parks, consumptive wildlife utilization represents an additional means of generating revenues from wildlife, and can be conducted as a complement or alternative to ecotourism. However, based on its potential to generate revenue from both consumptive and non-consumptive use of wildlife, game ranching, according to Child (1995), was introduced in colonial Zimbabwe by three Fulbright scholars namely Thane Riney, Ray Dasmann and Archie Mossam at the time when wildlife was in decline in the country. Having identified the three Fulbright scholars as the brains behind the development of game ranching in Zimbabwe, credit for the successful development of game ranching on the ground is given to a small band of pioneer ranchers namely the Henderson brothers on Doddieburn and Manyoli ranches, the Style family on Buffalo Range, and Peter Johnstone (Child, 1995; Cumming, 1990). These were the early Rhodesian ranchers to have accepted and developed the concept of game ranching (Child, 1995: 127).

According to Cumming (1990), the period 1960 – 1975 saw increased pressure on game populations on ranches and the development of uncontrolled and unsustainable hunting practices especially in the South Eastern Lowveld. The Government's response to curtail unsustainable hunting practices was the introduction of regulations preventing the export and commercial sale of game products such as hides, biltong and trophies from game taken on hunting or on landholders' licenses. At the same time, steps were taken to encourage ranchers to use wildlife sustainably by issuing cropping permits to farmers. Cumming (1990) argues that demand for hunting land in the 1950s stimulated the designation of Controlled Hunting Areas, which marked the beginning of the safari hunting industry in Zimbabwe.

The first game cropping permit was issued to crop 350 impalas in 1959 (Cumming, 1990). A permit was also issued to the Henderson brothers to crop a range of species on their Doddieburn Ranch to the South-East of West Nicholson, but cropping only began in 1960 when Buffalo Ranch and other ranches were issued cropping quotas. In the same year, 122 impala carcasses were exported to Holland to test the venison

market (Cumming, ibid). By 1964, there were 35 ranches operating, which used 34 percent of their total allocated quota. Game ranches operating under cropping permits covered some 19 500 square kilometres or 13.5percent of commercial farmland. All in all, game meat production and hunting according to Cumming (1990) were taking place on about 34 000 square kilometres of land, with a potential production of 2 350 tones of venison or 0.69 kg of meat per hectare. The number of cropping permits issued and the number of ranches involved in game ranching increased steadily until 1973, when they began to level off. During the period 1969 – 1973, the amount of venison sold and returns from game products declined. The decline coincided with higher beef prices and with a shift to safari hunting (Cumming, ibid).

The introduction of the Parks and Wildlife Act of 1975 is believed to have increased game ranching activities in Zimbabwe's commercial farms significantly. Although the Game Ranchers Association was inaugurated in about 1962 to represent interests of commercial farmers who had converted their land into game ranches, the association was rather docile and remained ineffectual and hardly distinguishable from the Safari Operators Association with which it held its annual general meetings (Child, ibid). This explains why, according to Child, the replacement of the Game Ranchers Association by the Wildlife Producers Association was welcomed even though the suggestion for the establishment of the Wildlife Producers Association (WPA) had come from a government minister. The WPA was necessitated by the needs for representation and also because of marketing needs of wildlife producers that the Department of National Parks and Wildlife Management was not competent enough to provide (Child, Ibid).

After the passing of the Parks and Wildlife Act in 1975, Zimbabwe saw many farmers in five separate areas of the country, including the south East Lowveld, joining their farms together to form huge conservancies (CAMPFIRE Information sheets, 1997). For example, the Save Valley Conservancy consists of 15 ranches totaling some 3 000 square kilometres of wildlife habitat, where game can freely roam from farm to farm (Ibid). A significant amount of money is generated by conservancies through both consumptive and non-consumptive tourism. According to Cumming (1990), the area of farmland under wildlife utilisation was estimated to be 17 000square kilometres in 1964 and 30 000 square kilometres in 1986. The estimated area declined slightly to 27 000 square kilometres in 1990 due to land redistribution.

The number of farmers registered as members of the WPA in 1990 was 436 and of these, 187 were actively involved in commercial wildlife utilisation on their properties, an increase of 53 farmers since the 1988 figure of 114 (Cumming, 1990). And the demand for animals for restocking remained high and greater than the supply of live animals. In 1989, according to Cumming (ibid), at least 1 375 animals of 13 species were relocated onto farms. The demand for restocking was 5 334 animals covering the same species by the end

of 1990. Prices paid for many species had also been on the increase. Other than species that occurred naturally, many white commercial farmers introduced several species of largely plains game animals on their farms. Some commercial farms such as Shield in Darwendale had turned their farms into game ranches typical of Norman Travers whose game ranch at Imire farm in Wedza is well-documented. Imire farm was stocked with impala, waterbuck, kudu, sable, eland and later black rhinos and elephants (African Hunter, 2010: 31). Nevertheless, as Cumming (1990) observed, demand for restocking was adversely affected by the outbreak of Foot and Mouth disease in the late 1980s. Otherwise game ranching, as clearly articulated in literature, remained one of the most successful land use options that provided income to many white commercial farmers through consumptive and non-consumptive uses of wildlife.

2.19.1 **Economic significance of trophy hunting**

The developmental history of game ranching is closely tied to development of trophy hunting, which was intimately tied to a recreational culture, as conceptualised by Campbell in Campbell et al (1996), especially among the upper aristocratic classes of Europe and the United States. These upper-class members, for lack of a better terminology, sought pleasure, adventure and a sense of chivalry from hunting wild game in risky natural environments for fun as opposed to utilitarian gain. As such trophy hunting, from a dependency perspective developed to satisfy demand from Western rich classes, including the aristocracy, who wanted to game down animals mainly, but not exclusively for recreation and sport. This is why the kind of hunts undertaken in trophy hunting have no bearing to hunts that were traditionally practised in Africa, which were mainly for subsistence. What is, however, important to observe for the purpose of this discussion is that recreational hunting "has been an embryo of conservation in Africa" (SCI Chapter, Jan 1997: 39), otherwise without it, land given to wildlife would have been put to other economic uses (Kalen and Tragardh, 1996). As argued by the SCI Chapter, "Hunters were the first people to give value to wildlife and to bring game back onto former natural areas rich in wildlife that had been converted into livestock farms" (SCI Chapter, Jan 1997). While this statement seems Eurocentric in ignoring how Africans had long attached value to wildlife before the advent of colonialism (Kasere,2024), the central point being reiterated is that the colonial approach to conservation provided the starting point for all wildlife conservation efforts that exuded through into post-colonial Africa (Dickson, in Hutton and Dickson, 2000).

According to Mackenzie (1988), as cited in Dickson (2000), these colonial policies were shaped by economic interests, beliefs about race and social order and views on the appropriate way to relate to the natural world. As cited by Dickson (2000), Mackenzie (1988) observed that hunting went through several stages, but particularly significant was the emergence of the idea that hunting was to be pursued as a sport, rather than for more pragmatic reasons such as ivory trade (which was rampantly carried out by European

traders) or subsistence hunting (which was commonly pursued by African people). The important point to observe is that sport hunting did not only evolve as a European culture for and by the white race, but also as a class stratification phenomenon among the white people themselves; or as Dickson (2000, 165) puts it, "as a social differentiation within the settler communities."

Closely linked to the development of sport hunting in the colonies was a growing belief in the conservation of wild game species. Since heavy hunting by Europeans prior to colonialism and in the early days of colonial rule in the 20th century resulted in considerable reduction of animal numbers, it became the task of the empire itself to preserve wild animals to ensure a supply of quarry for European (sport) hunters (Dickson, 2000) and to accord visiting Europeans and settlers a sense of being in the 'Garden of Eden' while viewing species that were long extinct back home in Europe (Kalen and Tragardh, 1998; Kasere, 2024). This led to the colonial governments to embark on conservation measures that were extremely insensitive to the socio-economic needs and security of indigenous African communities (Bonner, 1993; Dickson, 2000; Kasere in Alyanak, 1996). From a racial point of view, the colonial governments saw conservation of wildlife species in what Lord Curzon described as "the white man's burden" (Bonner, 1993; Dickson, 2000). In reality it has to be noted that the hunting industry developed as a tool for racism and social stratification among the settler white members of the community in Africa (Dickson, 2000; Mackenzie, 1988). This is why very high prices afforded only by the rich in the hunting industry are paid for the hosting of Western clients by safari operators, who are largely white as correctly observed by former Zimbabwean President, Robert Mugabe at the aftermath of the shooting of Cecil the lion (Clifton, 2015).

2.20 **The development of CAMPFIRE in the post-independence era**

A major turning point in the history of wildlife conservation in Zimbabwe was the development of the Communal Areas Management Programme for Indigenous Resources (CAMPFIRE). Though often stated that the programme owes its existence to internal dynamics owing to solving problems faced by rural communities in living with wild animals, there is significant evidence that suggests that the programme was created as a way of busting trophy hunting and trade in ivory that way to be banned with the listing of the elephant on CITES's list of endangered animals namely Appendix One. On the forefront of formation of the CAMPFIRE were a group of white heads of different government and nongovernmental organisations (NGOs) who formed themselves into e regulatory body known as the CAMPFIRE Collaborative Group (CCG) which was based in Harare. Coordinated mainly by a British NGO called Zimbabwe Trust, the CAMPFIRE programme by 1999 had brought together a total of 36 Rural District Councils (RDCs) under the representation of the CAMPFIRE Association. In order to operate CAMPFIRE activities, an RDC had to be awarded an Appropriate Authority by the Department of National Parks and Wildlife Management

(DNPWLM) and then work through structures formed mainly by Zimbabwe Trust to engage communities in the day to day running of the programme. Different members of the CCG, who also received donor funds from USAID, ODA and many others, provided outreach services to RDCs and communities who received a share of revenues that were generated by safari operators mainly from trophy hunting of animals authorised by the DNPWLM which is now known as the Zimbabwe Parks and Wildlife Management Services (ZimParks).

Notwithstanding heavy criticism about CAMPFIRE having been formed and managed by whites to benefit mainly whites through busting of trophy hunting of the elephant that faced CITES ban in 1989, a cursory review of literature shows significant gains by CAMPFIRE in its first ten years before the starting of the land reform in 2000. Since its establishment, sources of regular income have been mainly trophy hunting. Through leases granted to safari operators and hunting outfitters, over 90 percent of CAMPFIRE revenue comes from sport hunting with 60 percent being generated by the elephant alone. Other income generating projects include sale of wildlife products such as ivory and animal skins as well as income from few non consumptive safari tourism ventures.

CAMPFIRE principles require that money generated from CAMPFIRE activities be handed over to communities who immediately work out their plans and budgets. Communities would then decide whether to share the money as cash dividends or to embark on infrastructural projects of their choice (Mazambani, 1997).

While it will be difficult to go through every district to highlight projects achieved, it needs noting that popular infrastructural projects among communities in CAMPFIRE were many and mostly included the following as per CAMPFIRE Association Annual Report (2000);

- Installation of boreholes with engines for clean water
- Pre-school, school and health clinic developments
- Fencing of arable land to protect it from crop pests
- Small dam – or pen construction to supply water for people and wildlife
- Road development
- Maintenance of electric game fences
- Payment to community members for removal of snares and construction of warehouses, shops and teachers' accommodation.

A closer examination of CAMPFIRE revenues shows a heavy dependence on sport hunting projects during the first ten years. There appeared to be little progress made to diversify non hunting projects. The graph printed below shows that there has been a steady rise in income generated from sport hunting from US$500 000 in 1989 to US$1.4m in 1995 and then US$1.6m in 2000.

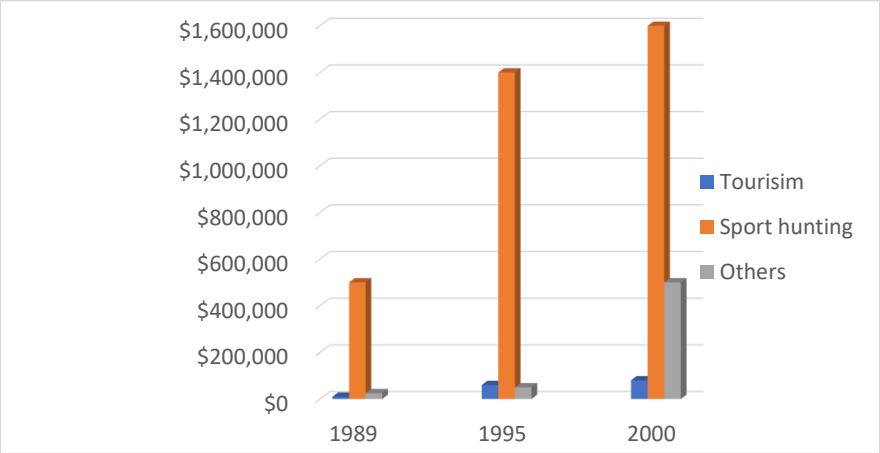

Fig 2.2 **Trends on CAMPFIRE revenues (in $US)**

Source: Derived mainly from figures presented in the CAMPFIRE Association Newsletter

Also Note that *Tourism on the graph refers to non-consumptive photographic safari*

Others *include ivory trade, fishery, and sale of forestry products, game meat and hides.*

Figures obtained from World Wide Fund for Nature (WWF) show that during 1998, in excess of 22 000 days of sport hunting were sold at an average daily rate of US$489 per day. Approximately 2140 sport hunters visited the country, of which just over 55% were from the USA. In 1999, 2122 hunters visited the country, a slight fall from 1998. The total number of days of hunting fell from 23 010 in 1998 to 21 852 in 1999. The total gross revenue fell from US$20.6 million in 1998 to US$18.6 million in 1999, and the average trophy fees paid for elephant, buffalo and leopard all went down from 1998 to 1999 (CA Annual Report, 2000).

However, the revenue reported as earned from wildlife under CAMPFIRE was US$2.8 million. This was a real increase of 47% over the 1998 reported revenue of US$1.9 million. A total of 13 districts reported their income figures, which amounted to two districts less than those reporting their income in 1998. Sport hunting however remained the main source of revenue for CAMPFIRE. In 1999, 70 percent of the total wildlife revenue reported was from sport hunting leases with safari operators. The reported revenue from non-consumptive tourism activities contributed about 3% of total revenues.

Of the total US$2.8m earned by RDCs in 1999, approximately US$1.3 million (49%) was disbursed to communities either as cash dividends to households or for use in community projects. In real terms, this figure represented an increase of US$431 000 (47%) over the previous year. It also represented the largest financial disbursement made by RDCs under CAMPFIRE. A significant portion of the disbursement was from revenue realised from the one-off auction of ivory that was sanctioned by the CITES conference of parties in 1997.

2.20.1 **Zimbabwe Trust: Foreign or locally owned?**

While the CAMPFIRE programme presented a very good model showing how people of all races can collaborate to help local communities generate income from sustainable utilization of their resources, perhaps the biggest problem was on lack of clarity on whether Zimbabwe Trust, which coordinated much of the programme since it started, was a Zimbabwean or British owned. Even though the Trust did a very good job to identify black talent to lead the programme, many Zimbabweans and even foreigners who trusted that the organization was Zimbabwean by virtue of its name, would feel cheated when they realise that the Trust was a fully registered welfare organization in Britain and that the former President, Robert Mugabe had a secret hand in the organisation's formation and control. The involvement of President Mugabe's most trusted relative, John Mapondera in assisting the transfer of blocked funds quoted as US$6 million as early as 1981 seem to suggest that the President had capitulated to underground control of Zimbabwean resources by the former colonial master namely Britain.

It is interesting to note how the Zimbabwe Trust, which concealed its identity as a British organisation also made frantic efforts not to show to local Zimbabweans its foreign agenda to introduce CAMPFIRE to promote agenda of white hunters in Zimbabwe and the West. Even though the organisation had actively participated and even mobilised individual members of community to attend CITES and protest against its decision to declare the African elephant endangered, the top management never openly declared the CITES agenda as their motive. When asked on why as CCG members they took an active role to form CAMPFIRE, Zimbabwe Trust's top management made vague reference to their political passion and love for Africans. Taking advantage of their dual citizenships of both Britain and Zimbabwe, they chose to present themselves as pro-African radicals among white people who opted to flee to England during the peak of Zimbabwe's war of independence because they could not stand joining the Rhodesian government in shedding blood for black people who were simply asking for their independence (Bonner, 1993). Another white Zimbabwe Trust official concealed the true nexus between British hunting interests and CAMPFIRE agenda by saying: "I only came into this project because I wanted to try to do something for the needs of the people" (Bonner, 1993: 261).

And thus, it never occurred to local Africans that the white CCG members were under pressure to fast track formation of CAMPFIRE in order to cover up misrepresentations they had made at CITES when Zimbabwe Trust hand-picked individual Africans from RDCs (who were not yet members of CAMPFIRE), to go to Switzerland and protest that banning of trade in ivory and trophy hunting of the elephant would adversely affect livelihoods of African communities who have been benefitting from hunting yet the truth of the matter was that hunting, by 1989, was still an all-white thing and that no such programme to benefit local people existed in Zimbabwe. It was then after CITES decision that Zimbabwe Trust rushed back home in Zimbabwe to fast track the formation of CAMPFIRE before it was discovered that a misrepresentation had been made at CITES. Literature then seemed to have been manufactured about the programme as having started with a colonial scheme called Wildlife Industries New Development for All (WINDFALL) whose existence seemed real only on computers of white people while no community representative or RDC could ever vouch for it ever been launched in Zimbabwe. In fact, a closer examination of literature shows no link between the CAMPFIRE established by Zimbabwe Trust and the so-called WINDFALL. Hence the then Director of National Parks, Dr Graham Child testified in his book that further attempts to introduce CAMPFIRE in 1982 or thereabout failed because of government resistance, hence: "An opportunity to secure $10 million in international seed capital to launch the programme also went begging and CAMPFIRE has never been implemented in quite its original form" (Child, 1995: 166).

It needs noting that Child (1995) was one of the academics who described management of Zimbabwe's national parks as "as amongst the best in the world" whose management together with CAMPFIRE and conservancies as making representing the , who himself tried hard to prove that CAMPFIRE was established by government due to internal interests of communities in Zimbabwe further reveals information that shows that CAMPFIRE was never established by government but Zimbabwe Trust (A British organization masquerading as Zimbabwean). This is because the first significant workshop to launch CAMPFIRE, or to award Appropriate Authority status (AA) to Nyaminyami and Guruve, was convened by Zimbabwe Trust and not the government of Zimbabwe as often stated in literature. (Without knowledge of trophy value for wild animals by local Africans, they continued to value it lowly in terms of its edible value as meat. The debate on the listing of the elephant seemed to be of little significance to worry about. Nobody knew how white people and safari operators in particular would short-change RDCs and communities by under-declaring the actual income they generated from international clients for sale of hunting quotas. It never occurred to many that local communities were just being used as pawns in a well-orchestrated CAMPFIRE strategy for continuation of colonialism in the wildlife industry (Monbiot, 1999). In fact, as one of the most organised interest groups (Hill, 1996) for white architects of community-based

wildlife programmes, the CCG continued to push for a colonial agenda which never fancied an idea to hugely benefit African people, purely for racist reasons. This came out more clearly in a regional proposal to launch a regional community-based project when Zimbabwe's CAMPFIRE had virtually been ravished to destruction by the 2000 land reform programme. In his proposal, Roy Thomson, a former Rhodesian and well-respected personality in wildlife management, argued that Africans did not need to be paid much money from income generated by trophy hunting because it was "a well-documented fact that the average family (comprising 8 people) in rural Africa earns less than US$10 per annum" (Thomson, 2010: 90). This amounted to per capita income of US$1.25c per annum.

Though Thomson seemed more extreme, his philosophy seemed to derive from that of white architects of CAMPFIRE who justified low incomes to communities on grounds that "typical rural families in Zimbabwe subsist on an annual income of only US$150 shared among eight people" (Sugg and Kreuter, 1994: 45). What baffles the mind is that, for years, while individual safari operators and the CCG racked millions of dollars from CAMPFIRE, nobody ever queried how a normal human being could be expected to subsist on per capita incomes of US$1.25 per annum (Thomson, 2010)[23] or US$18 per annum (Sugg and Kreuter, 1994). Again, this boils down to axiological issues already raised in this Chapter about validity of literature that has been extensively written by white people about indigenous Africans. Surely there is no way any human being worldwide, whether black, white, yellow or pink, can be expected to subsist on US$1.25c for a whole year. It shows an unrepentant nature of white racism that epitomized colonialism in Zimbabwe when white people enjoyed poking fun on black people by calling them bobbejaans – an Afrikaans word meaning baboons "that had only just come down from the trees" (Raeburn, 1978: 15). Although Raeburn (1978: 14) opined that the extremism of likening Africans to baboons reflected extreme right-wing views held by Afrikaans, he also said British settlers in Zimbabwe may have "believed the same thing, but they were too civilised ever to admit this, even to themselves". Perhaps it is important to highlight that this 'extreme' racist view believed by some white people (but not all) reflect Coon's controversial view that though the African Congoid appeared earlier than other races, they remained "trapped in an evolutionary dead-end until the present (Wells, 2002: 9).

[23] The statement that communities survive on US$1.25 per annum is being cited here to show how white people wanted to justify paying very little to communities through natural resource management programmes while safari operators in general took home amounts that could reach millions per family per full quota of animals tendered to them by RDCs.

The CAMPFIRE programme seemed well strategized and the whole idea for the CCG to create structures in which income from hunters would be passed on to the RDCs was intended to see black communities attacking fellow Africans for giving very little revenue to communities without even knowing that "murungu" (white operator) was only paying crumbs that fell off his table. Thus, from the dependency perspective the CAMPFIRE system fitted well with descriptions by academics in the early 1980s of how political independence only removed colonialism through one door while allowing imperialism to move in through another. Hence the popular statement by Prof Hedley Bull which stated: "The wolf has left by the front door, but the tiger has entered through the back door" (Bull, 1980: 313).

There is also documented proof that, Prof Marshall Murphree, who is often regarded as "CAMPFIRE's intellectual father" (Bonner, 1993: 277), occasionally retorted statements that betrayed the real external reasons why an all-white CCG created CAMPFIRE without even following programme management procedures often recommended by donors. In his own words, Murphree, in Rihoy (1995: 50), stated that: "The logical framework planning approach urged on us by many donors would dictate that we should have developed CBNRM ....as a sequential approach involving first analysis, then policy formulation, then political endorsement, then legislative enactments ...and finally implementation," he said. "We chose instead to take a simultaneous, experimental approach to all three (sic) issues..." Murphree said in description of what he called "end run" around politics (Child in Prins et al, 2000: 363), but without explaining why an orthodox logical framework planning process was not considered essential.

Marshall Murphree, a son of an American missionary himself (Bonner, 1993), described in one of his own published articles how they used development language as a strategy to perhaps win over Zimbabwean leaders as well as third world voters at CITES by making them believe that continuation of hunting will benefit rural communities. According to Murphree, the strategy used was to capitalise "on the frequent inability of governments to fully grasp the implications of advice from their technical agencies" (Murphree, in Rihoy, 1995: 50). Thus, as explained by Murphree: "We masked the deeper political and economic implications of CBNRM by cloaking it in the ambiguous language of current development-speak, talking of 'involvement', 'participation', 'decentralisation', 'co-management' and 'revenue sharing'." And for people who knew Prof Murphree's background as President Mugabe's long-time favourite advisor on wildlife matters in the 1990s, it becomes very clear that in referring to government ineptitude to understand advice given by technical agencies, Murphree was talking from real experience rather than academic generalisations.

2.20.2 How CCG created window dressing structures in CAMPFIRE to serve themselves and safari operators

Having received an estimated US$70m or even more from donors for just 10 years for building the capacity of rural communities to participate in conservation through CAMPFIRE (Kasere, 2008), it would appear from literature adduced that the CCG cleverly shrugged off any possible blame for unjustified enrichment by spreading the gospel of a CAMPFIRE success story that never was. The only success story on CAMPFIRE was in the CCG's ability to flag out well formulated CAMPFIRE principles of community participation and benefitting to impress the international community. By putting in place a structure, through the CCG's control, they made CAMPFIRE and communities serve as an appendage for money laundering schemes for white safari operators. With a strong backing of a network of academics and journalists in universities and the media, a lot of computer-doctored falsehoods about CAMPFIRE's success seem to have been produced and circulated throughout the world despite the reality that there was virtually nothing on the ground for communities to show for the programme's so-called success story (Monbiot, 1999; Munjoma, 1999; Mutandwa and Gadzirai, Nov 2009; Patel, 1998). Sweeping statements often made by researchers and students that CAMPFIRE was in existence from as far back as 1982 and was initially funded by government until USAID and other donors funded it from late 1980s to around 2003 (Muboko (2021)), are not only untrue, but deliberately made so as to confuse the truth of how the programme was launched by forces outside Zimbabwe in order to cover up for false declarations that had been made at CITES in 1989.

The reality is that CAMPFIRE operations started in 1990 (Child C, 2000) under coordination of Zimbabwe Trust, which was a British organisation headquartered in London where Keith Madders was based as Director General and Mrs Soames (last daughter of former British Prime Minister, Sir Winston Churchill), was the President (Zimbabwe Trust, 1996). Contrary to claims that local government was a member of the collaborative group as presented in most CAMPFIRE documents, a careful scrutiny of literature suggests that only whites from National Parks seemed to be enthusiastic representatives of CAMPFIRE while the black led government departments particularly Ministry of Local Government always resisted and disowned CAMPFIRE almost throughout the programme's active years of operation (Kasere, 2008). This was particularly confirmed in the USAID Mid-Term Evaluation itself which narrated reservations expressed by the Ministry of local Government in participating in CAMPFIRE activities because of parallel structures that were imposed on communities by donors and white-led CCG members to operate CAMPFIRE (USAID Mid Term Report, 1998: 128). It is stated in the report that the Ministry went to the point of attacking the first black Director of CAMPFIRE Association, Mr Taparandava Maveneke for being a puppet of white-led CCG members (USAID Mid Term Report, 1998).

The Ministry which resisted CAMPFIRE for almost the entire period of its years of glory also raised objection to the allocation of 80% of donor funds to the white-led CCG which the ministry accused of lacking capacity to provide services required by RDCs and communities (USAID Mid-Term Report, 1998: 130). Government resistance of CAMPFIRE was also felt at the top where Vice President Joshua Nkomo is always remembered for his vernacular Ndebele remarks "*Kuyini lokhu i campfire*?" (What is this thing called CAMPFIRE?). This statement was said in a manner to suggest the Vice President's contempt and disapproval of CAMPFIRE each time he rejected an invitation to officiate at CAMPFIRE Annual General Meetings (Maveneke, CCG Meeting, Oct, 1997). In his interview with the Chronicle published on March 28, 1995, Vice President Dr Joshua Nkomo was also quoted as having attacked CAMPFIRE "for giving little benefits to the rural communities while benefiting the whites and other rich people" (Maveneke, 1995) A closer examination of literature shows that the CCG had done their homework on ensuring that maximum benefits derived from the programme would go to white people while communities would continue wallowing in poverty hoping to receive meaningful benefits in future. The CCG members fortified themselves as strong interest group by ensuring that the administrative system they operated from did not require them to account to the Zimbabwean government or communities for all their activities and funds estimated to have reached about US$70 million, which Western donors had generously poured into the programme (Kasere, 2008). It would seem that President Mugabe had attached some of his relatives who used names that did not link them to the President in the administration of Zimbabwe Trust at home. His interest in the organization was further confirmed when he retired the former Minister of Environment, Mrs Victoria Chitepo to join the virtually all white Trustees of Zimbabwe Trust who were based in England. It also seemed that even the first black Director of CAMPFIRE, Maveneke himself was President Mugabe's blue-eyed boy, or perhaps a CIO operative having risen through government ranks from being an employee of the Ministry of Information to District Administrator of Guruve District, where CAMPFIRE is alleged to have started. It is my personal opinion that Zimbabwe Trust, when it closed its Zimbabwean offices in 2000 as did other top officials of the CCG who all left the country, they did not share the millions they had raised from donors sufficiently to the satisfaction of the President hence the President got angry and decided to arrange for war veterans to invade white owned farms.

The important point is that the CCG under the leadership of Zimbabwe Trust never created CAMPFIRE for the benefit of rural African communities. CAMPFIRE was created, first to raise money for the white-led CCG members in Harare who in turn worked so hard to ensure that safari operators also enjoyed freedom from government controls as they lobbied for an operational structure which Hulme and Murphree (2001:

295) described as “community-business partnerships” in which communities, according to the admission of the authors, had a “comparative disadvantage” when compared to their largely white safari operators. The community-business partnership could be achieved by fostering “a more socially responsible private sector by ‘educating’ private operators and by encouraging self-regulation” (Hulme and Murphree, 2001: 295). Self-regulation in principle implied that government, RDCs and communities had to keep away from meddling into the affairs of safari operators in almost every sphere of the business. According to Hulme and Murphree (2001: 295), controls were not necessary because safari operators needed to operate in an environment of “self-regulation” to be efficient. The self-regulation advocated meant that safari operators managed themselves against over-hunting. It also meant that only safari operators knew how much they actually received from marketing the hunting quotas abroad since in the partnership established, “the role of producer communities … was restricted to that of passive recipients of wildlife revenue” (Taylor R, in Hulme and Murphree, 2001: 272) which did not require their participation in marketing safari hunts abroad or monitoring whether safari operators strictly observed hunting quotas when going about their operations. The arrangement of “self-regulation”, while seemingly prudent for smooth running of business, seemed irrational considering experiences elsewhere where hunting had to be banned in some East African countries particularly Kenya because of fragrant abuses by safari operators who lacked efficient control on the system surrounding their operations. In an article entitled “End of Game”, Ian Michler (National Geographic, 2008) chronicled how Tanzania battled to deal with wayward operations of safari operators which begs the case for controls rather than self-regulation. According to Michler (2008: 30), “Corruption, lack of transparency, unscientific quota assessments and unethical hunting practices” were just some of the words used by people to describe the activities of safari operators. Similar problems were also experienced in Kenya where hunting had to be banned because of pervasive corruption and other abuses (Bonner, 1993). According to Bonner (1993: 242): “Some professional hunters would obtain a permit for their clients to shoot, say one leopard or lion, but they would shoot several, bribe rangers in the field not to report them and then file false reports with the game department.” Bonner also notes that the situation got so viral so much that they “also shot animals from the back of their vehicles, which was illegal.” Even the Editor of the African Outfitter, in a fairly recent version of his magazine, noted that malpractices in the hunting sector were rife where some of the international hunting clients showed no regard for a sporting code of hunting as they bagged trophy by whatever means (Coetzee, Sep 2007). Coetzee (Sep 2007: 7) sounded a warning to the industry saying: “The fact of the matter here is that, given time, some of the practices currently prevailing in our country will surface to become public knowledge.”

It is therefore of concern as to why CAMPFIRE gurus were more concerned with allowing non control of safari operators when evidence and experience showed huge potential for abuse of wildlife in the absence

of controls. What was even more questionable and embarrassing was how the top white official who was highly fancied for his role at CITES in resisting the 1989 listing of the elephant on Appendix One, and who also worked secretly to establish CAMPFIRE as a boondoggle, ended his career in National parks with accusations of massive corruption. The senior official faced charges of "inappropriately accepting the gift of a Toyota Land Cruiser from the International Rhino Foundation… in exchange for facilitating export of black rhino to the States and Australia" (The Mr X Files, Jul 2016: 52). And as if that was not enough for a country that preached sustainable use of wildlife to the world, he was also charged of "misappropriation of funds stemming from allegations of illegally exporting two hundred elephants to Bophuthatswana for about Z$10 million during the 1992 drought (The Mr X Files, Jul 2016: 52). Even though attempts were made to try and blame black racism for targeting him for victimisation, the scapegoat lost grounds because the investigation officer who exposed the alleged racket was a white ex Policeman, Mr Graham Nott (The Mr X Files, Jul 2016).

But what seemed even more mindboggling was lack of concern by CAMPFIRE architects in safeguarding communities against high levels of parsimony, which as confirmed by Dr Don Heath characterised the safari operations. Was it not inevitable that a partnership between communities and sophisticated and uncontrolled safari operators would result in short-changing communities given the comparative disadvantages that affected rural communities who lacked capacity to know the exact prices that international clients paid to hunt? It is my opinion that the CCG were well-informed about the marketing system for hunting which allowed safari operators to transfer millions of dollars to offshore accounts (Michler, 2007), while giving a typical rural household made up of 8 or more individuals paltry dividends which hardly exceeded US$11 annually or bi-annually (Bond, 1997). In fact, according to Bond in Hulme and Murphree, 2001, the median benefit per household from wildlife declined from US$19,40 in 1989 to US$4.49 in 1996."

It would seem that a lot of falsehoods were printed on computers by the vocal and influential CCG which were then spread as factual information for regurgitation by students and other writers in literature reviews and so on. If communities indeed truly received the 1989 revenue as alleged, then it is possible the amount was just taken from donor funds and was therefore not genuine revenue earned from hunting of wildlife. This is because if genuine hunting and tender procedures had been followed, 1989 would have been far too early for CAMPFIRE to have put money on the table considering that 1989 was the year "when the first districts were granted appropriate authority status" (Kalen and Tragardth, 1998: 29). It was not practically possible given bureaucratic procedures by government and RDCs to carry out survey to determine sustainable hunting quotas, issue them and give RDCs ample time to advertise and engage hunters, who,

on their part would need long periods to market trophy hunts abroad - all within a short period in the same few months of 1989. The whole campaign and literature about the establishment of CAMPFIRE is shrouded in secrecy where no sufficient information is given about CAMPFIRE vis a vis misrepresentation at CITES. What is however clear for the purpose of this literature review is that by 1990, the CCG must have been aware that the prices paid for trophies abroad were far higher than the outfitters declared at home as the basis for profit sharing with RDCs. They knew that neither communities nor RDC officials were either able or allowed to join safari operators to travel to safari conventions held mostly in the U.S. where marketing of trophy quotas to international clients were done. It was there at the conventions where safari operators would receive payments in advance for future scheduled which they deposited in offshore accounts (Jonga, Trip Report to Las Vegas, 2001). With money already secure in their own offshore accounts, the safari operators/outfitters would then travel back home in Africa ready to receive and host foreign hunting clients according to the diarized dates of hunting expeditions (Kasere, 2008). With this set up, safari operators would not only avoid paying huge amounts of taxes to their home governments in Africa, but can be able to grossly under-declare the actual selling price for trophy hunts in order to maximise their economic benefit. Thanks to CCG members who, according to literature assessed advised RDCs to charge much lower trophy fees than officially paid at international markets which boosted profits of safari operators.

Monbiot (1999) pointed out that the CAMPFIRE programme, which was "devised by white Zimbabweans and implemented by British and American agencies", left black communities "dependent on remote, unaccountable agencies whose needs and demands are utterly at variance with their own". He highlighted especially on how safari operators underpaid dividends to communities and RDCs which only amounted to 5 percent of the amount they themselves pocketed. Monbiot (1999) observed for instance that when a foreign trophy hunter killed an elephant, US$20 950 were allocated to the Safari Company, and just US$ 1275 to RDCs to share with local people. But the percentage paid by safari operators could be as low as 0.5% or even lower if one considers that the prices cited by Monbiot for the elephant could be far lower. This came up clearly when evidence adduced in court showed that Walter Palmer had actually paid US$55 000 to shoot Cecil the lion (Sieff, 2015), yet over a long time a male lion was indexed by CCG as fetching only 5000 ZIMBABWE dollars (Martin R and Thomas S, 1991) or US$3500 (Hurt and Ravn, 2000: 302). It is important to observe that the CCG from the beginning quoted the trophy fee for the elephant at Z$10 000 (Zimbabwe dollars) yet according to Hurt and Ravn (2000), a fully grown elephant bull with ivory of over 30kg could fetch US$50 000 and perhaps much more if a lion such as Cecil, which is normally priced far below an elephant could fetch US$55000 from Palmer.

It is thus important to note that due to allegations and reports surrounding cheating in safari industry, it has become very difficult for many critics to trust arguments made by Zimbabwean officials that the country has as many as 66 000 elephants in its wilderness. The lack of trust also results from the fact that Zimbabwe had long lost its capacity to conduct animal counts after USAID had stopped funding CAMPFIRE and WWF to carry out animal surveys which WWF complained were too costly and troublesome to conduct (Kasere, 2024). How then can Zimbabwe claim it has many elephants when no counts could be done?

2.20.3 **Was CAMPFIRE a success story?**

Despite all the praise CAMPFIRE received worldwide over the years as a model and success story (CA Annual Report 2001; Heath, 2009; Martin and Muboko, 2021), a more analytical assessment of literature shows that the programme only seemed successful because of its well-advertised principles but not in generating development for rural communities. As a result, the programme generated substantial criticism, especially from Europe and the US, which pointed towards the slick and deceptive nature of its CCG implementers, who effectively used the programme to promote the interests of white people and Western hunters while not giving any substantial benefits to rural people. One of the most damning criticisms ever levelled on CAMPFIRE was an article by one of Britain's most prized Ecologists, George Monbiot. The article entitled "CAMPFIRE Colonialism" appeared in the British Guardian of 17 February 1998, and was based on findings by Heena Patel's research published under the heading: "Sustainable Utilization and African Wildlife Policy, The Case of Zimbabwe's Communal Areas Management Programme for Indigenous Resources (CAMPFIRE): Rhetoric or Reality (Patel, 1998). In his article, Monbiot was critical of how Zimbabwe's wildlife sector particularly CAMPFIRE made white people rich at the expense of African communities. Monbiot (1998) pointed out that the CAMPFIRE programme, which was "devised by white Zimbabweans and implemented by British and American agencies", left black communities "dependent on remote, unaccountable agencies whose needs and demands are utterly at variance with their own". Monbiot pressed USAID to admit that CAMPFIRE had little to do with the welfare of poor Zimbabweans or conserving wildlife, but had "everything to do with servicing the perverse and lucrative fantasies of a bunch of American gun fanatics, who have something missing in their trousers department" (Monbiot, Guardian, 13 Feb, 1998: 8). In his conclusion, Monbiot (1998) said this about CAMPFIRE: "It is, USAID should have said, one of the most successful colonisation-based programmes in Africa."

Monbiot and Patel's publications were soon followed by headlines in the government-owned and censored Herald, as well as the country's independent media. The Financial Gazette headline on May 7, 1998 entitled "Controversy-hit CAMPFIRE comes under fire" was followed by the Herald's headline of Thursday, May 21, 1998 titled "Campfire under fire from Western sceptics". Both media articles dwelt at length on the

report by Patel who strongly criticised CAMPFIRE for its formation and management by whites, with the intention of insulating "the white-dominated private wildlife industry, which generated at least US$11.5 million every year through sport hunting" (Financial Gazette, May 7, 1998).

Another objective white critic of CAMPFIRE worth noting was former Zimbabwe's National Parks Ranger Dick Pitman, who was now the Chairman and Executive Director of Zambezi Society. Pitman had confidence and courage to publish his article in a CAMPFIRE Association quarterly Newsletter entitled CITES, CAMPFIRE, AND THE MEDIA DEMONS. In his article, Pitman (CAMPFIRE News, Aug 1996) quoted Suzie Watts as having said in the BBC Wildlife Magazine that programmes such as CAMPFIRE had been hijacked by handful of slick expatriate academics whose motives and tactics were "dubious in the extreme" (Pitman, 1996). It was also perhaps with reference to the tendency by white-led CCG members and donors to speak for communities about the success of CAMPFIRE that Pitman chose to preface his article with words of wisdom from Terence Pratchett that warned people against degenerating into some kind of stupidity. In the exact words of Pratchett, according to Pitman: "…when people who can read and write start fighting on behalf of people who can't, you just end up with another kind of stupidity" (Pitman, 1996: 8). Pitman was hyperbolically trying to argue his point that there was "… a great deal of difference between speaking through someone and having someone speak for you" (Pitman, 1996: 8). Pitman noted how the CAMPFIRE programme had been "blown up, trumpeted, paraded and swollen to the point at which observers would be excused for thinking that all we have to do is turn the whole of Africa into a gigantic CAMPFIRE scheme, and all will be well" (Pitman, 1996). And in his book entitled *A Wild Life: Adventures of an Accidental Conservationist in Africa,* Pitman wrote critically and sarcastically about conservation projects such as those funded by USAID, which were "… grandiose in concept, but stratospheric in their goals". Pitman chronicled how stratospherically-driven projects such as USAID hardly sought to involve ordinary villagers at conception stages, but only consulted them "half to death later, but only on the detail, not the grand design" (Pitman, 2007: 270).

And even having tried hard to make USAID's investment in CAMPFIRE look like a success story, the USAID Mid-Term Evaluation team still conceded in their report that the role played by white-led CCG organisations was quite remote and not so necessary to rural communities. The team cited Centre for Applied Social Sciences (CASS), which was headed by Prof Marshall Murphree as an example, whose role in CAMPFIRE was to fund PhD studies for its fellows but with no meaningful role to rural communities. These studies, which would not be circulated to rural people were also written in academic jargon that communities could never comprehend even if they were privileged to receive them (USAID Mid Term Evaluation, 1998). Having been established as a boondoggle, CAMPFIRE was, in terms of dependency

theory, a clear example of a well-orchestrated instrument of Western imperialism which only helped developed countries of the West to access markets for tourism and trophy hunting while allowing financial resources enjoyed by safari operators to be trafficked back to offshore accounts with virtually no tax paid to government or meaningful benefits ploughed back to rural communities. In fact, studies produced in large quantities were largely falsehoods that were computer-doctored to reinforce that CAMPFIRE pre-existed the 1989 CITES move to declare the elephant endangered, as well as to show that the programme was a success story for community participation and benefit-sharing, when the opposite was true.

It is virtually impossible to perceive CAMPFIRE as a success when communities received virtually nothing from the over US$70 million that were received and spent in Harare by the CCG (Muchapondwa, 2003; Munjoma, 1999; Patel, 1998)? And how else could one describe CAMPFIRE as a success when safari operators only gave communities about 0.5 percent of the millions they stashed in offshore accounts while arguing that Africans did not need a lot of money because they can subsist on US$1.25 per capita per year? Besides communities in CAMPFIRE were not expected to do anything to conserve wildlife. As pointed out by Dr Russell Taylor, their role as "producer communities was restricted to that of passive recipients of wildlife revenue" (Taylor in Hulme and Murphree, 2001: 272), which did not require their participation in wildlife management. They also did not participate in marketing safari hunts abroad or monitoring whether safari operators strictly observed hunting quotas when going about their operations (Murombedzi in Hulme and Murphree, 2001). As such the role played by CCG members in funding or supervising PhD theses and articles that have no bearing for use by communities perhaps latently served as public relations propaganda to window dress a white agenda to perpetuate an imperialist dependency syndrome agenda that would impoverish the periphery while promoting the interests of white people and the West. There was even a danger that through their grip in academic institutions, students would be funded, supervised and encouraged to refer to and repeatedly cite and recite literature written to authenticate fabrications about background of CAMPFIRE and its presumed success so that a lie repeated several times would end up as truthful. The sad thing in worst case scenarios is that those students who may be determined to write and contest falsifications made by the white academic juggernaut may be condemned for harassment and ignominy of failure. That is how sad ecological imperialism can go to ensure that white people and the West would continue to use their financial muscles and hegemony to bind African countries to a dependency syndrome in which the peripheral countries would remain poor as they continue to provide cheap or even free resources for entertainment, recreation and economic growth of the "centre" (Fanon, 1990; Frank, 1990; Khan, 1997; Rodney, 1990).

However, there are a lot of lessons to learn from CAMPFIRE. Putting all the negative things of lack of transparency aside, the programme transformed the world from viewing conservation from a protectionist point of view. The partnership of black and white professionals all showing the world how to organize communities through some participatory principles had a far-reaching effect to the whole world than is often highlighted. Throughout many universities worldwide including Harvard in the US, Cambridge in the United Kingdom, community-based natural resource management had become a buzz word all because of a strong partnership that black and white people had formed to export as a strategy for rural development. Even in the US Congress, CAMPFIRE pacified the animal protectionist paradigm that had become so powerful in preventing consumption of wildlife. The CCG must be given a lot of credit for having modified the world of conservation into a formidable group that hammered on the need to treat wildlife as a resource that can contribute to the welfare of any community throughout the world. Hence CAMPFIRE principles spread to South Africa, Mozambique, Zambia, Botswana and even to Asia and South America where community-based programme mushroomed mainly as influenced by the CAMPFIRE programme.

2.21 **Pitfalls of dependency theory in interpreting Africa's gains from Western Capitalism**

Although this literature review has used the dependency theory to interpret volumes of secondary sources of literature produced on land reform and wildlife management, it has to be admitted that the perspective, like any other theoretical perspective held by a researcher, may have a strong bias in brushing all achievements gained in a negative sense. Although it is an inescapable truism that slavery, colonialism and Western imperialism worked mostly to the disadvantage of local indigenous populations of Africa, there is serious disagreement among academics that the relationship created between the centre and periphery is always that of underdevelopment, which is a wholly negative condition that offers no possibility of sustained and autonomous economic activity in a dependent state (Ferraro, 2008). This contention has given rise to the rational choice theory, which seeks to put into proper perspective positive developments that have been attained in developing countries. It also seeks to underscore that internal factors, particularly bad governance, have contributed to the underdevelopment of many developing countries, especially in Africa. As highlighted by Kasere (2008), the rational choice theory views the theory of underdevelopment as a biased distortion of achievements gained by colonialism on almost every sphere of life, including education, technology, transportation, politics, agriculture, urbanisation and wildlife management, which could not have been attained without colonialism and its capitalist orientation.

The Rational-Choice Model marks the re-emergence of the modernisation theory in its determination to counter negativism propagated by the dependency theory, which seems to attribute all problems faced by the African continent to colonialism and capitalist development of Western countries. As stated by Sodaro

and Michael (2001:3512) cited in Muboko (2021), modernization theory subscribes to the notion that development "can only occur if African societies abandon their traditional, social, institutional structures, attitudes as well as behavioural patterns". This perhaps explains why the Mugabe government never incorporated the true history of brutality committed by Portuguese and British invaders who went as far as hanging sekuru Kagubi and Priestess Charwe in order to eradicate spiritual belief in the Mwenemutapa leading to the colonial side-lining of Makorekore people from development of infrastructure such as schools, hospitals, good roads which they concentrated mainly to the Zezuru and Makaranga so that they would feel like the chosen God-fearing ethnic groups that prayed the right Christian God in contrast to Makorekore who killed an innocent man of God (da Silveira) who just wanted to spread the word of God. The whole idea was to apply divide and rule tactics which would make other tribes feel as if they were more civilized in adopting Christian standards that Makorekore rejected. As confirmed by Davidson (1967), divide and rule tactics were widely used throughout Africa most especially Angola and other southern African states. It will also explain why Zezuru was used as standard Shona for examination purposes (Swaney, 1999) which made Zezuru people feel more special than other ethnic groups yet Zezuru, according to Kasere was only a a dialect of the Chikorekore which was widely spoken by majority of Shona speaking Bantu of Zimbabwe.

The rational-choice theory, also known as theory of rational choice, choice theory or rational action theory, incorporates most of the arguments put forward by the Modernisation and school of realism. It is a framework for understanding and often formally modelling social and economic behaviour (Ganti, Feb, 2021). Adam Smith, who proposed the idea of “invisible hand” moving free-market economies in the mid-1770s, is usually credited as the father of rational choice theory. Smith discussed the invisible hand theory in his book “An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations,” which was published in 1776 (Ganti, 2021).

The major thrust of the rational choice theory lies in explaining the natural tendency of man in making rational decisions and choices based on self-serving interests rather than working all the time for the general good of the public at large (Ganti, 2021). Here, the rational choice model is the basis for explaining and justifying the imperialist nature of Western capitalism and its expansionist tendencies that manifested through slavery, colonialism and modern-day imperialism. This school of thought sees the dependency theory as ridiculous in trying to portray all historical trends in a negative manner that do not give credit to capitalist developments that made the African continent progress more quickly than it would have if people of Western Europe had not brought their civilisation into the continent. It is in line with this that Hettne (1995) in Manyara and Jones (2009) criticized the dependency theory for laying too much emphasis on the

external obstacles to development within the periphery and not the internal obstacles, which equally warrant attention for appropriate polices to be formulated.

Perhaps the most fundamental question to ask amidst all accusations levelled by dependency at capitalism and colonialism for having underdeveloped the African continent (Rodney, 1981), is whether the standard of living obtaining in Africa today could have been better or worse if capitalism and colonialism had not found their way into the continent. Here, we may need to refer to a commentary by Bauer and O'Sullivan (1978) entitled "Foreign Aid for What?" The authors contend that millions of people in developing world especially Africa, who could otherwise have died, "survived because of Western techniques and ideas, notably medicine imported by colonial governments. Would the rest really have preferred to low life expectancy, continued poverty, disease, slavery and incessant wars in order to retain undisturbed control of mineral resources they were unable to develop?" The basic point advanced by these scholars is that Europe did not under-develop Africa but developed it. They highlight that internal problems in Africa, especially poor governance and corruption must account far more for poverty in the continent than external factors emphasised by the dependency theory. The school of thought takes the Hobbesian view, which sees man as ever being in constant struggle to improve himself and hence the capitalist tendencies to fight for scarce resources, which may take the form of enslavement, colonialism or imperialism within the global circle of humankind. As such, colonial trends of the past would be justified as normal trends which saw Africans being conquered and subjugated by Europeans.

And when it comes to wildlife management, the rational choice theory sees it as extending human imagination far too high into utopia to think that the industry could have developed anywhere nearer into generating billions of dollars for local Africans if they were left to practice their cultural values on wildlife without being connected to the West's markets and cultural superstructure for aesthetic tourism and trophy hunting. It is also from this perspective that the issues raised by dependency on racism and selective channelling of millions of dollars of donor fund through white people in CCG can also be explained. The rational choice philosophy would see trophy hunting as forming a cultural practice for Western people and see nothing wrong in wanting white people to take a lead if they are the ones who understand and believe in the ethos of hunting animals as a sport or culture. It would be argued that white people are entitled to funding and hosting their own cultural practices just like any race, tribe or religion. Nobody should argue that a white man needs to officiate traditional ceremonies for cultural groups in Africa or elsewhere be it in gure dance in Zambia; Muslims on pilgrimage retreat to Mecca; appeasement of spirit mediums in Zimbabwe or even traditional Zulu initiation ceremonies, to mention just a few examples.

In that vein, it should not be perceived as racism should white international clients in trophy hunting "prefer to be guided by white hunters rather than black Africans" (Hulme and Murphree, 2001). It is a rational choice based on the reality that white people as descendants of Europeans, would understand better the cultural ethos of hunting animals for sport, which are alien to Africans who only hunted animals for pragmatic reasons (Kasere, 2008). It can be further argued that the funding and management of conservation and wildlife utilisation has created far more jobs for Africans in Zimbabwe and other African countries than it did for European descendants. One needs to consider volumes of jobs created by consumptive and non-consumptive tourism be it in transportation, catering, accommodation, food and beverages, and many more which are downplayed by the dependency theory, which paints everything done by the West in a negative perspective.

It is, therefore, clear that from the point of view of the rational choice theory as briefly discussed above, many of the developments in wildlife management condemned by the dependency theory may be viewed in conventional terms as success stories in a capitalist world where the end justifies the harsh means. In other words, what matters is that by the year 2000, Zimbabwe had established a comprehensive conservation system for wildlife, which protected different species and natural ecological processes that together constitute a country's biological diversity. The success story is underscored by the country's commitment of 30 percent of its land to wildlife conservation (Child, 1995). This, in the perspective of the rational choice theory is not a mean achievement especially when Zimbabwe's efforts are compared with other countries worldwide. It was therefore up to the government of Zimbabwe to modify, improve upon the CAMPFIRE model so that newly resettled farmers during the 2000 FTLRP could use as strategy for wildlife management and conservation as a form of sustainable land use system.

2.22 **Conclusion**

To sum it up, this chapter has successfully reviewed many sources of secondary literature critical to understand relevant themes on land reform and wildlife management as they applied mainly to the Zimbabwean scenario. Having started with a snapshot of Zimbabwe's fascinating landscapes and diversity of species that make the country a fascinating destination for photographic tourism and trophy hunting among other wildlife uses, the chapter assembled and diagnosed existing literature on historical struggles experienced by Shona people to show how resilient the people of Zimbabwe were in fighting imperialist forces since the 1500s and then went on to analyse local and external factors that played a key role in conscientizing Zimbabweans on the need to fight for the liberation of the country as well as to want to take over land for redistribution to the masses of the people. The literature also went into detail to show how the post independent government and its leadership manipulated the land issue for selfish reasons.

It was also interesting to note how the dependency theory worked to show how the colonial system worked to entrench the Zimbabwean economy in general and the wildlife industry into promoting the imperialist interests of the Western countries and how the Mugabe-led government compromised its ability to reduce dependency on western countries due to the government's high levels of greed and corruption which dated back to 1981. But even more interesting is how literature was used to show pitfalls of the dependency theory from a more rational perspective of human nature. Though not the researcher's ontological stance, the rational choice theory was used to strongly argue from a realistic point of view to show colonial efforts in Zimbabwe as milestones, especially with regards to the country's wildlife management system.

But on the whole, the review showed how articulate the dependency theory worked to expose how the Shona people, along with many other ethnic groups in Zambia, Malawi, Mozambique and so on rallied behind the Mwenemutapa in fighting dependency from as far back as the 1500s.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGICAL APPROACHES

3.1 Introduction

This Chapter is dedicated to discussing the methodology which was adopted to carry out the study, which sought to evaluate how the implementation of the land reform impacted on wildlife conservation in Zimbabwe. In essence, the section of the study puts into perspective various themes relating to both research methodology and methods used particularly with reference to qualitative and quantitative components of the scientific study. However, before venturing into modalities of the chapter, it must be pointed out from the onset that in discussing methodological considerations, special care must be taken to distinguish the terms research methods and research methodology (Goulder, 2012). The two concepts do not refer to the same thing, even though they are often used interchangeably. Research method refers to the techniques and tools used for research, such as surveys, data collection, and analysis while research methodology is a systematic strategy that outlines the entire research process from start to finish.

One of the primary differences between them is that research methods refer to the methods by which one conducts research into a subject or a topic (Goulder, 2012). On the other hand, research methodology explains the methods by which a researcher adopts in conducting his/her research. Research methods involve conducting of experimental tests, surveys and the like while research methodology involves the learning of the various techniques that can be used in the conduct of research and in the conduct of tests, experiments, surveys and critical studies (Goulder, 2012).

An appropriate definition for research methodology adopted for this study is provided by Haralambos and Holborn (2000) who define research methodology as concerned "with both the detailed research methods through which data are collected, and the more general philosophies upon which the collection and analysis of data are based." According to Haralambos and Holborn (2000: 808), any academic subject requires a methodology in order to reach credible conclusions. Such a study, according to Haralambos and Holborn (2000), must have ways of producing and analysing data so that theories can be tested, accepted or rejected. Without a systematic way of producing knowledge, the findings of a subject can be dismissed as guesswork, or rather as "common sense made to sound complicated" (Haralambos and Holborn, 2000: 808).

It is against the backdrop of the importance of research methodology as briefly outlined above that I chose to use both qualitative and quantitative methods to gather data for this study. I also chose the case study approach to investigate how resettled communities together with ex-farm employees adapted themselves to the environment created by the land reform programme with special consideration on how their activities

impacted on conservation of wildlife. I also used cell phone method to administer questionnaire-based interviews to source information from 20 respondents selected to represent different groups of national stakeholders who included RDC councillors and former CAMPFIRE Board members, Conservation organisations and government departments who actively worked with communities to reflect how the 2000 land reform impacted on their activities to promote wildlife conservation at both national and international level.

But in order to illustrate the significance of the research methodology used, I think I need to engage into a brief discussion of how why the scientifically recognised approach for my topic is important as the basis of methodology used for accumulating data for this kind of study and then proceed to go into detail to describe the research design procedures and methods I have used.

3.1.1 **Adoption of scientific methods to study human behaviour**

One of the most fascinating developments in the field of sciences refers to the increased adoption and application of scientific methods in studying humanities which are generally classified as social sciences. The earliest attempts to advocate scientific methods in studying social sciences were, and still are generally known as positivism. As pointed out by Puttergill (2000), positivists believe that social reality can be studied objectively (scientifically) because it exists 'out there' independent of the knower. Positivists believe the behaviour of human beings is determined by external influences that produce particular effects under certain conditions (Puttergill, 2000: 24).

It needs acknowledging that the use of the term science as a method of studying humanities can be traced back to the first modern philosopher of science, Francis Bacon (1561 – 1626), who set forth in his *Advancement of Learning* the belief that in any field of knowledge the facts might be collected according to an accepted and prearranged plan. From then information is passed through an automatic logical process from which correct judgements can be made (Encyclopaedia Britannica, ibid). It was from this logical interpretation of science as a method of accumulating knowledge that many other fields of study in humanities began to transform into social sciences as they adopted scientific methods to investigate, understand and interpret human behaviour methodically as opposed to relying on historical traditions, religion, philosophy, intuition, common sense and other such unverifiable accounts. But as Haralambos and Holborn (1996) noted, conventional philosophy of positivism is generally traced to philosophies of two scholars namely Auguste Comte (1798 – 1857) and Emile Durkheim (1858 – 1917). Comte believed "scientific knowledge about society could be accumulated and used to improve human existence so that

society could be run rationally without religion or superstition getting in the way of progress" (Haralambos and Holborn, 1996: 809).

Nevertheless, even though both Comte and Durkheim were positivists, there were fundamental differences on their views worth noting for the good of determining suitability of research methods to the current study. Comte proposed the first systematic and coherent idea of social science ('sociology') which rejected quantification (Panayotova, 2020). He believed that scientific study of society must be confined to collecting information about phenomena which can be objectively observed and classified. As noted by Haralambos and Holborn (1996), Comte argued that social researchers should not be concerned with the internal meanings, motives, feelings and emotions of individuals as these existed only in the person's consciousness and therefore could not be measured in any objective way. Though being a positivist as well, Durkheim agreed with Comte in a number of ways, but did not follow the positivist rule that states that scientific research in social studies should be confined to observable or directly measurable phenomena (Panayotova, 2020). He opined that society should not be viewed simplistically as a collection of individuals in which each would be acting independently in terms of his or her particular psychology or mental state. As far as Durkheim was concerned, social scientists should confine themselves to studying social facts. He argued that the first and most fundamental rule is to consider social facts as ***things*** (Haralambos and Holborn, 1996: 809).

3.1.2 **Justification for using both behavioural and non-behavioural methods**

It, however, needs observing that even though scientific approaches have gained recognition and respect today as methods of studying human behaviour, there emerged around the 1960s a paradigm conflict between advocates of the behavioural approach (also referred to as positivists) and proponents of traditionalist or non-behavioural approach in studying human behaviour. While appreciating the need to use scientific methods to gain objective, reliable and unbiased information as implored by positivists, traditionalists raised very pertinent information about pitfalls that compromise objectivity by dwelling only on scientific approach when conducting research concerning human behaviour. Lack of reliability, objectivity and accuracy on using scientific models to study human behaviour has been exemplified among other cases by rampant failures of electoral polls to predict outcome of general elections Rodee et al (1976). It is claimed social science methods generally fail because the subjects of social science research are cognitive human beings unlike natural scientists who deal mostly with animals, plants and inanimate objects that do not think of how best to respond to a questionnaire or other scientific tools used in social science research. It is argued that objectivity in studying human behaviour is affected by the capacity humans have in changing their behaviour to adapt to expectations of the researcher. For example, when studying the

behaviour of safari operators, who short-change rural communities or ministers who start safari operations that overhunt animals beyond sustainable quotas obtained through coercion of national parks that fall under their control. When studying such situations, it may be inappropriate and ludicrous to use quantitative approach involving questionnaires and interviews in which respondents are expected to respond with a "yes" or "no" about their involvement in malpractices. Thus, a behavioural approach, with its rigid emphasis on objectivity and measurable results (Bradford, 2017), may not yield correct and credible data that reflect one's involvement in corruption or malpractices. It is in recognition of this argument that this study goes deeper to analyse religious and spiritual values of the Mwenemutapa/Nehanda institutions using intuitive methods that normally apply in Social Anthropology.

It must, however, be mentioned that there is an inherent fallacy among many people about the overwhelming success of natural sciences which is used as a barometer for discrediting many traditional methods of studying humanities as hopelessly ineffective. While no one in his sane mind would demean achievements of natural sciences, a lot of good progress can also be said about the traditional methods of studying human phenomena which have also played a part to understand human societies far better than before. Both approaches to study must be treated as sides of the same coin which can be blended in the context of post behavioural studies where necessary to produce even better research findings and insights. This is possible when one appreciates that behavioural approaches, even in their own field of natural sciences have not always been as successful as often believed.

3.1.3 **Universal fallacy in success of science**

In fact, it is a dangerous fallacy to assume that the use of scientific approaches has been so successful even in the field of natural sciences. While science and technology achieved countless milestones including taking man to the space, the behavioural approach on its own has not been as successful enough for example in helping explain intricate works of diverse species of biological resources requisite in maintaining ecosystems among other things. Even though possible to stretch science and technology to help tell us the number of species and how many of each are in the forest or estuary (Freeze, 1996: 46), scientific innovations are still unable to project in quantitative terms the exact carrying capacity of an ecosystem at any given period and how human impacts can quantitatively affect different populations of millions of wildlife species be they birds, mammals, reptiles, insects, fish, plants and many other macro and micro-organisms that form the web of life in different ecosystems that straddle the biosphere.

The point to observe here is that despite noble human interest and determination to want to produce credible scientific impacts that are measurable in exact quantities of populations lost or gained through certain

human interventions such as the Fast Track Land Reform Programme (FTLRP) in Zimbabwe, acquiring such accurate and reliable knowledge through scientific innovations will remain a pipe dream. This is because it is virtually chimerical to put in place scientifically sound benchmarks that can enable the much needed evaluation and monitoring of impacts on the integrity of biodiversity and ecosystem to the point of being able to say that Zimbabwe's carrying capacity and species populations were at *X* at such a period before "*t*", (being the impact of the land reform), moved the population of different species to *Y* and eventually *Z* which can, in scientific parlance, be considered as either viable or unviable. If man still argues in international conventions about an accurate estimate of the population of the elephant (which is the largest bodied of all land animals and perhaps the easiest to count), what of millions of invertebrate species such as sponges, jellyfish, starfish, worms, molluscs, insects and crabs which together with other kinds according to Goodman et al (1986: 444), make up 97 percent of the animal kingdom? Thus, trying to study direct impacts of the FTLRP on many of the different species of biodiversity is as stratospheric as trying to count the number of stars in the universe.

It must be stressed that the significance of these arguments is not to underplay the importance of using scientific methods to enhance man's knowledge about himself and his environment. No one in his sane mind will reject the progress that science has made to date be it in medicine, technology, earth sciences and other spheres of life including social studies. The point however as reiterated by Horton and Hunt (1964), is that social studies, with its diversity of methods that are non-behavioural and behavioural, already compare favourably well with the natural sciences. While both have failed in certain respects, both have made significant inroads in understanding both natural and human phenomena and should therefore both continue to be used jointly where appropriate to further man's knowledge in their respective spheres.

It is for this reason that behavioural and non-behavioural approaches have been combined to form a post-behavioural approach (Davis, 2018) that will be used in this study to examine the impacts that the 2000 fast track land reform programme had on wildlife management in Zimbabwe. The post behavioural approach implies a mixed methods research approach which was described by Kemper, Springfield and Teddlie (2003) as a method that includes both qualitative and quantitative data collection and analysis in parallel form (University of Pretoria, 2019). The joint approach has been chosen on a realistic understanding that the use of quantitative methods alone, though having helped significantly on building knowledge in the spheres of natural sciences, may not be adequate in understanding and interpreting human behaviour (Davis, 2018).

3.2 **Ontological and epistemological issues with regard to this study**

This section explains the philosophical views on what the study focuses on (Ontology) and an interrogation of the nature and basis of my knowledge or values as a researcher (Epistemology). As further explained by Ahmed (2008), ontology can be defined as the study of being. According to Ahmed (2008) ontology is concerned with "what kind of world we are investigating, with the nature of existence, with the structure of reality as such". Put simply, ontology is a system of belief that reflects an interpretation of an individual about what constitutes a fact. In other words, ontology is associated with what we consider as reality. Ontological assumptions refer to what researchers think exists and real. Taken literally as referring to one' research philosophy which explains the researcher's view of the nature of things, my ontological philosophy is essentially of a social world of meanings. This derives from my assumption that the world I am investigating is a world populated by human beings who have their own thoughts, interpretations and meanings. My investigation of my world is clearly manifested in my use of the different research methods and techniques of the interpretive design such as interviews and case study as my methodology.

When it comes to my epistemology, I think its important first and foremost to discuss what the term means. As postulated by Macionis and Plummer (2012: 62), epistemology refers to that branch of philosophy that investigates the nature of knowledge and truth." And as clarified by Puttergill (2003), epistemology refers to a way we as researchers can interrogate the nature and basis of our own knowledge or values that we flag out as the barometer of civilisation upon which other people's social standards and realities can be evaluated. For example, epistemological issues may arise with regards to superstitions held by Shona people regarding the Cape File Snake (*Mehelya capensis*) which should never be seen into homesteads. Called Ndara in Shona, the snake should JUST never be seen. Its appearance to one's sight is regarded as a portent for dire calamity such as death of a close member of the family or some other kind of dreadful tragedy. But an ecologist may understand the entrance of the snake into a homestead not from a superstitious point of view, but according to the snake's nocturnal and feeding habits. He may understand that the snake may not be commonly seen by people during the day because it is a nocturnal feeder and may enter homesteads in pursuance of rats or frogs that may also have entered the homestead.

Epistemological questions therefore deal with the social reality of how we as researchers can know and explain something. In line with that definition, my epistemological stance may be described as constructionism, also known as interpretivism. Constructionism is defined by Crotty (2003:42) cited in Ahmad (2005) as the view "that all knowledge and therefore all meaningful reality as such is contingent upon human practices, being constructed in and out of interaction between human beings and their world and developed and transmitted within an essentially social context." Thus, according to Ahmed, 2005),

meaning according to constructionism is not discovered, but constructed. The reasons why constructionism is my epistemological stance is first and foremost because I am trying to find out the views of newly resettled farmers on wildlife management and other ecological issues so as to establish how their activities during land reform impacted on wildlife conservation.

It is however important to observe that ontological and epistemological philosophy divides realism into two practical perceptions namely ***objectivism*** and ***subjectivism***. According to Saunders et al (2009), ***objectivism*** portrays the position that social entities exist in reality external to social actors concerned with their existence while **subjectivism** holds that social phenomena are created from the perceptions and consequent actions of those social actors concerned with their existence. According to Puttergill (2003), positivists argue that it is possible for researchers to perceive social reality through human senses since it exists "out there", independent of the "knower". If one's research reflects the philosophy of ***positivism*** then he/she will probably adopt the philosophical stance of natural scientists that collect data and likely use existing theories to develop hypotheses. These hypotheses will be tested and confirmed, in whole or part, or refuted, leading to the further development of theory which then may be tested by further research. The interpretive approach on the other hand advocates that it is necessary for the researcher to understand differences between humans in our role as social actors. This emphasises the difference between conducting research among people and researching on inanimate objects. Crucial to the interpretive philosophy is that the researcher has to adopt an empathetic stance. The challenge here is to enter the social world of our research subjects and understand their world from their point of view.

The third aspect of research philosophy also crucial is known as ***axiology*** which is the study of the nature of values and value judgements. Heron (1996) cited in Saunders et al (2009) argues that our values are the guiding reason of all human action. According to Heron, researchers demonstrate axiological skill by being able to articulate their values as a basis for making judgements about what research they are conducting and how they go about doing it.

3.2.1 **My theoretical perspective**

In consideration of the ontology and epistemology as discussed above, my theoretical perspective, also described as philosophical perspective by some scholars, is the dependency theory. Based mainly on historical materialism, the dependency theory has been described in detail in literature review in Chapter Two. In short, the theory looks at historical conditions which shape a certain structure of the world economy such that it favours some Western developed countries to the detriment of others (Ferraro, 2008). The resultant structures, according to Ferraro (2008) limit the development possibilities of the subordinate

economics...a situation in which the economy of a certain group of countries is conditioned by the development and expansion of another economy, to which their own is subjected. What is important in the context is how proponents of the dependency theory such as Franz Fanon described how, the black leadership in post-independent countries would do nothing to change things as they preoccupy themselves with replacing white people in posts with themselves as they continue to work to serve the interests of Western capitalism while ignoring the plight of the African people they would claim to represent. In essence, Fanon (1990: 122) argued that upon ascending to power, the national bourgeoisie will be quite content with the role of the Western bourgeoisie's business agent, and will play its part without any complexes in a most dignified manner. It will be important to establish how the Zimbabwean post-independent government treated the wildlife sector which, since colonialism was regarded as a whitey issue which primarily benefitted white people and the West while ignoring the cultural and economic needs of local Africans.

3.3 **Research design**

A good understanding of the research design concept must be preceded by a definition of the two terms research and design. According to the Oxford Advanced Learners 'Dictionary of Current English (1986:720), research is defined as "systematic investigation undertaken in order to discover new facts, get additional information" (University of Pretoria, Oct 2019). Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill (2003) cited in University of Pretoria (Oct 2019) define research as something that people undertake "in order to find out new things in a systematic way, thereby increasing their knowledge…" According to University of Pretoria (2019), research is a planned activity, aimed at establishing new facts and information about a particular phenomenon. This definition is also consistent with that given by Asenahabi (2019) who defines research as a systematic process of discovery and advancement of human knowledge. The term design on another hand, as derived from Hakim (2000) cited in Asenahabi (2019) is basically concerned with the aims, uses, purposes, intentions and plans within the practical constraint of location, time, money and the researcher's availability.

Based on the above definition of research, a research design is thereby considered to be one of the most crucial stages of empirical research, which, according to Swanepoel and Mabeka (2018), is the next stage that comes immediately after an identification of a research problem. It is axiomatic that for a research to be carried out successfully, it requires suitable research design (Asenahabi, 2019). As pointed out by Van Eeden and Terre Blanche (2003), a research design should be regarded as the overall plan or framework on which the study is anchored, thereby creating the necessary boundaries that provide the much-needed focus and control. Its essence is to achieve the research objective clearly, objectively, precisely and economically,

control extraneous variance and minimize errors (Asenahabi, 2019). Accordingly, a research needs to be properly designed so that it will provide a logical sequence to the processes and procedures used to answer questions in research.

3.4 **Research process**

According to University of Pretoria (Oct, 2019), research process involves the identification of a particular problem or area of interest, translating that problem into a research problem, collecting data, analyzing the data and reporting the findings of the research. It was on the basis of the model provided by the University of Pretoria (Oct, 2019) that I was able to identify appropriate method(s) to approach the problem pertaining to my research on the impacts of land reform on wildlife conservation in Zimbabwe. In order to give direction to my study, I adopted the onion research process, which according to University of Pretoria (Oct, 2019) was designed by Saunders et al. (2003:83). This onion as shown on Fig.3.1 below illustrates the range of choices, paradigms, strategies and steps to be followed by researchers during the research process (University of Pretoria, Oct, 2019).

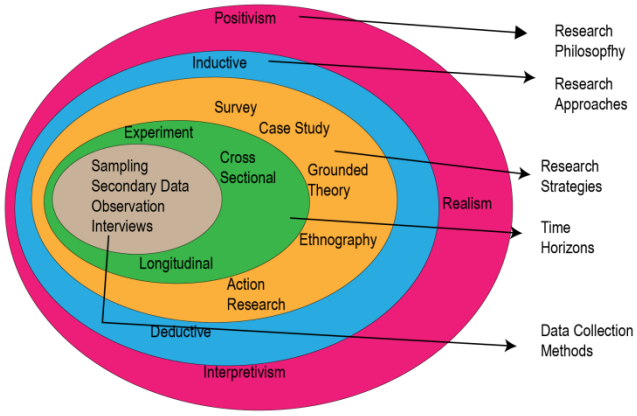

Fig 3.1 **The research process onion (Saunders et al, in University of Pretoria, 2019)**

According to University of Pretoria (Oct, 2019), the research process onion provides a summary of the important issues that need to be taken into consideration and reviewed before undertaking any research. The different layers of the onion serve as the basis from which to consider the following: the philosophical orientation of the researcher; the research approach adopted; appropriate research strategies; the research time lines that are under review; and the data collection techniques employed by the researcher (University of Pretoria, Oct, 2019).

The publication by University of Pretoria (2019) and other sources also inspired me to identify and apply the Multiple Method Research design, which is also called the Mixed Method Research Design as the most appropriate research method for my study. As observed by Asenahabi (May 2019), Mixed Method Research Design is an integration of qualitative and quantitative research and data in a research study. This method was born out of the idea that both qualitative and quantitative designs have weaknesses, thus collecting both of them neutralized the weakness of the other. This approach leads to a greater degree of understanding being formulated unlike if a single approach was adopted for application to a specific study (Asenahabi, 2019).

University of Pretoria (2019) highlighted the steps I followed in conceptualising and implementing a Mixed Method Research Design adapted from Cannon (2004) in diagrammatic form re-printed on Fig3.2 below.

Fig 3.2 **Steps in the process of conducting a mixed methods study**

The seven steps on Fig 3.2 above which University of Pretoria (2019) adapted from Cannon (2004) were observed from the planning stage of this research study through to the data analysis stage. The major thrust for the stages was to emphasize the point that rather than viewing various research methods as part of an incompatible quantitative/qualitative dichotomy, the two can complement each other where feasible to achieve best results. However, the following discussion shows the merits of each of the research methods was applied in the study to complement the other.

3.4.1 **Qualitative method**

The dominant research paradigm that employed in formulating a research design was *qualitative.* Qualitative research is concerned with qualitative phenomenon involving quality (Goulder, 2012). It is non-numerical, descriptive, applies reasoning and uses words. Its aim is to get the meaning, feeling and describe the situation (Goulder, 2012). It is however important to observe that when compared with quantitative methods discussed below, qualitative data are usually presented in words. These may be a description of a group of people living in poverty or a transcript of an interview in which people can explain what their experience and training was say with regards to their previous participation in natural resource management. As applied in this study, qualitative methods were seen in the perspective of Haralambos and

Holborn (1996), “as having greater depth and as more likely to present a true picture of a way of life, of people’s experiences, attitudes and beliefs” than quantitative methods can do.

The qualitative methods applied in this study included two types namely (a) secondary sources and (b) primary sources.

(a)Qualitative Research as Secondary Sources

As explained by Fulcher and Scott (2011), researchers must distinguish between primary and secondary sources of literature. Whereas primary sources of literature refer to data obtained by the researcher himself/herself through first-hand observation or surveys conducted on research subjects as presented in Chapter Four, secondary sources of literature refer to knowledge and data obtained by other writers and researchers on the topic of study or similar. These secondary sources may appear in the form of books, journals, magazines, newspapers, videos, internet and other related accounts. The view was further highlighted by Swanepoel and Mabeka (2018) who described qualitative secondary sources as being synonymous with the term document-based method. According to Swanepoel and Mabeka (2018), qualitative methods deal with using, scrutinising and reviewing secondary sources or published sources that are found mainly in library. Secondary sources of research data, include books, magazines, professional journals, newsletters, official documents and reports, and newspapers (Du Plooy, 2000). Many other sources such as government gazettes, RDC by-laws and papers delivered at conferences add to many secondary sources that may be obtained on both hard and electronic copies. In this study, document-based research was handy not only in developing problem statement, but in reviewing literature, which, according to Sullivan et al (1980: 46), “...is done to learn from the experience and investigations of others who have previously dealt with the problem.”

Various sources of documented literature were sourced and examined for the purpose of this research. The purpose for analysing secondary data was to put into proper perspective how the history of land and wildlife management evolved in Zimbabwe. Over 50 specialised journals/magazines on hunting and conservation were consulted to surf out critical information on hunting and wildlife management relevant for this research. The sources included many issues of the periodical known as the African Hunter – which, as observed by the researcher, has not been commonly distributed to the majority of African people and their governments in Africa. However, the periodical prides itself as the best journal “strategically placed to serve both the sport and professional hunting fraternities” (African Hunter, Vol.6, No. 4, Aug, 2000: 3). The former Editor of the journal Dr Don Heath, who held a doctorate in Ecology, described the African Hunter as “the premier periodical on hunting in ‘the Dark Continent’” which is published by hunters for

hunters" (African Hunter, Feb, 1999). Many other highly reputed periodicals sourced for the purpose of this study included issues of the Safari Journal of Big Game Hunting; Africa Geographic; African Outfitter and the Zimbabwe Hunter. There were also many books; papers; and newspaper articles that were used to provide important information for different themes of this study.

(b)Qualitative research as primary sources of data

In addition to perusal of documents at national level, qualitative research manifested through focus group interviews and open-ended questions directed at national stakeholders which allowed participants to express their views freely on several themes underlying the research topic. Since in this type of research data is generated through interacting with participants, its process, true to observations by Wilson (2000) and Creswell (2003), was largely inductive and allowed the researcher to attach meaning to the data collected.

In using qualitative research as a primary source of data, the point of departure was to study the object, namely people within their unique and meaningful human situations and interactions. An important aspect of this type of approach is that more often than not, it will be observation that generates the investigation. As observed by Borg and Gall cited by Grobbelar (2000), this research involves a holistic investigation executed in a natural set-up. The qualitative researcher can adapt to a complex situation as it develops. Comparisons of values and prejudices held by white people on wildlife vis a vis those held by local Africans were taken into consideration.

Having borrowed a leaf from Borg and Gall (Grobbelar, 2000)), through this qualitative approach, subjects were selected in a purposeful rather than random manner. The researcher made use of inductive data analysis tools to ensure that unexpected results were obtained to the fore.

3.4.2 **Quantitative methods**

In addition to qualitative methods, the study also used *quantitative* techniques to gather specific data that is quantifiable. The quantitative methods were used on surveys conducted on stakeholders at national level as well as on communities at the project site at Darwendale Farms. The survey was applied as a means of gaining measurable and quantifiable data on the opinion and observations of communities and national stakeholders on the proceedings and impacts of the land reform on wildlife management among other related themes.

Quantitative research, according to University of Pretoria (Accessed Apr, 2019), is a research approach aimed at testing theories, determining facts, demonstrating relationships between variables, and predicting

outcomes. As hinted before, quantitative methodology evolved from the positivistic school of thought or paradigm which basically stemmed from the natural sciences (Haralambos and Holborn, 1996). According to this approach, scientists investigate the cause and effect of events which, in the social sciences is achieved by using a large number of respondents – hence their being referred to as quantitative methods. It must be mentioned though that in its classical positivist approach as attributed to Comte, the scientific approach advocated the inductive methodology, which according to Haralambos and Holborn (1996), starts by collecting data. The data is then analysed and out of this analysis, theories are developed.

It must however be noted that the inductive method was not totally embraced by all positivists and therefore not the common approach used by scientists today. Many scientists now advocate and use the deductive approach which was popularised by Karl Popper which starts with a statement that is to be tested. According to Popper, it matters little how a scientific theory originate. "Scientists can develop theories however they wish. Their theories might come to them in dreams, or in moments of inspiration. What is important, and what makes them scientific, is their ability to be tested by making precise predictions on the basis of theory" (Haralambos and Holborn, 1996: 811).

It was therefore in consideration of strengths and pitfalls of both qualitative and quantitative methods that this research used both approaches to bring out the most reliable source of information that informs this study. Thus, both qualitative and quantitative sources of information and data were mainstreamed to build up comprehensive knowledge that informs the study on how the 2000 fast track land reform programme impacted on wildlife management in Zimbabwe. The same methods were also helpful in figuring out how wildlife management projects could be formulated to help new landowners to embark on projects that conserve and sustainably utilise as a form of land use that can compete with agriculture.

3.5 **Case study approach**

The Case study approach was used as a major methodology of the study. A case study is defined by Adelman, et al (1980) as 'the study of an instance in action'. It is also defined by Pring (2000:40) as 'the study of the unique case or the particular instant'. Cohen (2000:181) states that case studies provide a unique example of real people in real situations, enabling readers to understand ideas more clearly than simply presenting them with abstract theories. The case study used in this study as Yin, R.K (1984) puts it, is mainly evaluative and is concerned mostly with investigating and interpreting characteristics, attributes, and behavioural patterns (Behr, 1983:104). As highlighted by Yin (2003), the case study design approach has four key characteristics. First and foremost, it can be applied to answer questions with a

practical approach higher order questions which address “how and why” things were done. According to Yin (2003), it can also be used when the researcher has no control over the respondents’ behaviour and attitudes. The case study can also be used to get contextual information of the subject under study and fourthly, it can be used when there is not a clear difference between the context and the subject under study (Yin, 2003).

In view of the above observation, 4 farms in Darwendale, Zvimba Rural District were selected for reasons explained below. The four farms were selected on the basis that the researcher already knew that one of the farms namely Shield used to have a game ranch of mainly antelope animals while the other three farms only had bushes that also had some species of animals but concentrating mainly on agriculture, unlike Shield which managed a game ranch as business. The objective and justification for choosing the four farms was not just to find out how communities dealt with biodiversity inherited by newly resettled farmers, but also because I believed some farms could easily have been converted into ideal small-scale game conservancies on considering heavy presence of wild animals such as those obtaining at the four farms. The idea started to emerge as I used to visit an uncle who was allocated an A1 farm within the area.

3.6 **Description of the four farms in Darwendale chosen as a study area**

Although the study is national in terms of geographical focus, it would have been impossible to study all 3000 farms, hence I chose the four farms in Darwendale as a representative case study to illustrate how newly resettled African farmers coped with challenges of conserving wildlife species that existed mainly around a farm such as Shield which, before the FTLRP was managing a game ranch which contained many animal species mainly of the antelope family.

Background information derived from the Utete Report of the Presidential Land Review Committee conducted in 2003 shows that Zvimba District had a total of 673 commercial farms. Of these 578 were gazetted for government take-over during the FTLRP leaving 155 ungazetted. Of the total farms gazetted, 31 were delisted for various reasons (Utete Report, 2003). The report also noted that generally, former farm workers did not benefit from the land reform programme in the province, for various reasons. Although the reasons have not been stated, there is no doubt that the government’s leadership had a bias against farm workers. This bias came out clearly when President Mugabe seemed to justify invasion of white-owned commercial farms on grounds that farm workers were collaborating with white farmers and the opposition to remove him from power hence accusation that white commercial farmers were providing farm workers with transportation to go and vote ‘No’ to the 2000 referendum. The President’s sentiments against the

political manoeuvres by white farmers also found expression in the Utete Report (2003) which stated the following statement as justification for embarking on the FTLRP:

> *Against the background of the land occupations by the impatient landless people; absence of international support for land reform notwithstanding Government's desire to engage the former colonial power and the international community; the rejection of the 2000 Draft Constitution partly as a result of British influenced political opposition; and the continued legal challenges by the white commercial farmers, Government embarked on the Fast Track…* (Utete, 2003:

It is quite clear that the voting no to the proposed constitution and the use of farm workers by commercial farmers as a result of British influenced political opposition led the government to want to neglect former commercial farm workers as much as possible. Hence there was far more negativity concerning former commercial farm workers who were described as having continued to stay on farms with some of them described as having been engaged in criminal activities including gold panning while some "had charges of theft of crops and vandalisation of farm equipment levelled against them" (Utete, 2003: 29). Given such a hostile attitude towards former farm workers, it became necessary for this study to identify the four farms in Darwendale (Zvimba district) in order to study how they copped and protected wildlife species of mostly antelope members of the animal kingdom that formed part of a game ranch that operated at Shield farm before the FTLRP started in 2000. The research focused on the four neighbouring farms of Shield, Zaranyika, Woodrow and Elinda, which are located about 70 km west of Harare. Not much information could be obtained about when exactly Shield farm began operating as a game ranch because the new owner had left the country after the coup that removed President Mugabe. Nevertheless, information obtained in a preliminary survey conducted before the research showed that the game ranch had been in existence for more than four decades, but was allocated to President Mugabe's nephew during the FTLRP.

3.6.1 Agro-ecological background of four Darwendale farms and pitfalls of bureaucratic thinking of agriculture as the only suitable land-use system for the area

The four Darwendale farms are located within the traditional hub of agricultural area classified in Zimbabwe as agro-ecological II zone. This area, like many former-white owned farms that lie in the middle of the north of the country generally receives rainfall that ranges from 750 to 1000 mm/year (Moyo, 1990). Because of generally good soils and fairly reliable level of precipitation which sees rain falling from November to March/April, the area became one of the most favourite areas for intensive crop and livestock production by white people especially during the colonial era (Kalen and Tragardh, 1996; Moyo 1991).

Overall, agro-ecological region II accounts for 75-80 percent of the area planted to crops in Zimbabwe. The cropping systems which may be based on a variety of cash and food crops most of which were grown in the four Darwendale farms may include maize, wheat, sorghum, peas, potatoes, soyabeans, groundnuts, cotton, flue-cured tobacco, burley tobacco and flowers. These crops can be grown under dryland production as well as with supplementary irrigation in the wet months (Moyo, 1990).

But even though ecological zone II has generally been equated with intensive crop and livestock production, the equation seems to have been blown out of proportion by some bureaucrats and scholars who think that "being suitable for agriculture" means not suitable for wildlife production. The statement "being suitable for intensive crop and livestock" which should read "more suitable for crop and livestock production" does not disqualify the use of land for wildlife production if a land-user opts to use the land for that purpose. The land-use choice surrounding agro-ecological zones, to use Graham Child's words "are subservient to other socio-economic forces" if looked at from a natural resource management perspective (Child, 1995: 71). The reason why white farmers preferred using agro-ecological II zones for agricultural production were economic rather than ecological. It must be noted that wildlife was ubiquitous throughout every piece of land in Zimbabwe prior to the invasion of the country by white people who then killed many species of wild animals that inhabited the different agro-ecological zones in Zimbabwe. In fact, the reality is that wildlife thrives far better in areas with high precipitation and wild animals were only driven into agro-ecological zones III, IV and V because at the time the farms were acquired in the early 1920s onwards, wildlife tourism, as argued by McIvor (1994), had not developed into commercially acceptable land-use system as it has done today. Thanks to the 1975 Parks and Wildlife Act which inspired many commercial farmers to commercially use wildlife as a form of land use system on private land meaning that wildlife could now compete with agriculture even in agro-ecological zones I and II if land-users opted to do so.

A lot of discussion and papers presented in conferences and workshops in southern Africa and other parts of the world during the 1990s and beyond were directed at correcting this seemingly colonial attitude which did not consider the fact that at the time that Europeans were allocated farms in the early to mid-20th century in Zimbabwe in particular, the economic factors favored crop and livestock production more than wildlife as a form of land use system. It was on the basis of this understanding that many RDCs joined CAMPFIRE with the view to get assistance including funding to set up infrastructure for wildlife management under USAID sponsored Natural Resource Management Programme Phase Two (NRMP II).

3.6.2 Zvimba RDC's initiatives to join CAMPFIRE to diversify from agriculture to wildlife ventures

A preliminary review of literature which led to the decision to identify the area shows that Zvimba RDC had joined CAMPFIRE in 2001 and was determined to identify a suitable site to establish a conservancy in any of the area up to the Maringowe hills despite the fact that most farms in Darwendale area were former prime land for agriculture and livestock management. The decision to join CAMPFIRE was made by the full council meeting headed by Mr Garikai Frank as far back as 1997 when the RDC had learnt that there was funding of around US$6m seed money for RDCs to embark on tourism projects under a USAID Natural Resource Management Project (NRMP II). Mr Frank, who had had a meeting with CAMPFIRE Association directorate at Mukuvisi Woodlands, had been advised on what steps the council needed to follow and also on the need for him to undertake a study tour preferably to South East Lowveld and other CAMPFIRE districts in order to appreciate how conservancies and community-based projects were managed.

It was however not until 2001 when more serious efforts to participate in CAMPFIRE were taken up by former President Mugabe's sister and Member of Parliament, Ms Sabina Mugabe, who invited councillors, local government officials, communities, National Parks, CAMPFIRE Association and NGO service providers to meet at Murombedzi growth point to map up a strategy and identify some suitable sites for wildlife projects. Although the emotions at the Murombedzi meeting were high with the President's sister warning CAMPFIRE Association representative Mr Johnson Siamachira to pull up his socks after having arrived late (Siamachira CA Visit Report at Murombedzi, 2001), expectations for the establishment of a community-based wildlife conservancy in Zvimba district were quite high. The dream for a conservancy almost became a reality when news broke out that Shield farm, which was operating a game range that teethed with many species of wild animals, had been designated by government along with the neighbouring farms of Woodrow, Elinda and Zaranyika and many others. But in the end, the expectations by the CAMPFIRE group of service providers did not come to fruition because it turned out that most of the farms were partitioned into smaller A1 plots while Shield farm, which had game species was taken over by President Mugabe's nephew.

It was therefore out of the need to do a SWOT analysis of the potential that existed if government had taken into consideration a wealth of knowledge that had been accumulated through natural resource management concerning socio-economic and ecological benefits that existed by venturing into conservancies. This is what influenced my choice to focus my research on what prevailed on the ground at the four farms vis a vis conservation and sustainable use of wildlife in former white owned commercial farms. My objective was not only to view and assess what projects and policies were put in place to prevent massive poaching by

neglected ex-farm workers who faced condemnation and vengeance by top government leaders who accused them for allegedly working tete a tete with their former employers in undermining the success of the 'Yes' vote to a referendum which proposed to give the President sweeping powers to takeover white-owned farms without compensation, but also to assess what potential existed to conserve wildlife if all stakeholders were allowed to work together to develop a medium-sized conservancy in an area where most people thought could only be better used for agriculture. It was my view that agriculture production, though of course important, was not always the best even for agro-ecological zones II if a wildlife conservancy was properly planned to benefit communities more effectively.

My belief and faith in the potential of conservancies as a strategy for achieving conservation for wildlife as well as earning good income for communities was influenced not only by knowledge I had gained about the success story of white-led conservancies in Zimbabwe, Namibia, South Africa and other parts of the region, but also because of the understanding I had about the four farms having the necessary prerequisites for establishing a middle sized conservancy that will be managed by an expert safari operator while the owners would be settled at one corner of the zoned geographical area where each household would be allocated a hectare each for subsistence agriculture while sharing benefits that would accrue from both consumptive and non-consumptive tourism.

Excellent Hachileka (2003) summed up the necessary requirements for a successful community-based conservancy in a book entitled "Community Based Natural Resources Management: Sustainability Best Practices from Selected Case Studies in Southern Africa. According to Hachileka (2003), what it needs for a community to form a conservancy is to "define its membership, define its physical boundaries, elect a representative committee, agree on a plan for the equitable distribution of benefits and adopt a legally recognised constitution." With the availability of many species of game animals at Shield farm, my opinion was that a bank, government or donor funded game fence could be erected right round the four farms so that animals would not stray into non project zones. As explained by Hachileka (2003), the rights given by government to the conservancy would allow the community of both ex-farm workers and newly resettled land owners to enter into agreement with private companies. The communities would establish tourism facilities within the conservancy boundaries "and they have ownership over huntable game or conduct trophy hunting and/or buy and sell live game and game meat" (Hachileka, 2003: 50).

The availability of good rains in the agro-ecological zone II would add to the advantages of the conservancy not only in making drinking water available, but also providing wildlife food for both grazers and browsers which would be widely available over a big stretch of land instead of condemning wildlife only to very dry

areas such as agro-ecological regions IV and V where conservationists have often been heard appealing for financial assistance to provide drinking water and vegetation for animals that died in big numbers during years of drought. (See discussion in Chapter Five).

The conservancy was envisaged to have great potential of adding value to food security and economic development by organising and giving exclusive rights to communities to inter alia carry out fishery projects and harvest wild fruits, wild vegetables, mushrooms, edible insects such as termites, beetles, fish and many other ventures associated with wildlife which could be sold fresh or dry or even packaged to supply food to people and shops in both urban and rural sectors. Other economic ventures may include timber processing and harvesting of grass to meet high demand for building materials in both rural and urban areas. As far as I could speculate, the conservancy was not only going to allow rural communities to also earn revenue from consumptive and non-consumptive tourism in a field that was dominated almost exclusively by white people in southern Africa, but also create more jobs even for professionals involved in wildlife tracking, game guarding and policing, marketing, catering, quota setting, leather tanning, pottery, mat making, taxidermy, timber processing and many others including wood curving. It may be important to observe that Bond and Wavell Stand-Gunda (Dec, 1997) made interesting research findings about the potential of wood curving for communities in Zimbabwe which can be put to good use at the conservancy. Another useful literature was provided by Makombe (1995) of edible fruits, vegetables and insects among the people of southern Africa which can also be utilised to boost food production and income for the owners of the conservancy at the Darwendale farms.

Although the study was conducted far too late to influence policy changes for the FTLRP, the study was considered an academic necessity to raise awareness about the need to graduate from past colonial practices and attitudes that did not prioritise wildlife conservation and sustainable utilisation, which ironically seemed to have blindfolded the post independent government of Zimbabwe to only think of agrarian considerations in the FTLRP which ignored existence of literature which showed a shift towards establishment of game ranches and conservancies throughout southern Africa. Even the Utete Report (2003) observed lack of prioritisation of wildlife as a form of land use system by saying:

> *Under Fast Track, emphasis has tended to be placed on the use of land for crops and livestock, with not much attention being paid to wildlife production as a legitimate land use option on newly settled farms. Yet in many regions of Zimbabwe poor rainfall and other agro-ecological conditions severely constrain crop production. In those regions and even in some higher rainfalls*

areas alternative land uses based on sustainable use of wildlife have proven to be successful and profitable in the past.

It is important to observe that the Utete report (2003) also acknowledged that wildlife could also thrive in agro-ecological zones II which were typically reserved mainly for crop and livestock production especially in Zimbabwe. The study among other things would show how by sticking to old humpty-dumpty methods of agrarian land reform which emphasises sub-division of land into smaller A1 farms for agriculture, the post-independent government missed a big opportunity of converting the four Darwendale farms (and perhaps more other similar farms in other provinces) into more rewarding conservancy ventures for wildlife management that could not only have helped to conserve many species of animals that were exposed to heavy poaching, but could also have greatly rewarded both ex-farm employees and newly resettled farmers perhaps in more meaningful ways than agriculture.

Most importantly, the study would also show how greed and corruption that lied underneath the agenda to embark on a FTLRP made the President and his cabinet get far more than one farm which, according to the Utete Report (2003) violated the one-man-one farm policy that the government had adopted at the inception of the land reform programme. Relying on figures published in a well-researched Wikipedia article, Zvikaramba (2023) pointed out that in February 2000, the African National Congress media liaison department reported that Mugabe had given himself 15 farms, while Simon Muzenda received 13. Cabinet ministers are also said to have shared 160 farms among themselves while siting ZANU–PF parliamentarians also shared 150 farms. According to Zvikaramba (2023), the land reform programme is also said to have left about 200,000 farmworkers displaced and homeless, with just under 5% of them having received compensation in the form of land expropriated from their ousted employers.

Having got 15 or so commercial farms for himself, the most intriguing academic question that arises is why President Mugabe went on to grab Shield farm for his nephew and thus prejudiced communities from also benefitting from their wildlife heritage which had only meaningfully benefitted white people since the dawn of colonialism? It was therefore amidst the background of previous efforts by the council to join CAMPFIRE and the greed behind the allocation of the Shield farm to the President's family which raised the academic interest in me as a former wildlife activist to select the four Darwendale farms as the case study for my research. The farms presented the most ideal geographical point where one could establish how communities affected by greed and corruption that prevailed in Zimbabwe behaved in dealing with wildlife species that roamed the former white owned commercial farms and to determine whether the poaching situation alleged in the Utete Report (2003) could have been averted if the government had taken

the route towards the establishment of a community-based conservancy in similar wildlife hotspots throughout commercial farms in the country.

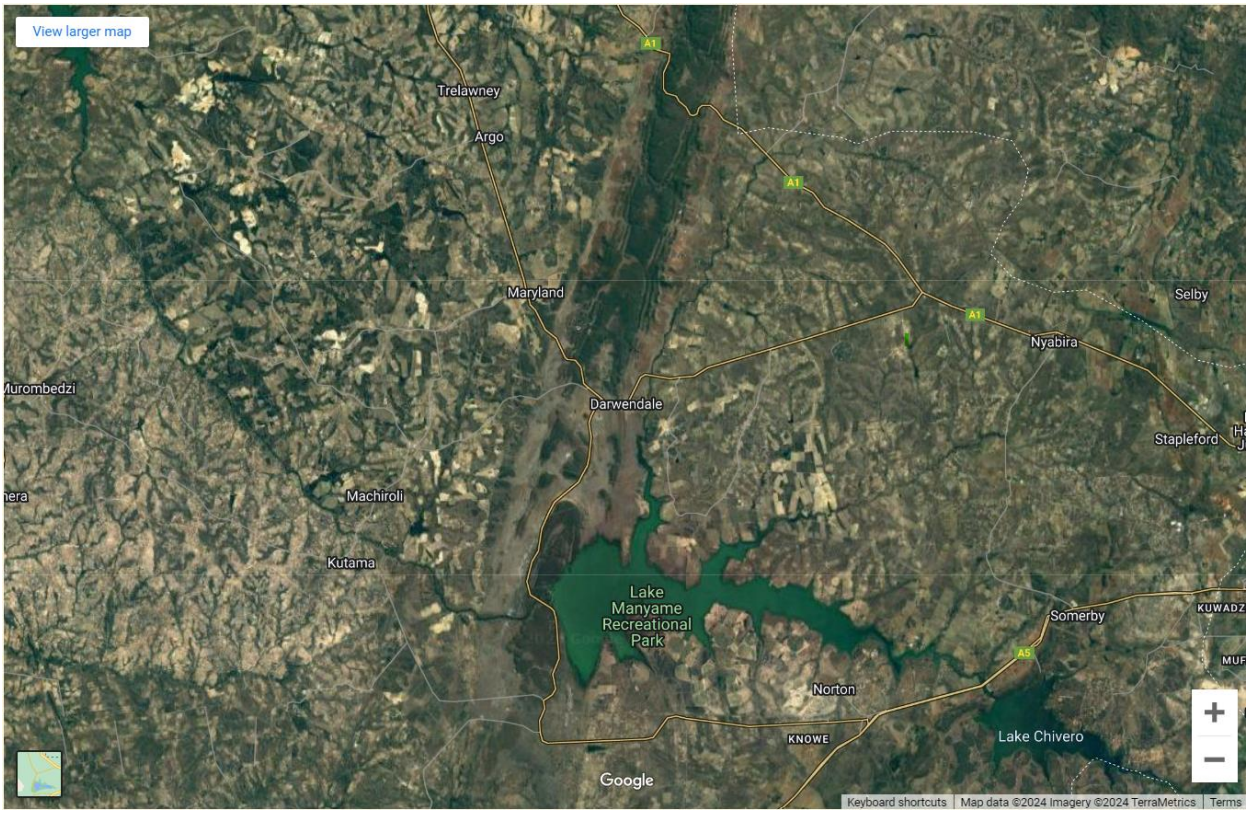

Fig 3.3 **Map showing location of the study sites**

Note that the proposed site for the project is situated between Trelawney at the far right (East)and near Hunyani river on the left (West) side. The Hunyani river separated the Darwendale farms from the highly denuded land in communal areas.

On the whole, the main thrust of the study was to show that the trend towards the traditional system of agrarian reforms, whose emphasis is to sub-divide land into smaller A1 farms for agriculture, is a big opportunity cost good practices for conservation and sustainable use of wildlife in developing countries like Zimbabwe. Studies made especially by Emerton (2001) showed that huge habitats for wildlife tend to be lost by the tendency to subdivide large landscapes into smaller units for agriculture. But because of an agro-centric agenda, much of the land that was taken from white commercial farms was typically reduced into smaller ownership units which defeats the purpose for management of large-sized wildlife fauna which require larger tracks of land for habitation. What seemed ideal was to create a conservancy by breaking down ownership barriers that existed before by joining together four or even six farms and some

neighbouring communal areas to create a big conservancy. This meant that, depending with the size of the conservancy, only one farm or perhaps two (if the conservancy was to be very big) could have been chosen for resettlement of people who would have been allocated far smaller plots for subsistence farming while allowed exclusive rights over natural resources obtaining in the entire conservancy. The newly resettled farmers including ex-farm employees would then be made to join and own the conservancy which they would register as a co-operative or share-holding company for all households which they would sublet to a safari operator who will pay them huge profits generated from wildlife-based tourism including trophy hunting.

It was my assumption that the presence of a game ranch teething with many species of mega fauna at Shield would offer the government an opportunity to combine farms together and assess the potential that existed in wildlife conservancies. The conservancy would have served as sanctuary for many populations of wildlife species found throughout Darwendale farms which fell prey to poachers, who because of lack of involvement are known to engage in poaching both for the pot and commercial trade. In a well-documented study entitled *The Utilization of WILD Meat in Eastern and Southern Africa*, Barnett (Undated) went to greater details to analyse how poaching existed in several African countries which was encouraged by well-established black markets that made wild meat available. Thus, instead of people relying on poachers, the conservancy at Darwendale had the potential of formalizing the informal trade that depended exclusively on poachers.

Wildlife conservancies are not a new phenomenon in Zimbabwe. Numerous conservancies had sprouted in Zimbabwe mainly in the Masvingo and South East Lowveld areas where a number of white commercial farmers had joined their farms together to form huge wildlife ecological zones (Du Preez and English, 2016). Technically speaking a conservancy refers to "... a group of commercial farms or areas of communal land on which neighbouring land owners or members have pooled their resources together for the purpose of conserving wildlife" (Mosemane and Hachileka, 2003:49). One of the largest conservancies in Zimbabwe is the Save Valley Conservancy established in 1992 by combining the land from 24 individual ranches in the Save/Limpopo Lowveld (Williams, 2001: 18). Conservancies are also rife in Namibia where safari hunting is generally regarded as the most profitable use of wildlife on Namibia's commercial farms (Prins et al, 2000, 193). Advantages of wildlife over agriculture which inspired commercial farmers to engage in game ranching have been discussed in greater detail in Chapter Two and Five.

3.7 **Target population and sampling procedures**

In drawing up a representative sample for the research, one requires first and foremost to establish the total population of an area under study. According to Kahn (1984), a population may be defined as the total number of individuals having certain characteristics in common. It is therefore essential that the researcher defines and describes a population carefully so that he or she will be able to determine a more representative sample for the population under observation. A sample, for the purpose of clarity, was taken to refer to a group of subjects selected from a population and studied as if it were characteristic of the population (Kahn, 1984). Put in different words, a sample refers to a selected group of elements from a defined population (Van Rensburg, 2000: 149). Even though "there are no hard and fast rules for determining sample size" (Van Rensburg, 2000: 161)), it is generally accepted that a researcher must aim to come up with a representative sample that resembles the population in as many ways as possible to enable the researcher to accurately generalise the results (ibid). Citing Bless & Higson-Smith (1995) and Brink (1996), Van Rensburg (ibid) reiterated that a representative sample "should replicate the population properties in approximately the same proportion as they occur in the target population.

It however needs observing that coming up with a population for the four farms in Darwendale was not an easy exercise. This is because so many movements of people had occurred since farms were taken over by government for resettlement. Some of the ex-farm employees had migrated back to their original homes. There were also many of the resettled people who had only built temporary homes at the farms while residing in cities and towns such as Harare, Chinhoyi, and Banket where they were registered for voting purposes. Thus, in arriving at a good estimate of populations of households, one had to consider statement made by the Utete Report (2003) which stated the following in Section 4.2:[24]

> *In all provinces the Committee was able to establish that… a large number of former farm workers still remained on the farms occupying farm compounds and that they were reportedly unwilling to work for the newly resettled farmers …Whilst unwilling to take up employment, they remained a burden to the new farmers in terms of water and electricity usage; some former farm workers had charges of theft of crops and vandalisation of farm equipment levelled against them; and some were employed by the newly resettled farmers while others were still employed by the white commercial farmers who retained subdivisions or whose properties had not been acquired.*

[24] It is important to know that Dr Utete was an insider in President Mugabe's family. Please refer to discussion under Aim 3 in Chapter Five for insights of Mugabe's attitude towards ex farm workers who were supposed to have also benefitted from the conservancy.

Nevertheless, even though no clear official census had been made for the targeted research site in Darwendale, estimates made by council and councillors in the respective farms suggested a total of plus or minus 400 households. This figure seems reasonable when considering that before land was taken from the former white commercial farmers; the farms had a low density of fixed resident workers. However, there were many contract farm workers who resided in communal areas next door in the Zvimba communal area who crossed the Manyame River to work from 0800 to 16.30 and return to their villages. As such a number of 400 plus or minus households of an average of 6 individual members per household seemed a realistic estimate to work on. The 400 figure also included the number of largely urban based members who were also allocated A1 agricultural plots on the farms who left either a spouse, cousin or any other person to manage the piece of land allocated to them. It was however not possible to interview the new A2 owner of Shield farm owing to the political and security situation which saw President Mugabe removed from power. A number of former employees of the wildlife venture at Shield and other farms were however included among communities that were targeted for questionnaires and interviews.

3.8 **Sampling procedures**

As pointed out by Van Rensburg (2000), sampling theory basically distinguishes between two main categories namely ***probability sampling*** and ***non-probability sampling***. ***Probability*** which is also commonly referred to as ***random sampling*** refers to a procedure whereby every member of the population has a known chance or probability of being included in the sample (Kahn, 1984). When brought to bear on the population targeted for research in this study, probability sampling suggests that each of the 300 households identified in the four Darwendale farms for example would have an equal chance of being chosen for participation. Probability sampling offers a variety of sampling options which according to Van Rensburg (2000) include simple random sampling; stratified random sampling; systematic sampling and cluster sampling. Systematic sampling would have been the most appropriate method of the probability sampling that would have been used to select participant sample with regards to the Darwendale farms. This is because the method is simpler and quicker in that elements are selected at equal intervals (e.g., every third, sixth, ninth element etc.) since it involves every random selection of every *fif*th element from a population. While the other options of probability sampling were for one reason or another considered less appropriate, systematic sampling was dropped upon realising that it relies on the availability of a complete population list, which could not be established.

As already stated, the total of 300 households was an estimate, not an absolute figure. Besides, the estimated population was not homogeneous since some of the resettled farmers were professionals such as lawyers,

civil servants and others while the majority were former farm employees made redundant by the acquisition of the farms by government. It was also acknowledged that there was also an influx of other unemployed people who had migrated to the area to engage in some commercial activities including poaching of game animals and commercial timber harvesting at the peak of the lawlessness that characterised the early years of the fast-track land reform programme.

It was mainly because of the heterogeneousness nature and lack of a definite total figure of the population at the 4 farms that the research opted for the purposive or judgemental sampling method of non-probability sampling which is also known as the theoretical sampling (Van Rensburg, 2000: 159). Purposive sampling in particular prevailed because it gave the researcher the option of selecting the sample that can be judged to be representative of the total population (Van Rensburg, ibid). The main purpose of purposive sampling was to confirm that samples taken from constituencies were significant to achieve the aim and objectives of the study (Corbin & Straus, 2015; Bryman, 2016). However, in some instances, snowballing technique had to be used most especially to identify certain people who partook in some acts of poaching and marketing wildlife that was sold on the black market.

Purposive sampling was the most appropriate sampling technique used for selecting the bracket of national stakeholders who were actively involved in natural resource management and utilisation in different parts of the country. The sampling method was chosen because it focused on specific respondents who represented organisations that could be drawn to discuss the extent to which their work was affected by the implementation of the FTLRP in different parts of the country. I found it easier to get opinion of national stakeholders by using the data base at CAMPFIRE Association which had contact details of most known representatives of conservation organisations whose mandate was to provide services to Mashonaland West including Zvimba district. The database became extremely useful especially during the COVID 19 when movements of people were curtailed by the lockdown which required people to work from closed doors. Thus, purposive sampling enabled the identification of key informants which, as advocated by Bryman & Bell (2007) cited in Bryman (2008) could be engaged in cell phone interviews to discuss developments in different parts of the country with emphasis on how the land reform affected wildlife conservation in their areas of operation. Key informants were therefore selected using both purposive and snowball sampling. Snowballing sampling was used when those experts identified through purposive sampling made recommendations of other specialists to answer questions which they themselves felt they could not answer with competence (Fulcher and Scott, 2011). As explained by Haralambos and Holborn (1996: 832), snowballing is a much-specialised type of sampling which "involves using personal contacts to build up a sample of a group to be studied." The term snowballing is taken from an analogy of a snowball to define a

method through which respondents are used to identify other people that may be vital for interviewing (Van Rensburg, 2000, ibid).

3.9 **Calculation of research sample**

A formula provided by https://www.surveymonkey.com/mp/sample-size-calculator/ was helpful in calculating representative samples for the four farms at the site in Darwendale. The formula had a self-calculating system which provided a sample immediately based on estimated number of households. The estimated populations provided by authorities read as follows: Elinda 105, Shield 80, Woodrow 90 and Zaranyika 120. Given a total population of 395 households, the https://www.surveymonkey.com/mp/sample-size-calculator/ self-calculated the sample as on Table 3.1 below:

	Population (Households)	Confidence Level %	Margin Of error %	Sample	Sample Slashed to 70%	Total Questionnaires Responded to
Zaranyika	120	95	5	92	64	60
Shield	80	95	5	67	47	46
Elinda	105	95	5	74	52	50
Woodrow	90	95	5	83	58	54

Table 3.1 **Sampling of target farms**

Source: https://www.surveymonkey.com/mp/sample-size-calculator

After getting a total sample of 316 for all four farms, I then slashed the sample size to 70% considering the limited resources available and the need not only to follow up with interviews for communities who found the questions not easily comprehensive for them to respond in full or in parts; but also because of the need to also interview national stakeholders. In the end I had a total sample size of 221 for all 4 farms. The response rate brought the total sample to 60 in Zaranyika; 46 in Shield; 50 in Elinda and 54 in Woodrow which I considered sufficiently representative of the population size.

The method used to select participants was the odd-number selection in which we pick the 1st household in a geographical area and then move on to the third, fifth, seventh and so on until the total sample of households needed for each farm was obtained.

Judgemental sampling technique was however used for identifying 20 national service providers who included the government, Parks and Wildlife Authority, non- governmental organisations, councillors both ex and current who made up CAMPFIRE Association Board members which all were established to work with RDCs including Zvimba Rural Council. It has to be noted that the structure in Zimbabwe allows service providers based in Harare to provide services to rural councils hence the need to appreciate that national stakeholders interviewed were all relevant as a pool of service providers for projects on natural resource management developed in Zvimba. and other key informant organisations which were already known to practice at national level including tour and safari operators who had potential to provide services in safari ventures in Darwendale were such projects had been approved and implemented. Each organisation was asked questions with special reference to the role they played and challenges experienced during the land reform period. The total list of national stakeholder participants interviewed and their constituency representation is as provided on table 3.2 below.

Collective Group name	**Total interviewed**	**Composition of participants**
Conservation organisations	20	Included present and former employees of NGOs working in the wildlife sector, Government departments, sector parastatals; University departments teaching or researching on wildlife, tourism or natural resource; conservancies

Table 3.2 **List of interviewees for Conservation organisations included in the survey**

Please note that I was able to select relevant national participants using the CAMPFIRE data base during Covid 19 shut down. Opinions of these expert organisations were also considered valid for comparison with opinions of communities where and when necessary. They were also important without being compared with communities since the organisations were privileged and institutionalised to participate in international bodies and conventions such as CITES, CBD, IUCN to develop insight on both national and international challenges pertaining to wildlife conservation and utilisation which grassroots communities are never mandated to participate. It was therefore because of their national and international constituency and research potential that the national stakeholders were deemed necessary as representative of the needs for Darwendale farms when it came to natural resource management. In that respect, national stakeholders were not deemed to be outsiders to matters of wildlife management as they affected the Darwendale farms and other districts in Zimbabwe.

Selection of national stakeholder participation in the survey relied on the CAMPFIRE data base which contained list of service provider personnel and their phone numbers. It is also important to note that as a member of the CAMPFIRE Association, Zvimba RDC gained entitlement to work through and with members of the national stakeholders accordingly. This means for example that when it came to matters of stocking and utilisation of wildlife (issuance of quotas), Zvimba RDC had to comply with statutory requirements that places all wildlife under the Parks and Wildlife Authority. When there was need to have a socio-economic evaluation, or to build institutions on the ground for community participation, they too have to work with university departments and NGOs that are members of the CAMPFIRE service providers as listed by the CAMPFIRE Association.

3.10 **The research team**

16 suitable research assistants, 7 female and 9 males were contracted to conduct the research at the farms. Seven of them were also instrumental in conducting cell phone interviews with national stakeholders. All of them were university degree holders who were conversant in Shona and English. The two languages were considered essential for translation purposes since Shona with a mixture of English was the main language spoken at the farms in Darwendale and the Zvimba South Rural District in general. About a week had been spent training the research assistants in order to familiarise them with basic concepts and research procedures among other important things. The training was necessary especially to standardise routine mechanisms of distributing the questionnaires and then collect them and interview respondents immediately upon collecting the questionnaires. The training period also covered ethical considerations that the researcher and assistant researchers had to observe and enforce.

3.11 **Data collection methods and instruments**

The systematic collection of data in this study involved both survey and field research. Survey, according to Du Plooy (2000), can be defined as a systematic collection of specific information obtained through asking a sample of respondents the same questions at a particular point in time. Field research on the other hand involves observing events and people (individuals, groups, organisations, families and others in their natural settings (Du Plooy, 2000). While open ended questionnaires were first issued to communities to answer relevant questions pertaining to their personal information and views on land reform and wildlife management, follow up interviews were conducted with communities and service providers who were sampled at the project site to ensure a more comprehensive discussion which was intended to help those who might not have understood certain questions or even those who had not had time to attend to the questionnaire as a whole. among communities had sections of structured and unstructured questions, in-depth interviews generally characterised the field research for respondents both at grassroots and national

levels. It was mainly out of understanding that some of the people might have ignored answering the questionnaire which was why the interviewing crew followed up immediately within 2 days to talk directly to respondents at the project site.

In administration of both questionnaire and interviews with all respondents, I and research assistants first sought their informed consent and went on to assure them of their much-needed confidentiality as required by the University's ethical committee. The same rights were also explained to participants of focus group interviews and national stakeholders. Interviews and collection day for questionnaires was carefully timed to coincide with a date that had been set for distribution of agricultural inputs at an assemble point at Trelawney. This was carefully designed to avoid double interview of individuals who would on one hand be interviewed as representatives of households while also being involved as participants in focussed group interviews if conducted on a later date. Thus, to avoid this problem of double interviewing, interviews for household representatives ran parallel with focussed group interviews that were held at Trelawney.

3.11.1 **Questionnaire interviews**

The term questionnaire interviews refer mainly to the questionnaires which were designed to form the basis of interviews for household representatives who were available at the farms. In some instances, the questionnaire was first distributed and filled by communities and then at collection used as the basis of interview held with respondents to ensure clarity. In other instances, a type of questionnaire was developed as a guide of interviews that were held during the 2019-2020 period when normal face to face interviews with national stakeholders were no longer possible due to COVID 19 lockdown. Thus while questionnaires had served their purpose well for grassroots communities who were already interviewed before the COVID 19 lockdown came into effects, questionnaires that had been designed for both quantitative and qualitative information gathering at national level became the guides for telephonic interviews that were conducted with national and local authority employees and stakeholders during the COVID 19 lockdown period when normal face to face interviews were no longer feasible as originally intended.

Four main questionnaires were developed – three for different categories of stakeholders who included government departments, law enforcement agents, hunters, safari operators, local authorities and NGOs at national level and another for newly resettled communities at the project site in Darwendale. The questionnaire for communities comprised 25 questions, composed mainly but not exclusively of fixed choice questions. As explained by Haralambos and Holborn (2000), Closed or fixed-choice questions require a respondent to choose an answer from a list of given answers. The answers may either be a yes or no type, or may offer a wider choice of a,b,c, d or e. Such questions are more useful for quantitative

objectives and have been included to obtain facts such as one's age, sex, opinion and even type of land use systems preferable to communities. Open-ended questions on the other hand were mainly used for qualitative research and contained questions without fixed options of answers such as "what do you think about wildlife as a form of land use?" In compiling questions, the researcher took cognisance of expert advice offered by Du Plooy (2000) that the number of optional answers should not be as extensive to the extent that by the time a respondent gets to consider the last option he/she would be confused or rather forgotten what the earlier options entailed.

The important point to note is that the questionnaires contained multiple structured questions (open ended on one end and closed or fixed choice on the other) which were specially considered to suit type of information needed as well as the nature of the group of respondents. The aim of most of the questions was mainly to detect changes in land use compared with previous white farmers as well as to assess their opinions regarding the development of wildlife conservancy as a form of land use system. Some questions were intended to evaluate previous conservation strategies; funding situation in Zimbabwe for different land uses and opportunities and threats that existed especially for wildlife management as a form of land use system.

All questions were formulated in advance following exactly the same sequence way they were to be asked during the interview. Two versions of the final questionnaire had been pre-tested in the field by the researcher and then corrected according to weaknesses revealed pertaining to phrasing of the respective question or the reason for asking it before being adopted as the final version that would be applied during the survey.

3.11.2 **Focus group interviews**

Only 1 out of 3 Focus group interviews were held with communities at Trelawney growth point in Zvimba. This was mainly due to the covid 19 lock down which prevented any further movements and group meetings. Focus group interviews, which according to Du Plooy (2000) are also called *group interviews,* were utilised to get more information and ideas from communities mainly about their welfare and attitude towards the land reform, conservation of wildlife species. I had engaged a total of 16 newly graduated young men and women to help as assistants on the study, 4 of them being drivers. I had conducted a 2-day workshop to train the assistant researchers for both the survey and focus group interviews. At the sight 16 of us split into different groups. The one Focus Group interview discussion held was attended by two researchers including myself, while the other 14 went to administer interviews including the four drivers. A group interview was held for a select group of newly resettled farmers who were receiving tillage

components at an assemble point at Trelawney near Darwendale. When organising the interviews, special attention was paid to Onwuegbuzie *et al.* (2009)'s suggestions that focus groups must be moderated by a team comprising of moderator and assistant moderator (Du Plooy, 2000).

As focus group moderators, the two of us played a very active role of prompting participants to speak out and ensure that the more vocal did not monopolise the entire group interview. Only one of the three focus group interviews of 16 respondents was held. It was also the plan to hold more focus group interviews for stakeholders at national level at gatherings and conferences of Rural District Councils; Hunters and other stakeholders towards the end of 2019 and early months of 2020. But due to the COVID 19 pandemic and lockdown, the group interview plan was abolished and replaced with open-ended telephone interviews held with national stakeholders who worked at various places in Zimbabwe. Selection of participants at national level was made easier by using the data bank at CAMPFIRE Association which had names of officers and councillors who worked at RDC level as CAMPFIRE Coordinators or natural resource management employees. The data base also included contact names of employees in other conservation organisations in the country.

The focus group participants were randomly picked men and women of between 20 to 75 years old. The sampling method used was to pick every fifth household listed on the council list of recipients for distribution of inputs and ration food for each farm. The focus group interviews were in the form of semi-structured discussions which were directed by an interview guide with questions developed in advance. I however allowed ourselves as moderators a wide room of flexibility to stray from printed questions and probe further questions that arose during discussions. This allowed us to ask questions and make follow-ups as believed appropriate since participants were expected to be able to raise issues that might be of considerable interest to the research topic.

3.12 **Use of audio recorders**

In addition to 9 cell phones, about five Sanyo Voice Activated Mini Recorders were made available to the research team for interviews during the survey. These were used to record proceedings in both focus groups and in-depth interviews. Though each of the members of the research team had a cell phone that could be used for the purpose of this task, the problem that had been envisaged with cell phones was lack of availability of electrical recharging facilities. So mini recorders were a sure way of ensuring that recording of responses would be successfully done. Its use also was a measure of satisfying consent by interviewees of being recorded since the gadget required to be put on the open where interviewees would see it recording unlike a cell phone which could just be switched on while the interviewee or participant might not be aware

of recording proceedings. But although we thought we had provided enough batteries, we faced a shortage of taps for mini recorders hence pen and paper became quite useful at time of need to record answers obtained from communities.

3.12.1 **Interview guides and in-depth cell phone interviews**

Interview guides for in-depth interviews with open-ended questions were designed mainly for focus group interviews and for interviews with many national stakeholders who included government departments; Rural District Council staff and councillors; Service Providers to communities, safari staff, law enforcement agents (for anti-poaching) and many interested Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs). Although the main idea was to issue these organisations with questionnaires followed by either focussed group interviews for such groups as hunters and RDCs at their national conferences or by face-to-face interviews, the procedures were all affected by the 2019 COVID lockdown. As a result, interviews ware held by cellular calls to many of the originally intended personnel of stakeholder organisations mentioned. Although a fair representation sample of stakeholder organisations was successfully interviewed, the number that was interviewed had been significantly slashed to 20 for each national stakeholder group due to unanticipated heavy costs of data for cell phone interviews in Zimbabwe. The process also extended the period of completion of interviews since it took longer to obtain the cell phone numbers of some interviewees owing to the unforeseen closure and uncertainties of reopening of offices that characterised the lockdown period.

3.13 **Data analysis**

For the purposes of processing and analysing research findings, this study, as conventionally expected, used different methods for processing questionnaires on one hand and interviews including focus group interviews on the other.

3.13.1 **Thematic Data Analysis**

In processing interview results both in-depth and focus group based, this study relied on the well-known thematic data analysis method which are reputed for their user-friendly adaptability for the qualitative endeavours that the research had embarked on. The thematic analysis, which as implied by its name, is a data qualitative method, which aggregates data according to various themes articulated in the responses. The method was originated in the field of Psychology by Virginia Braun and Victoria Clarke (Caulfield, 2020), was chosen because of its applicability in analysing sets of texts such as interview transcripts and focus group interviews. As explained by Caulfield (2020), thematic analysis allows a researcher a lot of flexibility in interpreting the data, and also allows the researcher to approach large data sets more easily by sorting them into broad themes.

Once I had settled for the thematic data analysis method, my next challenge was to decide whether to use the inductive or deductive approach. I opted for a deductive approach which would give me the discretion of deducing data according to my preconceived themes rather than the inductive approach which would leave it to the computer to classify themes according to data fed into it. From then on, the research team followed stage by stage six recommended steps namely *familiarisation*, *coding*, *generating themes*, *defining and naming the themes* and then the *writing up* of results as presented in Chapter Four. A brief description of the work involved in the six steps of thematic analysis noted above is as follows:

Step 1: *Familiarisation with data*

As self-explained, this stage was an essential familiarisation tour of the data that had been brought on the table for further processing. The process had a duration of more than a week and involved transcribing the audio and notes that the researcher and assistants had scribbled pertaining to all interviews that were held with both Darwendale communities and national stakeholders.

Step 2: *Coding*

This stage was quite challenging for the researcher and his assistants and involved a protracted process of coding all data and then systematically organizing the codes based on some similarity into larger and larger categories that led to a hierarchical structure of code -> subtheme -> theme (Statistic Solutions, 2020) as discussed in the next steps. A typical example of hierarchical streamlining of codes referred to the huge group of Conservation organisations whose individual employees participated in the research. At first responses were categorised according to different constituent focus and statuses of organisations involved. The different sectors coded separately included Non-Governmental Organisations local or international; University departments teaching tourism and natural resource management, government departments, parastatals such as National Parks, Environmental Management Agency (EMA), Department of Natural Resources (DNR), AGRITEX and others. Different codes were also assigned to thematic requirements of certain questions and their respective responses. For example, those recorded as making up the no comment category were split into different codes of those who said “I do not know”; “I never thought of it” and “I reserve my comment”. A good example of a question that generated the different categories of the “no comment” category was the one which asked respondents’ opinion on why for example USAID pledged to fund CAMPFIRE while the United States government always voted at CITES against CAMPFIRE interests to trade in ivory or hunt the elephant which generated 96 percent of the programme’s revenue (Bond, in CA Annual Report, 2000).

Step Three: *Generating themes*

After coding responses with the help of my assistants, I followed prescribed guidelines as pontificated by Caulfield (2020) and re-looked at the codes we had created so as to identify patterns among them to enable us to classify them into themes. Though some codes qualified into forming a theme in their own right, in most of the time the themes were generally broader than codes and we had to combine several of the codes into a single theme. For example, when asked to respond to questions involving a set of multiple choice answers such as "I did not know", or "I never thought about it" as discussed in Step Two above, the responses had to be first placed in different codes and then streamlined later into one theme namely "no comment".

Steps 4 and 5:

There was often an overlap between steps 4 and 5 which, as prescribed by Caulfield (2020) were different steps that were respectively concerned with *reviewing themes* and then *defining and naming them (themes).* Even though we started with reviewing themes that we had generated, the process of reviewing continued up to the next stage of naming the themes in stage 5. This was because we occasionally discovered on naming a theme that some themes overlapped and did not deserve separation or vice versa that certain themes were so condensed and needed streamlining. For example, in naming the theme of poachers who hunted different species of animals at Shield farm, we decided to distinguish between poaching by resettled communities from that carried out by syndicates coming from Harare who were also poachers. The idea was to establish different categories of information about dynamics of poaching and independent variables that would help policy-makers come up with policies of inclusion and exclusion that will help in the conservation of wildlife species in newly resettled farms.

3.13.2 **Statistical Data Analysis**

When it came to analysing questionnaire responses, considerable time was spent trying to choose between SPSS and Excel software packages. As defined by Alchemer, SPSS is short for Statistical Package for the Social Sciences, and was created by SPSS Inc., in 1968 (and was later acquired by IBM in 2009) for the management and statistical analysis of social science data. However, having been quite familiar with Excel, the research collected data from a total of 300 participants (households) and results from which were entered into a master excel spreadsheet.

The responses contained from the questionnaires were carefully edited and clarified for consistency before they found their way on to an Excel spread sheet. This tool helped organize, sort, edit, code and analyse the data. The main reason why this study opted to use Excel is that Microsoft Excel is one of the top tools for

data analysis and the built-in pivot tables are arguably the most popular analytic tool (Edx, 2021) and also because it easily integrates into other Microsoft Office software products, which can be helpful when preparing reports or presentations (Rose, Spinks & Canhoto, 2015). The primary focus for this process was to make sense of the magnitude of data collected by primarily focusing on descriptive statistics to then help in summarizing the information and identify key findings. Since the questionnaires were anonymously filled by respondents, subject numbers were provided, then the data coded and item names created. The product of analyzing data using Excel spreadsheet worked well in producing frequency and custom tables, pie charts and graphs with different variables.

The information collected from completed questionnaires was imputed on Excel spreadsheet for analysis and presentation of data. As is typical for questionnaires designed for capture by Excel, each questionnaire was tagged for identification purposes with marks such as Response 1, Response 2 and Response 3 captured in short as R1, R2,R3 and so on while each question in the questionnaire bore a number such as Q1, Q2, Q3 and so on in ascending order until all are recorded. Different factors such as those which affected wildlife habitats and others were coded alphabetically as A, B, C, D, and E depending with options of choices of answers provided on each question. Statistics in terms of frequency and proportions of conservation and harvesting of wildlife as well as loss of habitat and other related concerns were obtained represented in tables, pie charts and graphs accordingly. Eventually responses obtained were categorised into respective themes ranging from logging, deforestation, grazing and so on while some were categorised according to people's opinions about benefits and costs associated with using wildlife as a form of land use in comparison with agriculture.

Again, using the Excel facility, demographic information about respondents was obtained along the lines of gender, age, language, occupation and others. After all the data was entered into the spreadsheets and tabulated, the researcher was able to draw out totals of the administered questions and their responses. Further Excel was used for the presentation of the information collected from the data into pie charts, bar graphs and histograms as discussed in Chapter Four.

3.14 **Ethical considerations**

Ethical considerations rank highly in academic research. As a result, I made sure that I observed all key ethical issues when conducting the study. Major ethical issues observed can be listed as follows:

(a) All participants had to consent to participate in the study (Du Plooy, 2003)

(b) The respondents were assured of privacy as a measure to protect them against harm. This meant that the publication should not make it clear from whom the answers were obtained ((Du Plooy, 2003).

(c) The researcher ensured that participants were were made aware of their right to voluntary participation which ensured their rights not to be coerced, deceived or pressurised to participate against their will. They were given contact details of Wits University officials including supervisors to report to should they felt that ethical issues were not observed Swanepoel and Mabeka (2018).

It must be noted that I obtained University clearance No. No.H18/11/15, which was basically a pledge I made as a student to observe all ethical issues when conducting my reserach. The declaration statement on page (i) also constitutes an ethical declaration against plagiarism.

3.15 **Scope of the study/Delimitation**

Even though the scope of the study was the entire country which implemented the land reform, I chose four farms in Darwendale namely Woodrow, Zaranyika, Shield and Elinda as the case study to observe how newly resettled farmers and ex farm workers functioned during the period of the land reform. I however had to interview national stakeholders to establish their views of what happened at national level.

3.16 **Concluding remarks**

This chapter has addressed methodological considerations made by the researcher pertaining to how the research obtained credible data that answered the research questions relating to the topic of study. The chapter also showed considerations made by the researcher in key aspects including identification and description of focal site of study in Darwendale, research design procedures, the blending of both scientific and non-scientific methods as data instrumentation tools and how research methodologies were applied during field surveys and literature reviews to acquire data, analyse and present it in Chapter Four.

It must however be mentioned as a way of methodological reflection and advice to up and forthcoming researchers that while the research offered a good experience of putting into practice a good roadmap for satisfying research needs for an exciting research topic to study the impacts of the Zimbabwean land reform on wildlife management, this research offers a classic example of a study that was adversely affected by Covid-19, which was one of the worst pandemics in living memory. The outbreak of the Corona pandemic which forced the entire global village into a protracted shut down not only brought challenges on how best to continue with research procedures whose implementation was almost at its midst, but also rendered the researcher (in his late 50s) more vulnerable to the pandemic which forced him to be hospitalised and even claimed lives of two members of his family almost at once.

The big academic lesson is that one should never take for granted the need to plan accordingly for unforeseeable threats and risks that may derail or completely shatter a good research plan that may appear so attractive on paper. It is important always to keep a record of cell phone numbers of potential interviewees so that when the most unusual disaster such as Covid 19 strikes, then cell phones and other digital facilities can come to the researcher's rescue as fall-back plans to replace face-to-face interviews and other social interactive methods that have traditionally prevailed in carrying out researches in the past. The researchers must therefore not take for granted the significance of internet facilities for communication. They also became so handy in facilitating interaction with my supervisor who also needed to direct the research proceedings during the time that the university was on shut down. It is interesting how I managed to interview a total of 90 members of national stakeholders by cell phone and still got the results I needed to complete the research.

CHAPTER FOUR

ANALYSIS OF RESEARCH FINDINGS

4.1 Introduction

Chapter Four is crucial for presenting the analysis of key research findings of the qualitative and quantifiable data collection processes carried out by the researcher with communities at the research site as well as other stakeholders at national level. The chapter showcases primary sources of data which according to Fulcher and Scott (2011) refers to a first-hand account of data produced by the researcher. The results presented are from surveys, participatory group discussions and interviews from national stakeholders which include present and ex RDC councillors/Chairmen who served in CAMPFIRE Board; a pool of NGOs and government institutions that provide services to RDCs including Zvimba RDCs which include national parks, academic institutions drawn from Universities, traditional CAMPFIRE Collaborative Group members and members of the tourism industry that serve under the umbrella body of Zimbabwe Council of Tourism (ZCT) and others. A total of 20 representatives inclusive of Board members and employees of these service provider organisations including Agricultural and Conservation Organisations are all enlisted as constituting one group of national stakeholders. As explained in Chapter Three, almost all the members of national stakeholders provide outreach services to RDCs including Zvimba while based mostly in Harare. Opinions of these expert organisations were also considered valid for comparison with opinions of communities where and when necessary. They were also important without being compared with communities since the organisations were privileged and institutionalised to participate in international bodies and conventions such as CITES, CBD, IUCN to develop insight on both national and international challenges pertaining to wildlife conservation and utilisation which grassroots communities are never mandated to participate.

4.2 Research questions

v. What progress had the post-independent government of Zimbabwe made by the year 2000 to decolonise the colonial superstructure and ensure that traditional values of ubuntu and wildlife conservation were restored as guiding principles for national development and sustainable living?

vi. To what extent did the government's socio-economic and political agenda to fast-track acquisition of farms and resettlement of people in former white-owned-farms compromise the need for proper land use planning that would enable people to protect and sustainably utilise wildlife species during the implementation period of the FTLRP?

vii. What socio-economic and ecological programmes and plans did the post-independent government put in place to conserve and sustainably utilise wildlife that existed in commercial farms when the FTLRP was launched in Zimbabwe in 2000?

viii. What capacity did government and other agencies have to monitor and control people to observe sound environmental conservation and sport hunting principles during the FTLRP?

4.3 **Demographic and background details of research participants**

The following key demographic details were obtained about the age, sex, language and occupations of 210 households that responded to questionnaires at the four farms in Darwendale namely Elinda, Woodrow, Shield and Zaranyika. The section also gives a broad picture of national conservation organisations that participated in the survey. The original idea for checking on the demographic details was to find out if such factors such as ethnic background, age, gender and occupations influenced the perspective communities had about wildlife conservation. To a certain extent, my hypothesis was proved true because the older the participants were, the more they showed a lenience towards cultural values for conservation of species or totems. The significance of demographic details were even more necessitated by the need to determine an estimate of how many of ex farm workers were allocated land and how many were left out on the basis of their foreign countries of decent considering that the Utete Report identified that some of the ex-farm workers left to go back at their countries of origin.

4.3.1 **Age of participants**

As shown on Fig 4.1, out of the total number of 210 people or households who responded to the questionnaires, 68 of them (32.5%) were aged between 46 and 55 years of age. The second largest group totalling 57 (27%) were aged 56 and over. A total of 42 (20%) of them however were aged between 18 and 21 (11%) while those aged between 25 and 35 totalled 22. The smallest group was that of the age 36 to 45 who had a total number of 21 respondents.

Focus group participants were randomly picked men and women aged between 20 and 75 years old.

It is however not clear why the population sizes of questionnaire respondents among communities varied as they did. The most likely explanation is that young people tend to shun high labour-intensive activities such as agriculture and thus tend to dwell in cities either looking for employment or working in informal sector.

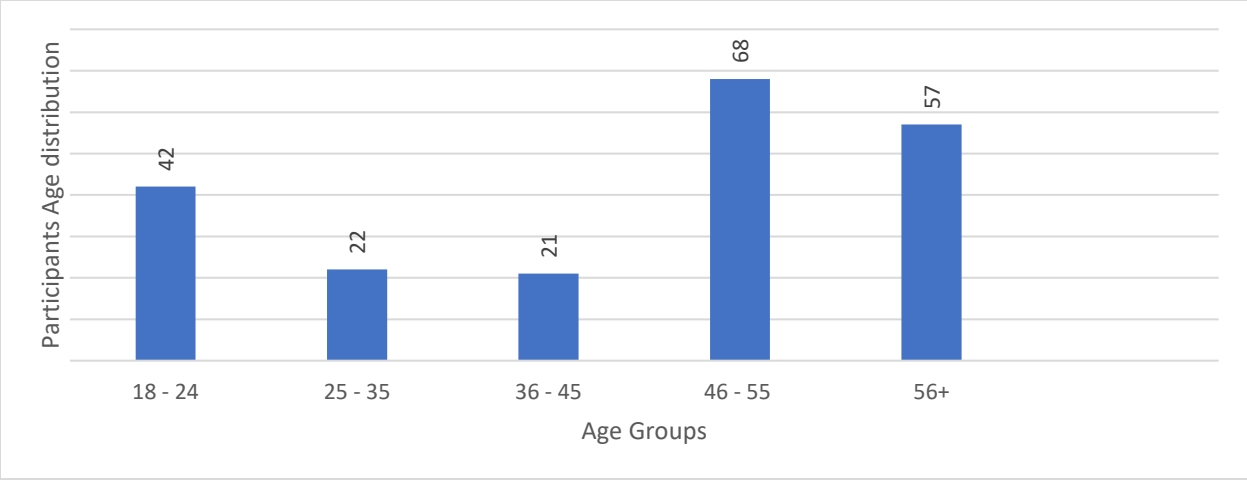

Fig 4.1 **Age of Participants**

4.3.2 Occupational breakdown of Darwendale communities

Fig 4.2 showcases different occupations of communities interviewed at Darwendale farms. The majority, who totalled 114, stated their occupations as farmers, followed by 46 who said they were housewives. 28 stated their occupation as vendors/ traders who sold different good such as clothing, vegetables, fish and many others. A small number of 15 respondents however included religious leaders such as church priests, spirit medium, wood-carvers, policemen and entertainers and the remaining 7 mentioned other undefined support-service roles.

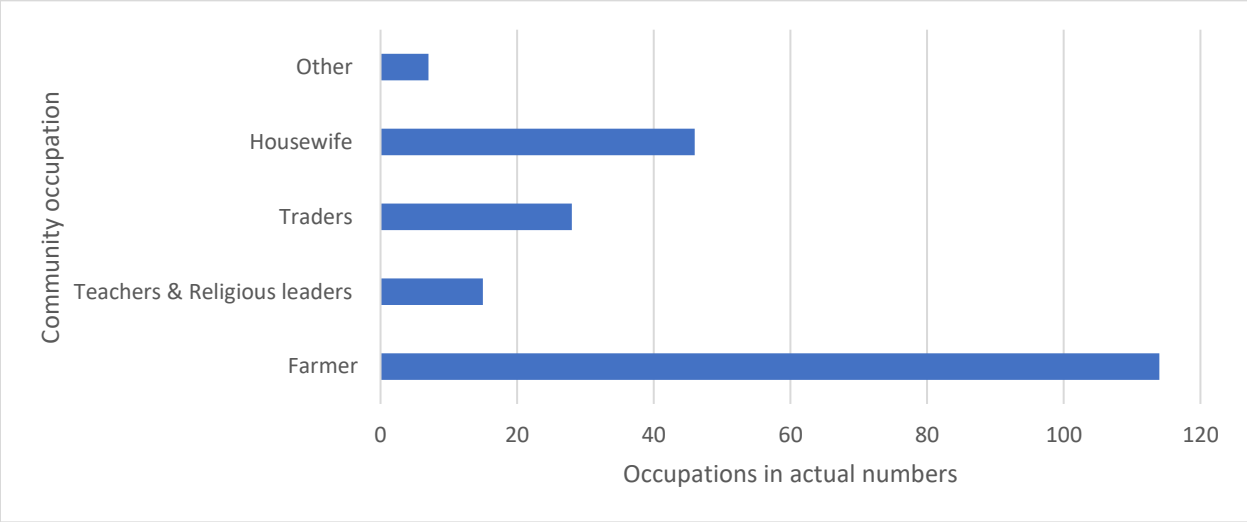

Fig 4.2 **Occupational breakdown of communities interviewed at four Darwendale farms**

It was not easy to establish the careers of many who worked in towns as these were represented mostly by their wives, husbands, caretakers or relatives domiciled at the site who responded to interviews in their own capacity.

4.3.3 **Gender**

66 percent of all 210 respondents were female while the 34 percent were males. Males seemed to be outnumbered because a significant number of them worked in urban areas and hence were represented by their wives. There was also no gender balance in the composition of the focus group interviewees where 60 percent were female and 40 percent males.

4.3.4 **Ethnic identity of Darwendale Communities**

A total of 189 people stated their ethnic identity as Shona while the rest of the remainder mentioned other groups such as Nyanja and Ndebele.

National stakeholders interviewed

GROUP	CATEGORIES OF PARTICIPANTS	TOTAL
Conservation Organisations	• Several Govt Ministries including Agriculture, Environment, Rural Development • Conservation NGOs • Government Parastatals and Boards for Wildlife, Agriculture, Natural Resources, Rural Development & Law Enforcement • University Departments teaching Wildlife, Natural Resource Management, Rural Development	20

Table 4.1 **Breakdown of National stakeholders**

4.4 **Decolonization of the colonial superstructure**

This section addresses the first research question of the study which sought to assess progress made by the post-independent government of Zimbabwe to decolonise the colonial superstructure and ensure that traditional values of ubuntu and wildlife conservation were restored as guiding principles for national development and sustainable living by the year 2000? It must be mentioned from the onset that the concept of restorative justice does not suggest that power be returned to Mwenemutapa successors but that true information about the significance of the Mwenemutapa/Nehanda spiritual system of ubuntu and conservation of natural resources should be correctly taught and explained to people who for centuries were made to believe that ancestral worship was not only evil, but also paganism. What makes this objective of study important is not just the importance that the ubuntu values as enforced by the Mwenemutapa or spirit medium played in conservation of wildlife and natural resources in particular, but the double standards applied by the West to condemn ancestral worship by Africans, while promoting it through praise of feng shui as practised mainly in Asia (Brown, 1997; Collins, 1999; Heaton 1998; Kingston, 1996). The

fundamental question that arises is whether it is not ironic that the same Western juggernaut that condemned African spirituality as paganism because of its respect and belief in ancestral worship is the one taking a lead in advocating and praising feng shui of Asia for its socio-cultural values which are based on the same principles of ancestral worship that earned the Mwenemutapa/Nehanda system the most vitriolic condemnation as paganism? This just goes to show why the Zimbabwean government needs to abandon its senseless philosophy of Munhumutapa migration and adopt the correct teaching of the cultural history of the Mwenemutapa Mhondoro spirit which played a central role not only in promoting ubuntu and conservation of natural resources, but also in defending rights of local communities from benefitting from their natural resources.

It must however be stated that the set of questions for this particular section on restorative justice proved to be a mouthful for respondents to address during the survey with communities. This was because many people who were not aware of the Mwenemutapa/Nehanda literature which is never taught in schools could not see how the colonial system had worked to distance local Bantu people from relating ubuntu and wildlife conservation as fundamental principles that the Mhondoro (lion) spirit advocated before the coming of white people and Christianity in the region. Thus, there was so much confusion among communities with regards to answering questions about Zimbabwean culture and spiritual beliefs. 68 percent felt that it was against modernization and Christian ethics to be identified openly with spirit mediums. 44 percent felt that the Mwari religion only referred to Christianity and not necessarily to the African traditional belief system that involved spirit mediums which also called the creator "Mwari". This is perhaps why when communities at Darwendale farms were asked to indicate their religion, 193 (90%) of the respondents said they were Christians, while 12 said they were Moslems and the rest said they had no religion. Not even a single person admitted to worshipping through spirit mediums. It was interesting that even a traditional healer interviewed said he was a Christian who went to Church on Sunday.

Although all of the 16 participants in the focus group interview mentioned that they had a totem, only 7 admitted to not eating the symbol of their totem, while the rest said they would eat their totem. Interestingly 6 admitted that they would marry a spouse of their totem while 8 said they would never. When asked if they knew where Mbuya Nehanda was buried 10 said they did not know while 6 stated that they did not care. One outspoken member in the focus group castigated worshipping through spirit mediums saying that was the reason why there was so much poverty in Africa. One male participant even stood up in condemnation of those who still followed spiritual worship saying:

> *These are the people who still take back development in Zimbabwe. Zimbabwe could have developed far better like Western countries were it not for believing in ancestors and not Jesus*

Christ. How can one worship through spirit mediums in this day and age when Jesus said we should never worship any other Gods? Spirit mediums only cause a curse to the families that still worship through them.

None of the participants ever admitted knowing anything about the wars that were fought by Makorekore people and the Mwenemutapa in the Zambezi Valley since the 1500s. They all said Zimbabwean history they knew mentioned nothing about the pre-1890 wars.

However, the topic about spiritual worship assumed interesting dimensions when 11 participants of the focus group interview admitted that they consulted n'angas (sangomas) and spirit mediums when in need of medical help while 3 members of the Apostolic Faith were adamant that they did not take any medication because they believed in the power of prayer for healing. All members also could not distinguish between 'sangomas' and spirit mediums although 8 said they had a hazy understanding of the difference between the Mhondoro supreme spirit medium and the family/clan spirit medium. It was generally agreed that the Mhondoro spirit medium ceased to be effective when Mbuya Nehanda was hanged by the colonial government in 1898. A total of 13 of them however said the frequency of natural disasters might be some reaction by Christian God to lack of faith by the youth who emulated drug-taking and loose lifestyles of Western people as viewed in the media.

All members in the group also agreed with protests allegedly staged by citizens in Zimbabwe against Minister Dokora in 2017 who is said to have proposed to change the syllabus in schools so that students can learn new things about Mwenemutapa. The general consensus was that researches about 'Munhumutapa' as taught in Zimbabwean schools sounded good enough and to make any further changes in curriculum would only overburden school children with excess academic baggage when they should focus on developing scientific and business skills that bring development. One school teacher who participated in the focus group discussion said:

Minister Dokora was only bent on confusing our children. I think the education system inherited from the colonial era was one of the best in the world. I see nothing new that there was to learn about Munhumutapa (meaning Mwenemutapa).

However, previous researches that had been conducted revealed that traditional leaders since independence were not happy with the modernisation approach used by the Mugabe regime to side-line Chiefs from playing their traditional role in managing land and people to adhere to wildlife management in line with traditional beliefs. Very angry complaints about government's lack of concern to restore traditional values on conservation were expressed by Chief Chihota in a survey whose results were

published in the media in May 1993 (Kasere, 1993). In an interview, Chief Chiota, who was over 100 years old complained of how the post-independent government had since independence provoked droughts and other natural disasters because of total revulsion of cultural practices of conservation practices because of their determination to embrace a modernization culture that was brought about by white people who had no regard about the African civilization on natural resource management. He complained that instead of allowing chiefs foster African conservation values renowned, the government replaced them with modernization structures managed by councillors who treated African civilization as primitive and backward and counter developmental (Kasere, 1993).

Angered by being disempowered from enforcing conservation principles, Chief Chihota said:

> *There is nothing new to us about calls for the protection and sustainable use of both renewable and non-renewable environmental resources…Zimbabweans traditionally conserved certain forests, animals, snakes and trees which they believed to be sacred. Most of these have since disappeared, partly because of colonial economic interests, and partly because of an almost total revulsion of anything traditional by the post-independent 'rational administration '*(Kasere, 1993).

The chief said it was sad that the government was failing to realise the true value of chiefs as custodians of the environment. In reference to post-independent government and people in general the chief said:

> *Our children, for the past 11 years have been pretending they know nothing about our role, beliefs and way of life. They introduced new administrative laws (the Communal Lands Act), which completely side-lined us from playing our meaningful role to safeguard our sacred forests* (Kasere, 1993).

But the most intriguing question which could not be brought forward for community discussion is on how the Mugabe and ZANU PF led government were able to sweep under the carpet the whole 500-year history of how Nehanda and her Mwenemutapa ancestors battled to resist imperialist manoeuvres to salvage gold and other precious resources such as ivory from the country (Kasere, 2021). It is not clear why the government chose the approach of not teaching anything about the Mwenemutapa and decided instead to potray Mwenemutapa as a legend of Mutota or Munhumutapa who, according to House et al (2016), migrated from a place near Zimbabwe Monument in modern day Masvingo, and said to have travelled for about 500 kilometers on foot to go and search for salt in the Zambezi valley where he then conquered Matavara (Makorekore) to become Munhumutapa (Government's version of what white people described as Monomutapa (which was essentially Mwene Mutapa not Munhumutapa).[25]

[25] It may be interesting to read discussion in Chapter Five which attributes the Mwenemutapa philosophy to God's holiness (ubuntu) and the Munhumutapa being linked to the unholy or Satanic philosophy that can kill humans for wealth and power.

In an article, Kasere (2022) showed how deficient the hypothesis of Mutota migration was which made it necessary for Minister Dokora to seek to teach the correct history of Mwenemutapa which is said to have been resisted by parents when the Minister of Education proposed to revamp the curriculum. It may be worthwhile to note that it was because of the height of embarrassment and falsehoods taught to Zimbabwean schools about the fictitious legend of Mutota that led Kasere S reacted by publishing his first article on Mwenemutapa which was entitled "Stop teaching rubbish about Mwenemutapa" (Kasere, 2017). Kasere (2017) pointed out that the behaviour of government smacked of serious contempt of Makorekore as evidenced by the fact that the government, which had changed many names of cities, towns, roads and buildings, could not even see sense in changing the name Mt Darwin in recognition that it was the capital of Mwenemutapa/Nehanda whom so-called liberation war fighters kidnapped to Mozambique where they then buried her in a shallow grave leaving her head above the ground to make it easier to hack off her head at night for onward submission to a guerrilla or rather 'terrorist' leader who wanted to use it for rituals.

It was then that Kasere published in 2017 a follow up article entitled "Mwenemutapa: The Untold Story of Agony Behind Portuguese Gold Rush in Zimbabwe". The article cited here as Kasere (2021) revealed all the hidden history that connected Mbuya Nehanda to her rightful Korekore blood line in the Zambezi valley which the government of Robert Mugabe and the subsequent one did not want people to know for very suspicious reasons as they take a confusing road which does not only does not reveal the truth about Mbuya Nehanda, but also confuse people by advocating a theory of Mutota migration which does not fit into the true historical analysis described in Chapter Two in which Portuguese people massacred Makorekore and even recruited fake Christian Mwenemutapa vassals such as Gatsi Rusere when the true Nehanda/Kasere/Mwenemutapa could not even be forced by threats of being killed to bequeath the Zimbabwe's heritage of gold and wildlife (ivory) to Europeans who thought they had better use and need for the resources back home in Europe. What is even more sad is that by denying Africans the correct information, the government also closed people the broad knowledge about conservation and sustainable utilisation of natural resources which the Nehanda/Mwenemutapa Mhondoro spirit enforced (Kasere in Alyanak, 1996).

One thing that will never be established is whether President Mugabe deliberately prevented Zimbabweans to know the truth about their history or was just genuinely ignorant about it. It does not seem as if President Mugabe, educated as he was, would choose not to teach correct literature in schools without a reason. This is because his long-term Minister of Higher Education Dr Stanley Mudenge, did his PhD thesis on the wars fought by Mwenemutapa in the late 1500s when Portugal sent troops under Roy Barretto to try and kill

Mwenemutapa and his people. Surely, the President must have known enough about the wars hence selecting Mudenge for the job. Could Zimbabweans have been deliberately denied knowledge about their spiritual heritage because the President was a devout Catholic who chose not to want to reveal atrocities that his Church committed in the name of Christian crusade? Or could it be that he believed so much in propaganda that Makorekore were inferior people and fancying himself to be a'Zezuru' the Mugabe leadership could not be brought to the shame of teaching anything positive about Mwenemutapa and Makorekore people? This is further confirmed by his fore-wording a book in which ZANU PF wanted Mbuya Nehanda to be thought of as a Zezuru woman who came from Zvimba and not the Zambezi Valley (Martin and Johnson, 1981). The suspicion that the President used Mbuya Nehanda's remains for rituals is quite strong. This is because up to now Mbuya Nehanda's remains have not been handed over for burial to her only grandson's family that resides in the Zvimba area despite claims made in Martin and Johnson (1981) that the government leadership asked for Mbuya Nehanda's grave in Mozambique to be exhumed so that Mbuya Nehanda could be properly reburied in Zimbabwe. There is a lot of information about the Supreme Kasere family that have never been published which could have helped academics understand how the Mwenemutapa spirit operated which makes the theory of Mutota migration nonsensical. White people, who started the hypothesis of a Mutota who must have migrated to the Zambezi, not only did they not know that Mwenemutapa was a spirit medium, but had long disproved the hypothesis (Main, 1990), which the post-independent government fancied as correct due to ignorance.that resulted from lack of research and reasoning. A closer examination of the history documented in this thesis starting from the time Vasco da Gama discovered the existence of Mwenemutapa aound 1490s show that the Mutota (Munhumutapa) legend is not only nonsensical, but a fable that constitutes the most shameful negation of accurate reality.

As Kasere (2023) argued, the Mwenemutapa only incarnated in one family since the death of the African Adam. This is because the spirit was designed to be passed on from one generation to another through sexual reproduction. argued, reversed the hn . in every generation of the blood line. Like Mbuya Nehanda, the chosen would suffer a lot because of refusing to be swallowed by the *natural* evils of riches and be inspired to want to fight for the cause of the common good for ubuntu without necessarily wanting to seek personal glory, recognition and riches. A lot could have been allowed for academics to understand how Mwenemutapa in man and Nehanda in woman were probably linked to Adam's spirit of the Mhondoro which was decentralised throughout the world to produce self-less people like Jesus Christ, Gutama (Buddha), and many others who were simply chosen for persecution during their time because the rich establishments always seek to show their power by killing those inspired by God (like hanging of Nehanda

– wrong one for that matter) simply because they have to accumulate wealth and political power in order to abuse or oppress the majority of people in the world.

It is interesting to observe that during interviews with communities in Darwendale, the researcher could not put the words into the mouths of respondents to narrate the true history of the land of Ophir including Zimbabwe which the post-independent government decided not to teach in the country. However, in a one-on-one interview with the teacher who opposed former Minister Dokora's attempts to teach the truth about Mwenemutapa, the researcher questioned whether the lady believed there was anything holiness about Mbuya Nehanda which deserved teaching. Her response was a blatant NO as she said in vernacular Shona that the researcher's question was now trying to remove her from her Christan God. Her exact response was:

> *Mave kundibisa pana Mwari*.

She then went on to show off about her Christian faith which she distanced from Mbuya Nehanda and spirit mediums saying:

> *As far as I am concerned, there is only one God, the Christian God. Our Christian faith condemns spirit mediums as evil. Sorry I do not see anything holy about Mbuya Nehanda*.

When she was asked whether there was any significance for wildlife conservation in the concept of the supreme Mhondoro spirit which possessed Mbuya Nehanda and her ancestors, the respondent in reply repeated her faith in God and begged to be excused from commenting on anything concerning spirit mediums.

4.4.1 Question to determine post-independent government's progress to decolonise the farming and the wildlife sectors

The subject on the progress made by the Zimbabwean government to decolonise/indigenise the farming and wildlife industry opened up a Pandora's Box of emotions among both national stakeholder interviews as well as in focus group interviews with communities. The major point of departure for the discussion with national stakeholders in particular was the statement issued by President Mugabe at the aftermath of the shooting of Cecil Lion in 2015 when the claimed not to know how much foreign clients paid to hunt wild animals through sport hunting. In his response the President said: "What they pocket from the killings has…remained a mystery" (Takunda Maodza, Chronicle, 22 June 2015).

President Mugabe even went on to describe trophy hunting as “a sin” and “vandalism” of the West, and said he was unhappy with the manner foreign trophy hunters operated tête-à-tête with largely white safari operators to shoot animals without the knowledge of government (Feney, 2015; Sieff, 2015). Many RDC officials believed the President was playing dumb about how white people benefited hugely from trophy hunting while giving very little benefits to rural communities. This is because, as admitted by about 4 RDC officials in interviews, Ministers, including those from the President’s family were already forging links with white hunters to grab hunting tenders at Rural District Councils.

One member of the safari industry said it was not possible that the President, who presided over CAMPFIRE policies and activities for many years would not know enough about trophy hunting. One RDC official said ministers particularly close to the President were running safari operations and there was no way the President would claim ignorance about how much trophy hunting generated in Zimbabwe. In his own words, one respondent from the Conservation Organisations said:

> *I think the President was playing a game of bluff so that he would appear ignorant of the need to formalise trophy hunting activities through a properly constituted indigenisation plan discussed in parliament*.

He said with perhaps a lot to hide, the President knew better that an indigenisation plan, formulated by a properly constituted Parliamentary Committee, would have invited scrutiny of undercover safari operations that implicated his ministers who were probably already benefiting heftily from trophy hunting incomes that were deposited in offshore accounts.

As stated by one Conservation Organisation member interviewed:

> *It should not be forgotten that the department of national parks is a baby of government. Its clear that it was the President who appointed all board members including whites such as Professor Marshall Murphree who served as his adviser and the brains behind formation and management of CAMPFIRE. Murphree deputised and even chaired the Parks Board for many decades during President Mugabe’s long period of rule.*

Many other Rural development agencies also doubted the genuineness of the President’s claims that he did not know enough about trophy hunting. Stating his position, one ex-CAMPFIRE Counsillor said:

Yes, his government might have deferred to whites the responsibility to run the CAMPFIRE and other wildlife initiatives, but it is just hard to believe he would not know much about value of wildlife and how much trophies of lions and elephant fetched in international markets.

He believed the top leadership had joined hands with safari operators to take charge of trophy hunting. He said it was most likely because of selfish interests to avoid advertising benefits they enjoyed from a secret cash cow (trophy hunting) that the top leadership played blind to the plight of indigenising the safari industry that would have needed a complete overhaul through the country's 2000 land reform programme. One Professor of natural resource management interviewed also exonerated white safari operators for allegedly banking their money in offshore accounts saying:

You know how notorious the government in Zimbabwe and many other African countries have been in managing monetary and fiscal issues in the past. A government can just wake up one morning declaring that all foreign currency in local banks be liquidated using ridiculous rates which will be tantamount to robbing people of their money.

He even gave an example of how Idi Amin suddenly turned against Asians who may never want again to bank their foreign currencies in banks. Saying it like he was a proponent of the rational choice model, the Professor said:

It all boils down to bad governance in Africa. We owe it to ourselves to put our governance in order so people can trust our banks.

4.4.2 **Zimbabwe's Shoot to kill Policy as symptom of neo-colonialist policy that prioritized wildlife welfare over human lives**

Although the shoot to kill policy was not part of the original questions for discussion, the subject arose after a stormy discussion in the focus group meetings when an elderly woman expressed her displeasure in having wildlife projects in newly acquired farms because she had a bad memory of how her son was killed by national parks rangers allegedly for poaching. The old lady was paranoid because she knew that the government's department of national parks was the final custodian of wildlife in Zimbabwe and felt that by accepting a wildlife project implied automatically the involvement of national parks. It was after the focus group discussion that as researcher I incorporated the question for interviews with national stakeholders so that I would get their opinions.

At the peak of discussion on wildlife ventures in focus group interview at Darwendale farms, one old woman stood up and demanded that her name be published in protest about her son who was killed at the age of 26 for allegedly poaching in the Zambezi valley. When told that the names of participants will not be mentioned, the lady only identified here by the pseudonym Mai Matiki, objected to the idea of anonymity saying:

> *You must publish my name, please. Why should you hide my identity when my son was killed by national parks officials in 1998?*

During the interview, Mai Matiki fumed when it was suggested by one of the participants that perhaps her son was shot probably because he carried a gun. She objected to the allegation saying:

> *No! My son never carried a gun. My son and his two friends only had dogs, sticks, and catapults as their only weapons since they were hunting smaller games including hares and birds for the pot. They shot my son and placed a gun on his side to make it look like he was hunting elephants for ivory.*

Many participants in the focus group interview stated that they resented embarking on wildlife projects because of the anti-poaching laws that prevailed in the country. The point was stated strongly by one participant in the focus group interviews who said:

> *We would rather stick to agriculture if the management of wildlife invites bullets on the chests of our children.*

However, during interviews, all three categories of stakeholder participants were asked whether they thought Zimbabwe's shoot to kill policy for poachers was the most desirable approach in controlling poaching in the country? The results of interviews with Conservation organisations showed that national stakeholders did not have vast differences on how they felt regarding the manner poachers had to be dealt with. Forty-nine percent of Conservation organisations interviewed said yes, the shoot to kill policy was necessary while 51 percent disapproved. Most of those who said yes to the shoot to kill policy, justified their decision on grounds that a war with poachers was a big risky for anti-poaching units or game rangers. They stated that if an armed poacher saw a parks official first, he would open fire to shoot to kill a ranger. Because of that, a parks ranger would be expected to behave wiser to shoot the poacher first before the poacher saw him.

4.4.3 **Lack of conscientization about white racism in farms: a decolonization pitfall**

Further interviews with both communities and national stakeholders showed mixed feelings about the existence of white racism and its effects in Zimbabwe's former white-owned commercial farms. This discussion was important to establish whether people agreed or disagreed with the President's 2000 Independence Holiday's hate speech which, in inciting people to take-over land, condemned white people as the snake (Theroux, 2003). While many newly resettled farmers and ex-farm workers seemed shy to express condemnation of white racism, when interviewed as individuals, many showed more sympathy and appreciation for white farmers than the general picture of hatred for white people that prevailed politically at national level.

Nevertheless, many ex-farm workers in face-to-face interviews showed bitterness with their former white employers for having left without paying full salaries and wages, but did not understand it as suggestive of white racism. One ex-farm worker seemed to have developed affection for her former white employer when she disagreed with a statement that alleged that white farmers were racists who treated Africans with discrimination. In her response, she categorically rejected the statement saying in Shona:

> ***Handibvumirane nazvo kuti varungu vaive nerusarura ganda. Handifunge kuti vanhu vatema vachatipa mari svinu kana tavashandira. Varungu vanga vachitinzwisisa kudsarika vatema vanongoda kutishandisa kuti ivo vapfume kwete kupa mushandi.***

When translated into English the response read:

> *I do not agree that white farmers were racist. I do not think our fellow Africans will pay us well if we work for them in their newly acquired farms. White people used to understand us better than black farm-owners who want to bank as much profits for themselves without paying workers.*

However, diverse opinions were expressed by national stakeholders about existence of racism in the wildlife and tourism industries. One manager at a big hotel in Harare said she experienced so much racism when she went for attachment as student at a safari camp where she worked mostly in catering and cleaning department but could never be allowed to work in the finance department. She felt that it was ironic that the white safari operator on one hand refused to pay her any allowances, but then on the other required her to wake up as early as 5 am to clean floors and wash dishes. She noticed that many international clients who she saved were far from being racist. Many tourists, especially from the U.S. were actually advised by

our local white employers never to be social with us or to give us any tips. Narrating her experience about white racism that had continued since independence, the safari industry manager said:

> *Some of the tourists from the U.S. would give us heavy tips on the day of their departure but warned us never to reveal to our local white employers that they gave us money and clothes on departure.*

While the majority of conservation organisations (90%) expressed serious reservations on why donors preferred to send funds through white CCG members, one University academic justified it on lack of trust that the international community had with black people especially governments because of high levels of corruption that were rife among blacks in Africa. He said:

> *We can't blame the international community for preferring to send aid through white people. Our leaders have shown that they cannot be trusted with money. Perhaps the international community was more rational in trusting white people better than African leaders with regards to helping communities. I think white CCG members did far better to help communities than any black leadership could have done.* .

An ex-Parks Board member interviewed stated that the whole issue about aid going to whites and whites running the show must be blamed on government leadership. He said there was no way a virtually white only CCG leadership in Zimbabwe could have managed to receive funds, create and run a CAMPFIRE programme for as many years if they did not have the blessing of the top leadership of the country. Emphasising his point, the ex-Parks Board member said:

> *Do not forget that the bulk of the USAID funding which was spent in Harare by organisations headed mainly by white CCG members was a bilateral or government to government grant. I think the whites of Zimbabwe were probably even shrewder in hooking the top leadership in Zimbabwe so much that one would think the African leadership was not aware of how black communities were languishing in poverty while white people exchanged millions of United States dollars abroad.*

4.5 Section C: The agenda for FTLRP and how speed compromised planning for wildlife protection

This section presents data obtained in line with the second research question of the study which reads: "How far did the political agenda to speedily takeover white owned farms compromise government planning to facilitate newly resettled farmers to conserve and sustainably utilise wildlife during the implementation stage of the FTLRP?" The question first looks at the opinion of respondents on whose political agenda it was for instituting the land reform in 2000 and also whether the fastness entailed in FTLRP compromised the need to properly plan and acquit newly resettled farmers and other users for the task to protect and sustainably utilise wildlife species during the difficult times of implementation of the land reform programme.

All 20 members of the Conservation Organizations and communities in Darwendale were asked their opinion about whose agenda they thought prevailed most in pushing for the Fast Track Land Reform Programme in Zimbabwe. They were asked to tick only one answer selected from (a) to (e) which they agreed with. The options were as follows:

(a) The agenda was a mass revolutionary agenda represented by war veterans to recover land that had been unfairly taken by white people during the colonial period
(b) Agenda was for the political elite in the ruling party who wanted to appropriate large tracts of land for their economic ego
(c) The agenda was for Presidential self-serving interests to attack white people who, together with the West were seen as garnering support for the newly established MDC party to oust the President and ZANU PF.
(d) To prove that power politics would prevail over the democratic rights of people who had just voted NO to the 2000 referendum which proposed to give the President powers of repossessing land from whites without compensation

There were no strong variations among communities in their response to the question of whether the agenda for FTLRP was revolutionarily determined to help communities acquire land for survival and development or whether it was motivated by greed of the elite who wanted power and wealth for their own empowerment. The responses by stakeholders and communities are as captured in Fig 4.3 below:

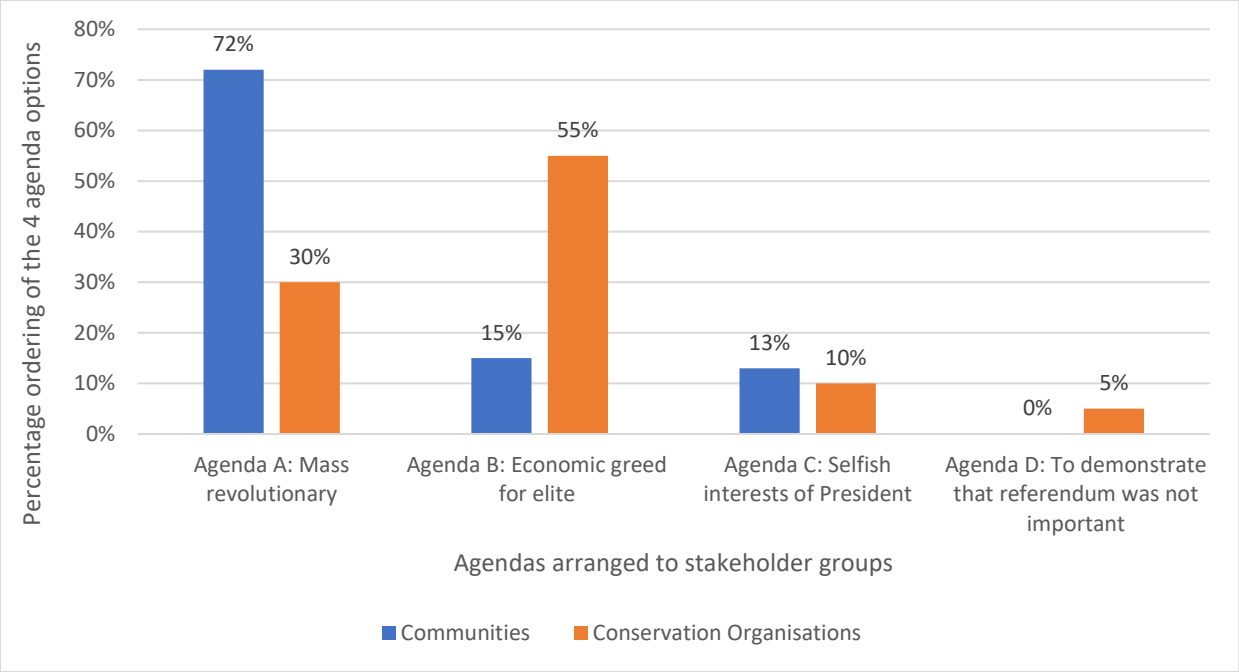

Fig 4.3 **Community and Stakeholders' opinions on the driving factors for the 2000 land reform programme**

As shown on Fig 4.3, 72 percent of communities said the agenda for the land reform was a mass revolutionary expression followed by 15 percent who said the agenda reflected economic greed for the elite. 30 percent of the conservation organisations said the agenda was a reflection of mass revolutionary interests but 55 percent said it was carried out to serve economic greed of the elite. Only 13 percent of conservation organisations said the agenda was for selfish interests of the President while 5 percent said the FTLRP reflected a demonstration of power politics by the ruling party which wanted to show that the NO vote by people on the referendum was of no consequenceOpinions of communities on the agendas for land reform

As shown on fig 4.4 below, when broken down to constituencies, the highest percentage of respondents who said the agenda for the land reform was for the good of masses were from Shield farm. According to the statistics, 28 respondents (61%) of Shield respondents said the FTLRP agenda was for the public good while 10 respondents (22%) said the agenda was for selfish reasons of the elite who wanted to get huge farms for themselves. Only 17 percent said the agenda was politically motivated to out-perform opposition. Results were almost the same for the other farms where 64% in Elinda, 65% Zaranyika and 49% Woodrow said the agenda was mass driven, while 24% Elinda; 20% Zaranyika and 28% Woodrow said the agenda was for self-serving interests of leaders to get wealth for themselves.

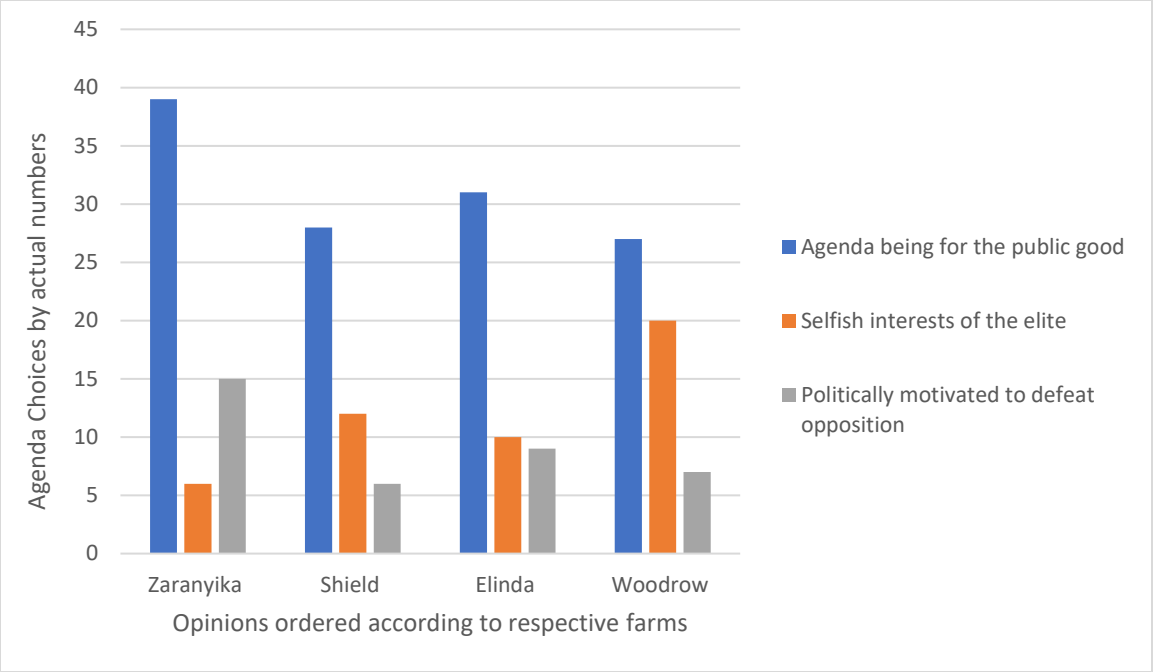

Fig 4.4 Opinions of communities expressed according to each farm

The opinion of communities at Darwendale Farms seemed consistent throughout beginning from self-administered questionnaire interviews to articulations in focus group discussions. The concept of public good was explained on the questionnaire as representing the interests of people in general as opposed to the interest of the elite. The majority of the focus group participants maintained that grass-roots people needed land and they had faith that the agenda for taking over land was to economically empower the masses many of whom lacked employment. But further interviews with national stakeholders showed diversity of opinions. One University lecturer interviewed expressed reservations on the mass-driven agenda and stated that what logically seemed to have sparked the war for land in 2000 were personal interests by President Mugabe to remain in power. The Prof felt that the whole thing must have started as a farce to show the President's lack of enthusiasm with white people and the west who seemed to have shifted their support to the newly formed MDC party which had become too popular in the polls. This, according to the Professor came out more clearly when state media showed pictures of white people dining with opposition leader Morgan Tsvangirai and also when state media went on an attacking spree on the role played by white farmers to provide transport to farm workers so they could vote NO to the 2000 referendum.

The Prof also expressed the opinion that the leadership of the country seemed hurt by the voting behaviour which showed that people were in preference of the MDC and therefore tried to sabotage the smooth

running of the economy so that people would feel what it meant to jilt the leader who had done so much to liberate the country. The violent takeover of farms looked like sabotage by the President who felt that if he had to go down, then he had to go down with the economy too which he arrogantly attributed to his revolutionary risks of going to war of liberation. Reiterating on his suspicion for economic sabotage, the Professor said:

> *The President and ZANU PF were in power for 20 years and so knew beforehand that the Zimbabwean economy was so intricately tied to the white people and the West for survival. By instituting the fast-track land reform, they knew there would be reactions that would create hardships and pandemonium which would adversely affect ordinary people.*

According to the Professor, this seemed to be clear sabotage because the behaviour of government seemed unconcerned about minimizing damage to the economy as much as possible.

The Prof also expressed reservations on the speed with which the government rushed to take-over 3000 farms knowing fully well that Zimbabwe, as a developing country lacked financial resources to help newly resettled people without support from the West.

4.5.1 Opinion of stakeholders on impact of fast track on conservation

Stakeholders were further asked to indicate the extent to which they agreed or disagreed with the view that protection of wildlife during Zimbabwe's land reform exercise could have been better achieved if government had opted for a slower, cautious and better planned method of identifying underutilised land for takeover as opposed to a wholesome fast track crash programme that characterised the 2000 land reform programme. It is interesting that the majority of all conservation organisations national stakeholders strongly agreed that fast track approach was less conducive to protection of wildlife especially in newly resettled farms than a more carefully planned-out phasing of farm takeover that would have allowed government to put effective institutions on the ground not only to identify land that was not being fully utilised, but to also protect and allow sustainable utilisation of wildlife resources in the country especially during the drought periods that greeted the FTLRP in 2000 and thereafter.

The question was however posed to communities in the four Darwendale Farms to indicate whether they agreed or disagreed with the statement that the 2000 land reform era worsened the plight for wildlife conservation because of government's prioritisation of agriculture over other land use forms such as wildlife management. Results showed that a total of 39 people in Zaranyika agreed with the statement while

10 strongly agreed. 6 people disagreed while only 5 strongly disagreed. In Shield, 31 people agreed and 6 people strongly agreeing with the statement that the 2000 land reform era worsened the plight of wildlife conservation because of government's prioritisation of agriculture over other land use forms such as wildlife management. 3 people disagreed with only 1 person strongly disagreeing.

Similar patterns of results were also observed in both Woodrow and Elinda where 31 and 30 households respectively agreed with the statement. Nine households and 11 in Woodrow and Elinda respectively strongly agreed with seven and six respectively disagreeing. Also seven households in Woodrow and three in Elinda strongly disagreed with the statement that the 2000 land reform era worsened the plight of wildlife conservation because of government's prioritisation of agriculture over other land use forms such as wildlife management.

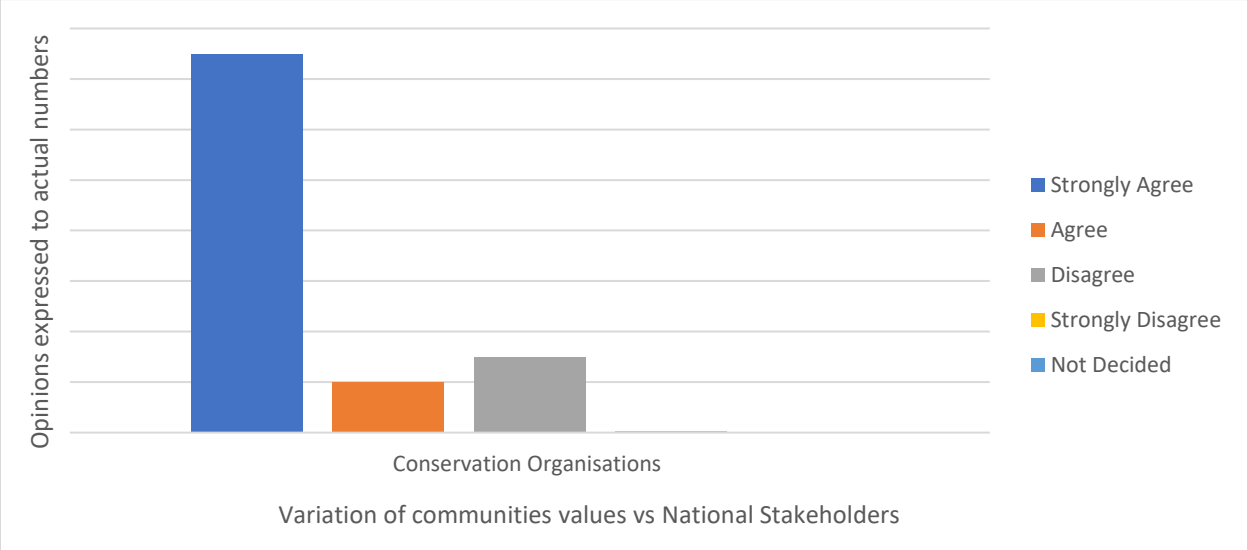

Fig 4.5 **Graphic opinion of conservation organisations on effects of fast-track on wildlife conservation**

National conservation organisations were also asked if they agreed or disagreed with the statement that the 2000 land reform era worsened the plight for wildlife conservation because of government's prioritisation of agriculture over other land use forms such as wildlife management. They were given four options of (a*) strongly agree*; (b) agree; (c) *disagree* and (d) *strongly disagree*.
Results showed that 15 respondents strongly disagreed that fast track worsened the plight of wildlife while 2 simply agreed and three disagreed.

Further follow up discussion on the decision to embark on fast track drew more emotional responses in one-to-one interviews held with national stakeholder organisations. One NGO representative in the

Conservation group agreed that speed compromised efficiency in protecting wildlife. She stated that the government should have first done a sustainable land use plan so that institutions would have been put in place to protect wildlife at the time white people were being removed from farms. She said that only agricultural service organisations seemed to have been drawn by government to spearhead the distribution of land while wildlife experts including national parks and conservation organisations were left out. A national park official also agreed that the parks never had an active role and was completely overlooked by government during the FTLRP which seemed to be strictly agrarian.

The general consensus among national stakeholders was that that not enough measures were put in place to protect wildlife because of the rush to resettle as many people as possible within a short time. Thus, in a survey, out of the total 60 national stakeholders interviewed, 19 *strongly agreed* with the statement that the fast-track method endangered wildlife; 22 *agreed*; 17 *disagreed* while only 2 *strongly disagreed*.
One white member of the conservation organisations scoffed at the suggestion that the land reform was driven by genuine revolutionary needs to provide land to the landless. She confirmed the point that white commercial farmers, through the Commercial Farmers Union had long foreseen the need to work with government to identify vast tracks of land that lay idle in commercial farms to resettle people who needed land. In her own words she said:

> *The government could have planned the process of land reform carefully by identifying communities who they wanted to settle on commercial farms where land was not fully utilized. But to the shock of everyone, government chose a non-consultative process to invade whatever farm that looked lucrative without following a proper planned process for resettling people.*

4.5.2 **Absence of a proper land-needs assessment: A sign of a rushed and unplanned work**

A big sign that the fast-track land reform of 2000 was rushed without any proper planning for it was the absence of a prior land-needs assessment exercise carried out by the government to show that there was knowledge about how many people needed land. As one NGO representative said: “Everyone was shocked by the lack of proper planning and absence of a land-needs assessment.” Several respondents from almost every group of national stakeholders during long-ranging personal interviews expressed misgivings about the manner the land reform was fast-tracked without having conducted a land-needs assessment to determine how many people needed land. One respondent stated that many people in Zimbabwe had adjusted to the fact that land repossession and redistribution was no longer an option after the government had made abortive attempts to resettle peasants during the 1981-84 period. Thus, the government behaved

as if it had not been in office for 20 years. Commenting on how the government appeared in a hurry to take over white owned farms in a fast track, one respondent said:

> *It was as if the government had suddenly realised that they were about to leave office and wanted to grab anything they could so that the new government will find them already owning land and other valuable they could grab.*

The point raised by an AGRITEX officer that government should have carried out a land-needs assessment is very valid. The officer said many white commercial farmers had long identified huge portions of unused land showing their readiness to cooperate, but the government had seemed disinterested. She said it was no wonder that the majority of people who ended up applying for land were soldiers, policemen, civil servants, and even lawyers and doctors who had to scratch their heads to imagine suitable reasons they could give to justify their need for land. If proper planning had been made, the government would have provided for good management of wildlife in many parts of the country including communal areas where land was no longer as productive.

A big sign that the fast-track land reform of 2000 was rushed without any proper planning for it was the absence of a prior land-needs assessment exercise carried out by the government to show that there was knowledge about how many people needed land. As one NGO representative said: "Everyone was shocked by the lack of proper planning and absence of a land-needs assessment." Several respondents from almost every group of national stakeholders during long-ranging personal interviews expressed misgivings about the manner the land reform was fast-tracked without having conducted a land-needs assessment to determine how many people needed land. One respondent stated that many people in Zimbabwe had adjusted to the fact that land repossession and redistribution was no longer an option after the government had made abortive attempts to resettle peasants during the 1981-84 period. Thus, the government behaved as if it had not been in office for 20 years.

4.5.3 Survey to establish whether Government underestimated the need to study and plan for decolonization of the wildlife sector and to ready people for wildlife projects

This part of survey and focus group discussions continued to deal with the concerns that the land reform was not properly planned and should have been preceded by extensive policy researches to revamp the wildlife sector where white people had established institutions and programmes that served interests of the former white colonial master and foreigners more than it benefitted local communities. The questions were influenced by the dependency theory's perspective which, as stated in Chapter Two, argued that the wildlife

industry had evolved during the colonial era to benefit white people and the West and that the post-independent government should have started with a review of wildlife programmes including CAMPFIRE so that changes would have been incorporated during the implementation of the FTLRP to encourage people to conserve and sustainably utilise wildlife resources.

When asked whether there was need for government to first start by formulating a policy of indigenisation that would effectively re-structure the wildlife industry as part of the land reform programme, 40 members of national stakeholders said structural review for an indigenisation paper on wildlife management was necessary while 20 members said there was no need since CAMPFIRE had sufficiently indigenised the sector before the FTLRP had started in 2000. A number of questions were also posed to communities and national stakeholders to establish the extent to which they were satisfied with policies instituted through establishment of CAMPFIRE in indigenising the wildlife sector. In response 194 (92%) of household respondents to questionnaires in Darwendale farms stated that they had no knowledge about CAMPFIRE while 16 admitted familiarisation with CAMPFIRE from their experiences at their rural homes where they came from. In focus group discussions, 16 people expressed total ignorance of CAMPFIRE while only 4 knew and participated in the programme before.

4.5.4 **Determining the Agenda for establishing and operating CAMPFIRE**

The question of whether the establishment of the CAMPFIRE programme in Zimbabwe had an imperialist motive to promote the interest of white people at the expense of blacks in Zimbabwe (Monbiot, 1999), produced very interesting results from Conservation Organisations. Fig 4.16 below represents responses from Conservation Organisations which were asked to *agree*, *strongly agree*, *disagree* or *strongly disagree* with the statement that CAMPFIRE was established for a neo-colonialist agenda to perpetuate the control of the wildlife sector in promoting the interests of white people and the imperialist countries of the West.

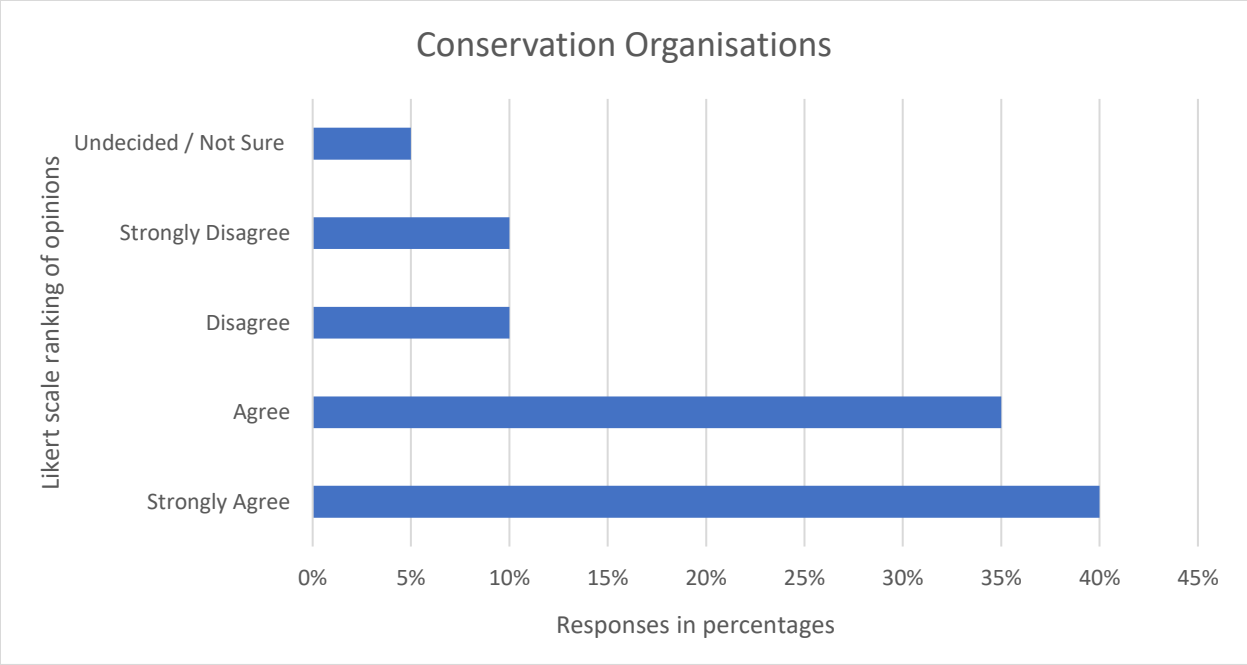

Fig 4.6 **Conservation Organisations responses on CAMPFIRE agenda**

It is interesting that 8 respondents (40%) strongly agreed while 7 (35%) simply agreed. 4 persons (20%) among conservation organisations disagreed and only one person strongly disagreed. However, in order to test the depth of knowledge that stakeholders had about racial and imperialist structures that were put in place in wildlife and natural resource management as represented by CAMPFIRE, a question was posed on whether they knew that Zimbabwe Trust, which managed and coordinated much of CAMPFIRE activities and funds in Zimbabwe was a British organisation. Also note that respondents were not given background about Zimbabwe Trust which is given in Chapter Five under discussion because the researcher did not want to influence respondents' opinions.

In response to the question asking if they knew that Zimbabwe Trust was a British organisation that ran the CAMPFIRE programme in Zimbabwe, 96 percent of all conservation organisations expressed lack of knowledge that Zimbabwe Trust was a British Organisation headquartered and presided over by a British white CEO and white Trustee Chairperson in London. Only 4% said they had an idea of British parentage and management of Zimbabwe Trust. However, 80% of all conservation respondents admitted knowledge

that virtually all heads of CCG members who controlled CAMPFIRE in Harare were white during much of the prime 10 years of CAMPFIRE operations which lasted up to the year 2000 when the FTLRP began.[26] Questions about Zimbabwe Trust and CCG racial composition were not posed to communities at Darwendale as the subject matter seemed far too remote for their comprehension.

However, during extended interviews, a number of respondents from the NGOs showed no enthusiasm to discuss the topic. One NGO representative asked the relevance of the question. She argued that as far as she was concerned, CAMPFIRE benefitted African communities significantly and that the race issue about who started it and when did not matter. Another respondent also said as far as he was concerned, the programme was started by the Zimbabwean government long after colonialism had departed. The question was never posed to communities as it seemed too complex for them.

However strong sentiments were expressed by an ex-parks board official who blamed the post-independent government for not being strong enough to prevent white people from going ahead to promote their interests and those of the West which saw millions of dollars being banked in offshore accounts without anything of significance being retained at home for development. He spoke at length about government negligence of deferring wildlife activities of the country to white people for a long time since gaining independence. He said the problem was that the top leaders throughout Africa had more respect for white people than they had for their fellow blacks. In an interview, the Ex-Parks Board Member did not hide his sentiments about the tendences by black leaders to prefer dealing with white people saying:

> *It is much easier for an ordinary white man to get to meet an African President than a fellow African. You could never be allowed to meet the President in Zimbabwe unless you accompanied a white man. The only black men who could meet the President was either one related to the President, or is a top member of the President's political party, not an ordinary Parks Board member or black CEO or expert.*

A response, which more or less reflected the rational choice theory was given by another NGO official when asked to express her opinion about existence of racism in the safari hunting industry where foreign hunting clients are alleged to prefer to be guided by white hunters and not black guides (Hulme and

[26] It needs noting that CAMPFIRE operations ceased for more than 10 years following departure of USAID and closure of many offices of service provider organisations. No dividends were parcelled out to rural communities during the period.

Murphree, 2001). While admitting that racism, just like any crime may exist in any given society, she felt that the issue was being over-dramatized and exaggerated to make it seem as if every white person condoned unfair discrimination based on the colour of one's skin. She also argued strongly that much of what seems to be racial discrimination to many critics of trophy hunting was lack of appreciation that much about trophy hunting is an expression of unique culture of white people who enjoy hunting as a sport not for pragmatic reasons. Being a cultural practice, it only makes sense that white international clients also preferred to be guided by a race that understood the white culture of hunting animals for sport. She said the problem is that many people have come to think of white people as having no culture of their own. She illustrated cultural differences by referring to statement by former President Mugabe at the aftermath of killing of Cecil the lion when he described trophy hunting as a sin and act of Western barbarism (Feney, 2015; Sieff, 2015). She said the statement showed vast cultural differences between hunting practices of Africans and Europeans which justifies why only those who see it as a cultural sport should guide its protocols. It was also on the same note that she saw it as justifiable that foreign donors channelled funds for trophy hunting management through the white-led CCG members. According to her:

> *White people guiding white clients to sport-hunt is not racism. It facilitates the continuation of a white man's culture by other means.*

4.5.5 **Heavy funding for white-led CCG members in Harare as symptomatic of racism**

The next question to be posed to Conservation organisations was related to heavy funding that the international donor-community is alleged to have poured to the white led CCG members in Harare which according to many writers were spent for salaries and other benefits for CCG members in Harare and never filtered down to rural communities (Munjoma, 2000; Monbiot; 1999; Patel 1998).

When asked whether they thought heavy funding for white-led CCG members in Harare was well-justified in terms of providing support to RDCs and communities in rural areas, all three former Board members and ex-councillors said the funding of white led CCG members was far too high and not justifiable according to services they provided to rural communities while 3 said the funding was justified.

A further question was posed to an ex-RDC councillor on whether he thought CAMPFIRE would have been able to receive as much funding in the first ten years of its existence if there was no heavy presence of whites at the helm of the CCG formation. The response by the councillor was negative. He said no such funding would have been availed to black directorship alone,

Interestingly, when the same question was posed to national conservation organisations, 7 respondents said yes, the funding would have been provided if the programme's formation and CCG leadership was only composed of CAMPFIRE Association secretariat of blacks while 13 members said no such heavy funding would have been provided to black people if there were no white people involved.

There were also very strong sentiments expressed by national service providers concerning allegation of corruption in Zimbabwe as a factor that prevented the top leadership from showing any serious concerns to intervene and set sound policies that either diffused dominance of white people or to guide safari operations more effectively to ensure full involvement of locals in their operations. One academic who was assigned to do socio-economic baseline surveys for rural communities in Mashonaland West castigated high levels of corruption in government as a factor that inhibited smooth running of the safari industry in Zimbabwe. In an interview the academic said:

> *There is so much corruption in Zimbabwe which seemed to have lured the top leadership to show a blind eye to white racism.*

The Professor said the Zimbabwean situation was not any different from the one that existed in East Africa where, according to Bonner (1993) top leaders submitted themselves to white people on wildlife matters, perhaps for strategic reasons that Western donors favoured sending their donor funds through white people. The point was taken further by an ex-Parks Board member interviewed who, as observed in Chapter Two, argued that the Zimbabwean leader, President Mugabe, and his advisers must have been fully aware of the existence of racism in the wildlife sector where white people would, on their own, form themselves into the CAMPFIRE Collaborative Group (CCG) which founded and ran the CAMPFIRE programme. It is interesting to note that the President's cousins namely the Mapondera brothers took turns to serve in the Parks Board since independence which suggests that the President family was well versed with wildlife affairs in the country hence deliberately left white people to enjoy far more latitude to run the wildlife industry as per their own interests thus making a mockery of the so-called independence that the country celebrated in 1980.

The ex-Parks Board member seemed to be talking out of good experience when he observed that it was not possible for any independent CEO or Board member who was either black or not related to the President to set an appointment and be allowed to meet Mugabe. This is because Mugabe already had his own blood relatives attached in almost every sphere of government and boards and did not need to meet any other person not related to him.

He said there was no way a virtually white-only CCG leadership in Zimbabwe could have run a CAMPFIRE programme for as many years if they did not have the blessing of the top leadership of the country. In his further comments, the ex-Parks Board member said:

> *Do not forget that the bulk of the USAID funding which was spent in Harare by organisations headed mainly by white CCG members was a bilateral or government-to-government grant.*

He said the whites of Zimbabwe were probably even shrewder in hooking the top leadership in Zimbabwe than elsewhere in the continent.

It is also not surprising that the issue of why the Zimbabwean government did not make an effort to indigenize the wildlife industry to ensure that existing imbalances in the wildlife industry would be redressed during the land reform also opened up a Pandora's Box among conservation officials in interviews. About 80 percent of them did not believe the President to be sincere in claiming that he did not know about the hefty amounts that were being paid to safari operators by international clients which never found their way to communities and RDCs. One of them believed the President was playing dumb about how whites benefited hugely from trophy hunting while showing no concern about their parsimony in giving very little benefits to rural communities. Research after research have found out that for many years, safari operators paid very little dividends to rural communities while funds invested by international donors largely went to cater for white-led CCG members. This point was also confirmed by the ex-Councillor when he said in an interview that the President must have been aware because his ministers, including those from the President's family, were already forging links with white hunters to grab hunting tenders at Rural District Councils.

4.6 How far were newly resettled farmers trained and capacitated to undertake wildlife conservation projects?

This section examines the extent to which newly resettled people and other African users were capacitated with skills and knowledge to conserve the environment and utilise wildlife sustainable both for their subsistence needs and commercial interests. The section, among other things seeks opinions of communities and stakeholders to show whether lack of knowledge about economic viability of wildlife influenced local Zimbabweans not to sufficiently appreciate the need to protect wildlife fauna and their habitats in the interest of pursuing agricultural objectives. The survey also seeks to show the level of knowledge communities had about wildlife as a viable land use option that would compete with agriculture

When asked whether they had had any experience or training in CAMPFIRE activities for natural resource management, 94% of communities responded in the negative while only 6% said they had exposure to the programme from the rural areas they migrated from before coming to Darwendale. Almost all communities who participated in focus group interviews think land can be put to best use only through crop and livestock production. The ignorance stems mainly from lack of knowledge among black communities about what tourism and especially sport hunting is and how it generates millions of dollars for mostly white safari operators and top government ministers and politicians. Interviews held with RDCs showed that many of them understood how over 90 percent of income generated by CAMPFIRE was from sport hunting, but showed no further knowledge of how trophy hunting functioned as a sport. Almost all people asked during focus group discussions also showed neither knowledge nor interest of how safari hunts were marketed.

When all 210 communities in Darwendale were asked to value large mammalian species in comparison with livestock, 147 households (70%) as shown on Fig 4.10 below said wildlife is less valuable to livestock. 42 people (20%) said the two were equal in value while 21 people (10%) stated that wildlife was of no value at all.

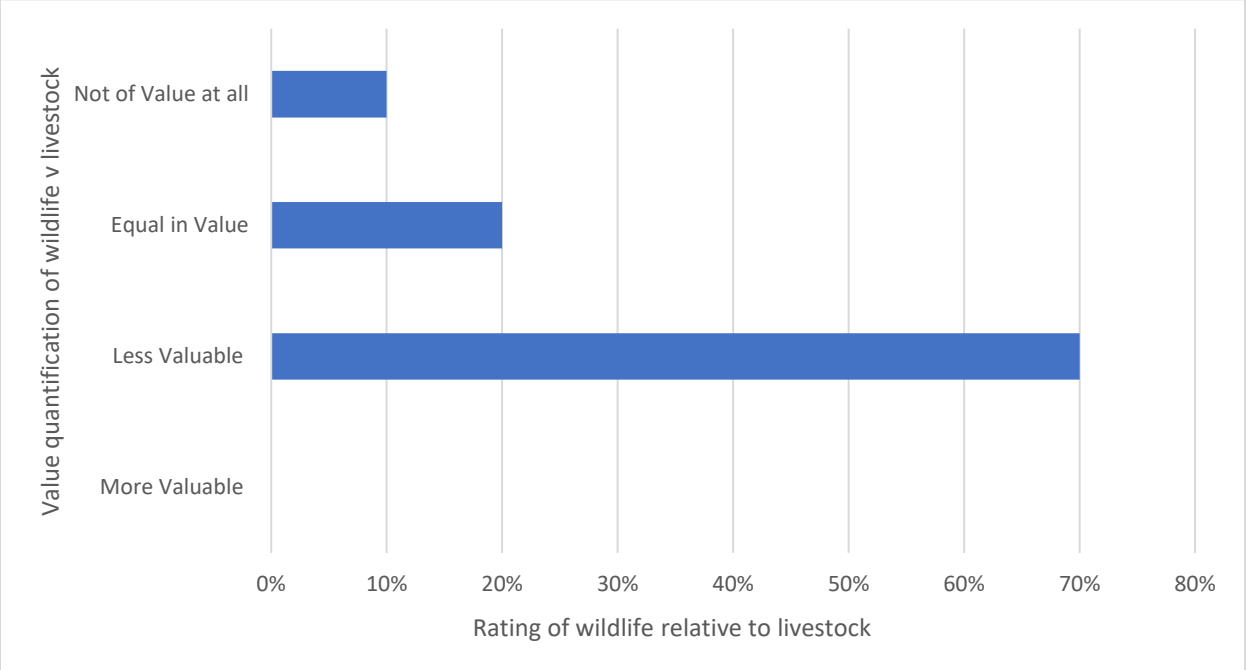

Fig 4.7 **How species of wildlife are ranked by communities in comparison to livestock**

When asked how they valued or perceived different species of birds and mammals found in the area, the majority of questionnaire respondents (54%) said they thought of the animal mostly as meat while 30 percent said they saw the animals as pests. 11 percent said the animals evoked their sense of totemic images while only 5 percent saw the animals as a source of tourism attraction.

It was also stated in interviews with both conservation organisations and focus group interviews that natural resource management training must have been provided to newly resettled farmers before they had been asked to take up their offers for land. The need for training came up more clearly in focus group interviews when communities did not show good understanding about the ecological significance of species in maintaining balance in eco-systems. When asked if they knew what prices international clients paid to hunt, none of the participating members of community in focus group said they did.

The researcher observed that even though many of those who attended focus group interviews showed significant knowledge about importance of wildlife species as totemic symbols, many were influenced negatively by superstitions held about many species of wildlife whose ecological role they did not understand. While many mammals and birds were appreciated for their meat value, many expressed so much fear of snakes and vowed to kill them on sight despite the fact that many of them were not poisonous. There was absolutely no appreciation of the ecological role that snakes and other species played in maintaining balance on wild ecosystems which many participants wanted to use only for self-serving agricultural activities.

When asked to choose the best kind of a land-use system for their newly acquired land as shown below on table 4.3, crop and livestock production was ranked highest in all four farms. Fifty eight percent of households in Zaranyika (35 households) chose crop and livestock production, so did 50 percent in Shield (23 households), 56 percent in Woodrow (30 households) and 54 percent in Elinda (27 households). The second popular land use system was crop production which received 15 percent in Zaranyika, 12 percent in Elinda and 14 percent in Woodrow but not in Shield where the second highest was wildlife production which got 38 percent, while 10 percent chose to combine farms for wildlife management; 8 percent chose livestock alone and 2 percent chose to clear land for crop production alone. In Elinda the third best choice was crop production alone which scored 22 percent, followed by livestock production and then wildlife ranching alone at a large farm which scored 14 percent and 10 percent respectively. In Zaranyika the third highest was livestock production alone which scored 16 percent followed by combining farms or plots to form conservancies which scored 2 percent.

	Zaranyika	**Shield**	**Elinda**	**Woodrow**
Crop Production alone	24%	4%	22%	3%
Livestock production alone	16%	11%	14%	8%
Combined livestock & crop production	58%	50%	54%	56%

Wildlife ranching on a single farm	0%	28%	10%	2%
Combine farms/plots to form conservancy	2%	10%	0%	4%
	100%	100%	100%	100%

Table 4.2 **Community choices for land use systems for their current plots**

However, community preferences varied significantly when probed for their choice of land-use if they were given a large farm with many species of wildlife near a National Park. As shown on Table 4.4 below, communities showed an amazing value for livestock production in Zaranyika, Elinda and Woodrow but not in Shield. The biggest number in Zaranyika (63%), Woodrow (64%) and Elinda (65%) preferred to use the land for livestock production unlike 68 percent in Shield who fancied wildlife production alone at a large farm. Also, as summarised on Table 4.4 below, the second-best option for Shield was to combine farms for wildlife production (12%) while only 10 percent chose livestock production on its own and 7 percent opting for crop production plus livestock. Only 4 percent in Zaranyika and Woodrow and (0%) in Elinda chose to combine farms to form wildlife conservancies.

	Zaranyika	**Shield**	**Elinda**	**Woodrow**
Crop Production alone	10%	3%	14%	9%
Livestock production alone	63%	10%	65%	64%
Combined livestock & crop production	15%	7%	16%	17%
Wildlife ranching on a single farm	8%	68%	5%	6%
Combine farms/plots to form conservancy	4%	12%	0%	4%
	100%	100%	100%	100%

Table 4.3 **Community preferences for land use when given extra farms next to National Parks**

It is clear from data presented above that newly resettled communities in Zimbabwe rank wildlife management far lower than livestock and crop production. The results show, on one hand widespread lack of knowledge about value of wildlife while showing on the other hand that people attached more value to livestock or crops that they can own than wildlife that is *res nullius* (without an owner).

Lack of ownership was also expressed through focus group interviews as major reason why communities preferred livestock over wildlife ventures. They also expressed resistance to being controlled by

government and local authority regarding use of wildlife. However, an interview with a seasoned wildlife operator revealed that granting ownership of wildlife to land users brings with it risks that may be quite undesirable. According to the expert, wildlife must be kept as *res nullius* in order to protect potential owners from being sued over damages that wildlife may cause. For example, a snake may bite a human being who in turn may claim heavy compensation for damages.

Many participants in focus group interviews admitted that the land reform was so rushed in the name of fast track that many resettled farmers caused far more damage to the environment than necessary because they lacked basic training in agriculture and natural resource management. This was confirmed by traditional leaders and councillors who mainly blamed urbanites allocated land for not being responsible enough in controlling fires they set up to clear land for agriculture or to catch smaller species of wild fauna for food. Uncontrolled fires could just be set up by those trying to hunt smaller species of mammals such as rabbits and mice. Focus group interviews confirmed that little or no precautions and responsibility were taken by new settlers to ensure that the fires did not stretch for kilometres burning virgin land which inhabited many species of wild animals including insects, birds, reptiles, and mammals. According to one councillor interviewed, lack of knowledge combined with the rational necessity to survive during hard times in the country contributed to unsustainable practices that damaged newly acquired farming and wildlife land.

Although necessity was a major factor that forced people to wreak havoc with the environment, many people interviewed stated that basic training for newly resettled farmers on sustainable methods of clearing land would have mitigated the damages. It was considered to be an accurate reflection of the feeling of many newly resettled farmers when one focus group participant said:

> *Newly resettled farmers should have been made to compulsorily attend conservation workshops organized by government and NGOs first before qualifying to take up their offers for land. This would have instilled a sense of collective responsibility among new farmers not to set up fires that would be left uncontrolled or to leave trenches dug out to catch mice uncovered.*

Many participants in focus group discussion felt that natural resource management training must have been provided to newly resettled farmers before taking up their offers for land. This is because many people did not understand the ecological role of many wildlife species in maintaining balance in eco-systems. The researcher observed that even though many of those who attended focus group interviews showed significant knowledge about the importance of wildlife species as totemic symbols, many were influenced

negatively by superstitions held about some species of wildlife whose ecological role they did not understand. While many mammals and birds were appreciated for their meat value, many expressed so much fear of snakes and vowed to kill them on sight even though most of the snakes were not poisonous. There was no appreciation of the ecological role that snakes and other species played in maintaining balance in ecosystems.

According to African superstition, the most dreaded animal is the Cape file snake Cape File Snake (Mehelya capensis) called **Ndara** in Shona. As explained by communities in Focus Group Interviews, the snake should JUST never be seen. Its appearance to one's sight even in the wilderness is a portent of dire calamities such as the death of a close member of the family or some other kind of dreadful tragedy. A whole village still panics when this snake is detected and rituals have to be done once it is killed.
There was however significant appreciation of the value of many species of plants, particularly fruit trees, but in general, communities showed little concern about saving some trees when need to clear land for agriculture was at stake.

There also seemed to be dearth of knowledge among newly resettled farmers about existence of markets for production of wildlife to encourage new landowners to take up wildlife projects as a form of land use system. Even though many communities had participated in the CAMPFIRE programme before, the knowledge about markets for safari hunts had since colonialism remained closed to white safari operators and never trickled down to people on the ground. The problem was further compounded by government which continuously emphasized the need to protect poaching of wild species which made the industry seem closed for business for Africans who wanted to venture into wildlife production. There seemed to be very little encouragement coming from both government and conservation organisations to educate people on the need to venture into wildlife, not just for hunting and tourism reasons, but just to increase food security in a country where there was high demand for game meat for most mega species of wildlife which could only be accessed through poaching.

A study by Barnett (Undated) showed that there is great demand for game meat among African populations in almost the entire east and southern African countries. But surprisingly, one hardly finds a butchery selling wild game meat in any of the major cities, towns, or growth points in Zimbabwe. As noted by one member of the Conservation Organisations interviewed, Zimbabwe and many other Southern African countries should stop behaving as if they are still European colonies that only sell domesticated species of livestock. Many landholders could be encouraged to embark on conservation projects if markets for wildlife products

were to be officially provided for. One official of the conservation organization was very articulate about the need to open up markets for wildlife saying:

> *One can imagine how much would be generated by the rhino alone considering the value of its skin, horn, trophy, and meat.*

He said if markets were open, the black rhino would not be as endangered because land users would be producing them in big numbers to supply high demand in Asian markets. He also complained as to why no local fruits such as mazhanje (*Uapaca kirkiana*), matamba (*Strychnos cocculoides*), hute (*Syzygium cordatum*), and many others were processed and tinned or packaged to provide juices or jam made from indigenous plants. He said white people during the colonial era showed no interest in packaging indigenous fruits and game meat because they did not eat them. But with independence, African countries should encourage production and marketing of indigenous species of fauna and flora which are more adaptable to local conditions and climates.

4.7 Institutional framework at local, national and international level to support wildlife projects

The study went further to assess viability of policy and institutional framework that existed at local, national and international levels to empower newly resettled farmers to embark on projects that conserve and sustainably utilise wildlife.

A number of questions were posed to communities and national stakeholders to establish whether tenure policy and institutional arrangements that prevailed in Zimbabwe sufficed to protect usufruct rights and to give a sense of proprietorship on wildlife to newly resettled farmers in order to invest land and labour on wildlife projects. One major question revolved around efficacious of government policy of granting Appropriate Authorities to Rural District Councils as a way of giving tenure to communities.

Fig 4.10 below shows very interesting responses that were obtained from a total of 210 households in Darwendale when asked to select the institutional arrangement of community-based organisation which they felt was good enough to be granted appropriate authority status by government to allow their effective participation in wildlife management and utilisation in newly resettled areas. As shown in Fig 4.10 below, 42 percent of interviewed communities opted to form Ward Community Trusts. The second most popular arrangement was the Village Development Committee which scored 20 percent. The least popular institutional arrangements were either to be managed directly by the National Parks which was supported by only 5 percent of communities or to be managed directly under the chieftaincy which got 6%. Only 10%

chose to be empowered through the Ward Development Committee while 17 percent preferred the current prevailing situation of indirect empowerment through the Rural District Council.

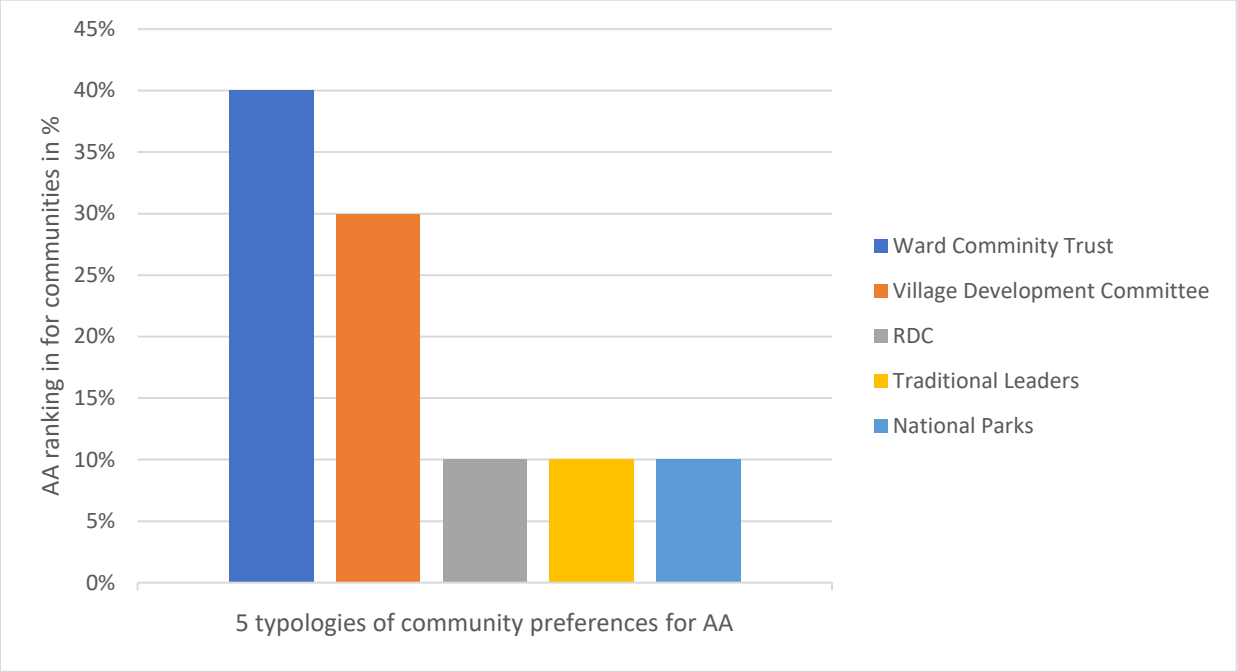

Fig 4.8 **Institutional Arrangements preferred by communities to be awarded Appropriate Authority (AA) status on their behalf.**

The popular choice by communities seemed well backed by wide opinion by conservation organisations which showed disapproval to existing institutional arrangements that gave appropriate authority status to RDCs. When asked to respond to the question on whether devolution of appropriate authority to RDCs in CAMPFIRE areas sufficiently empowered communities to manage and benefit from wildlife, responses from Conservation organisations reflected that 5 percent agreed while 95 percent answered in the negative saying communities were not sufficiently empowered through the CAMPFIRE approach. The responses were not as surprising considering criticisms CAMPFIRE had received over the years regarding unfair distribution of income between safari operators/professional hunters and RDCs/Communities on one hand and between RDCs and communities on the other hand. It was also further explained by many respondents in follow up questions that the existing CAMPFIRE system did not give communities a sense of proprietorship over wildlife because government granted Appropriate Authority status to RDCs.

4.8 Ideal Civic Representative Associations at National Level

Stakeholders were further asked whether representative associations for producer communities should remain as they are or amalgamated for effectiveness and avoid confusion and duplication. This was

especially with regards to existence of three umbrella organisations namely the CAMPFIRE Association, Wildlife Producers Association and the Association of Rural District Councils (ARDC). Stakeholder organisations were asked to choose one of options as the civil national institutional arrangements they preferred to represent communal land and resettled communities for lobbying and other services in the post-land reform era? The four options provided were as follows:

(a) Maintain CAMPFIRE Association and Wildlife Producers Associations to focus on their pre-land reform constituencies;

(b) Amalgamate CAMPFIRE Association and Wildlife Producers Associations into one body namely Wildlife Association for Land Users in Zimbabwe (WALUZ).

(c) Amalgamate the CAMPFIRE Association and The Association of Rural District Councils as a single body to represent different sectoral interests of RDCs while allowing communal and commercial farm enterprises on wildlife to join the Wildlife Producers Association

(d) Undecided

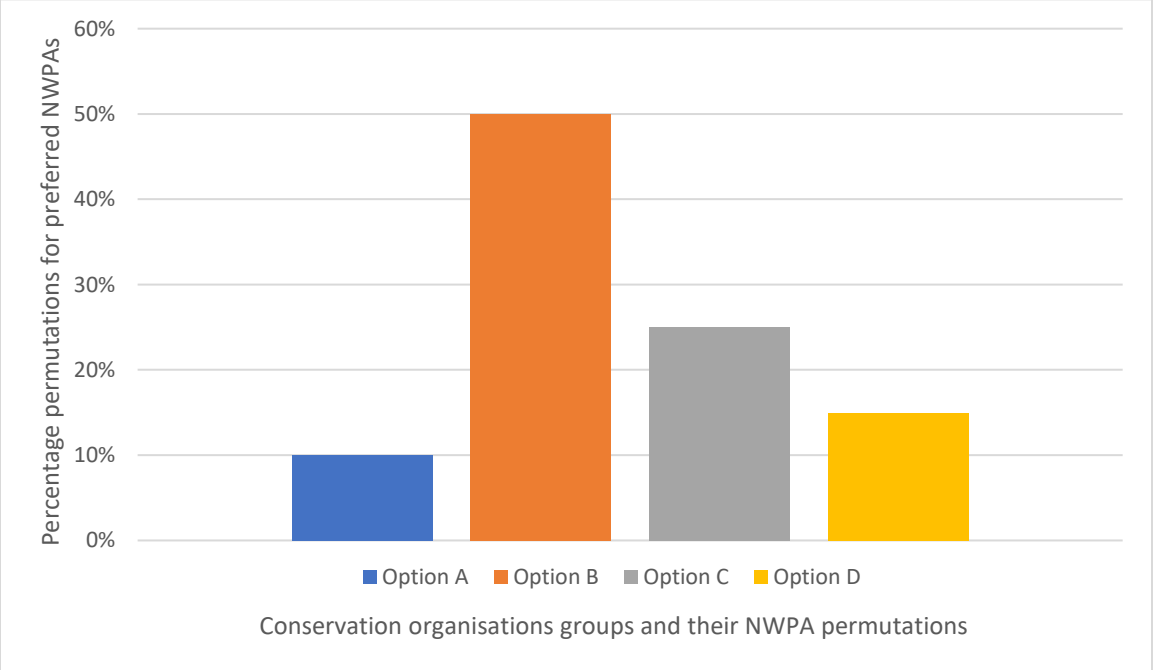

Fig 4.9 **Preferred representative National Wildlife Producer Association (NWPA) typology**

As highlighted on Fig 4.30, Conservation organisations had diverse opinions on the kind of NWPA representation they preferred for both communal people and resettled communities for lobbying and other services in the post-land reform era. A total of 11 members (55%) of Conservation Organisations interviewed preferred option B which amalgamated CAMPFIRE Association (CA) with the Wildlife

Producers Association (WPA) while options A, C and D scored 12 percent, 19 percent and 14 percent respectively. No one preferred option D.

One ex rural councillor however expressed reservations on giving his permutations of rightful national institutions relative to Darwendale farms arguing that such areas in Zimbabwe need not be used for wildlife management in the first place. According to him, the farms were primarily for agriculture and bringing wildlife would increase the problem of pest control in the area.

4.9 **Assessment of international support for Wildlife Management**

A number of questions were also directed at getting views of national stakeholders on the conduciveness of multilateral environmental conventions and foreign donors in supporting the cause for sustainable utilisation of wildlife as a form of land use system. 55 percent of all 60 stakeholders agreed that despite the existence of animal rights groups who seemed opposed to consumption of wildlife, there existed sufficient multilateral institutions and conventions and foreign donors that were supportive of Zimbabwe's rights to sustainably harvest all species of wildlife provided the populations of wild species were healthy enough. while 40% expressed reservation in hunting arguing that the international community tended to be influenced by animal rights groups who made hunting unsustainable thus preferring that the use of wildlife be limited to photographic tourism instead.

And since listing of species on CITES appendices has huge consequences on whether animal products from wild fauna and flora can be traded or not, a question was posed to Conservation Organisations on whether voting at CITES Conference of Parties held every four or so years should be by secret ballot or by open show of hands. Results captured on Fig 4.12 were not as surprising.

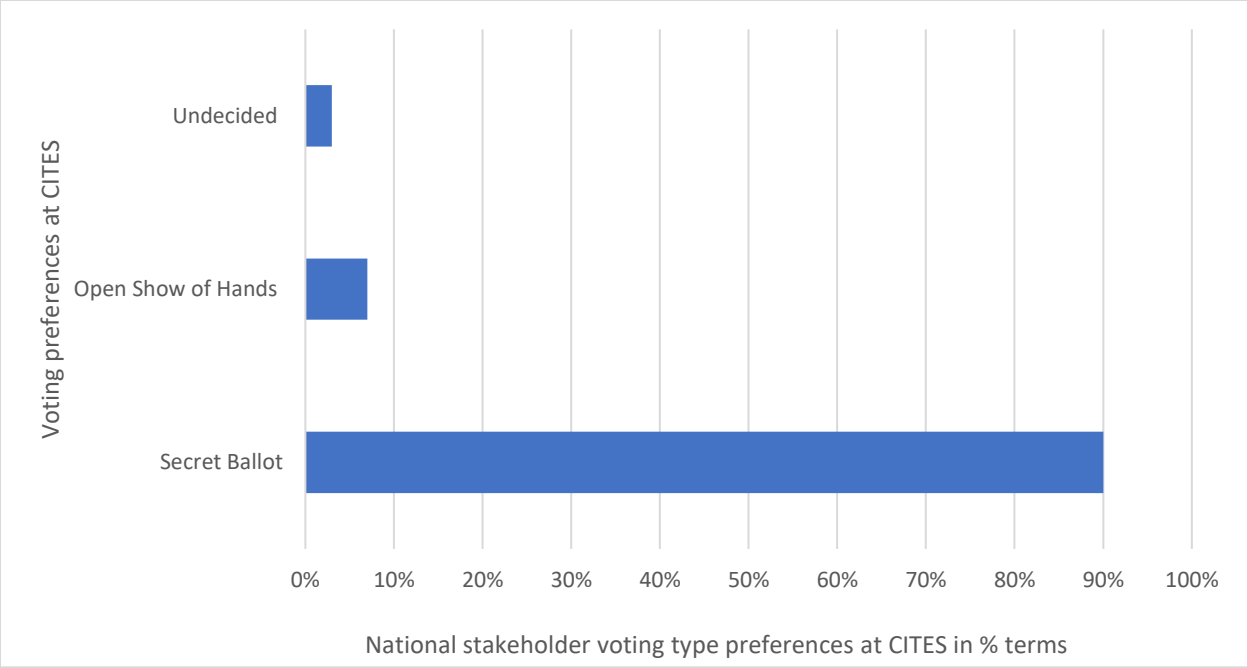

Fig 4.10 **Stakeholder preferences for voting system at CITES**

It was however not surprising that in their responses captured on Fig 4.16, 18 members (90%) of all conservation organisations interviewed preferred a secret ballot for decisions of listing species into Appendices One and Two. Only 8 percent preferred open cast of hand while 2 percent were undecided. The percentage preferences seemed more of a reflection of the hard experience Zimbabweans have had over the past three decades in dealing with CITES over the elephant listing.

4.9.1 **Comparison of CITES AND CBD**

Respondents from Conservation Organisations were asked to compare the Convention on Biological Diversity (CBD) and CITES and indicate which of the two they considered more user-friendly in serving developmental interests of developing countries. It needs noting that the idea to compare the two came as an afterthought during the telephone interviews and I felt it was necessary to phone and get views of all conservation organisations on the subject. As shown on Fig.4.13 below, 12 people (60%) of Conservation Organisations interviewed preferred CBD while 5 (25%) preferred CITES. It is also interesting to note from Fig. 4.13 that 10 percent of the interviewees felt there were no fundamental differences between the two while 1 person (5%) said he did not know much about CITES and CBD to express an opinion. It also seems the interviewees were greatly influenced to prefer CBD because of the well documented frustration that Zimbabwe faced when arguing against the listing of the African elephant on CITES Appendix One since 1989.

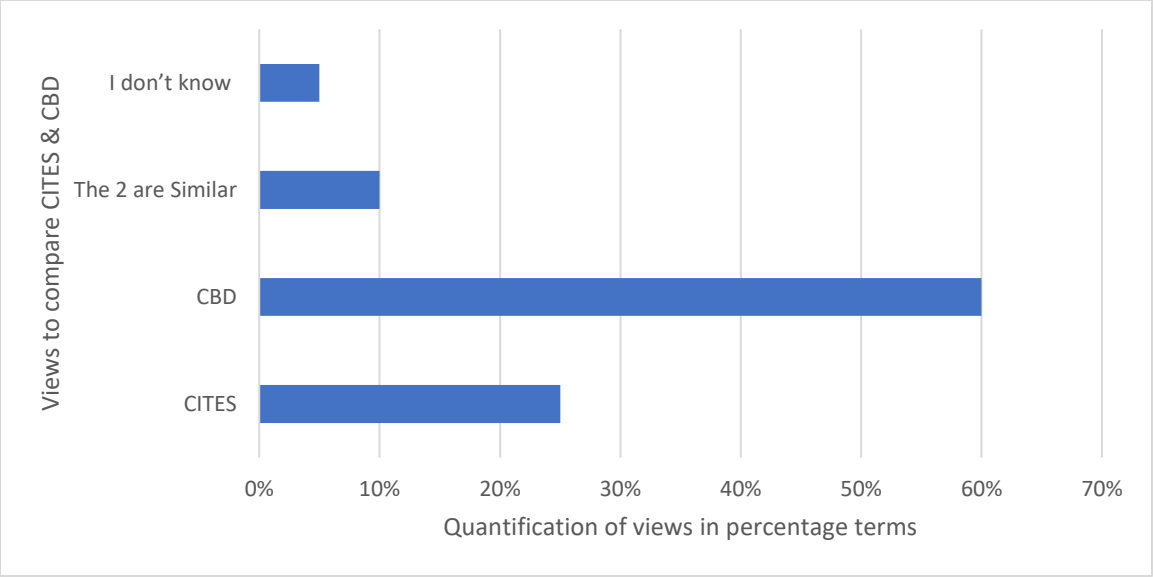

Fig 4.11 **Comparison by Conservation Organisations of CITES and CBOs**

4.10 Capacity held by government and other agencies to enforce laws on environmental protection and wildlife conservation

This section addresses the fourth research question which reads: "What capacity did government and other agencies have to monitor and control people to observe sound environmental conservation and hunting principles during the FTLRP?" In general, the questions asked sought to evaluate the extent to which government and other stakeholders were able to enforce laws and canons that required people to observe environmental laws of the country which also were made to prevent extermination or abuse of wildlife even during the land reform period.

All the organisations interviewed revealed that they were all adversely affected by lack of funding when Western donors complied with instructions from their mother countries to stop funding or helping Zimbabwe. All 3 ex-RDC councillors among conservation organisations stated that most RDC had to cease most of their vital services especially towards the end of 2007 when the economic calamity reached its worst. Also badly affected were former CCG members some of which folded up operations and closed offices after termination of USAID funding which coincided with a sanction call by the West not to fund Zimbabwe.

4.10.1 What capacity did the Parks and Wildlife Authority have to control wildlife utilization?

All national conservation organisations were asked to choose only one of the answers which in their opinion represented their view of financial ability of Zimbabwe's Parks and Wildlife Authority to deal adequately

with poaching during the 15 years since land reform began in 2000? The provided choice of answers ranged from (a) to (e) as follows:

(a) YES, national parks had adequate resources which they effectively used for anti-poaching activities
(b) Yes, national parks had adequate resources but were mismanaged
(c) No national parks did not have enough resources but the organisation worked hard to try and contain the poaching situation
(d) No, national parks did not have enough resources and so they allowed their anti-poaching system to collapse
(e) I do not have an opinion

Answer (d) scored the highest rate of 32 percent followed by c with 28 percent and (b) with 20 percent. 14 percent went for (e) saying they had no opinion about the funding status of national parks. 6 percent however polled for (a) which stated that national parks had enough resources which they effectively used to deal with anti-poaching activities.

One of the biggest challenges faced by the government before, during, and after the land reform has always been how to monitor safari operations to guard against corruption, abuse of the wildlife quota system, and enforcement of sport hunting principles. As noted by several writers, trophy sport hunting is one of the major factors that contributes to endangering wildlife (Greentumble, 2018; Chiras, 1989). This has been particularly the case because the industry has always been dogged by high levels of corruption and cheating, especially by safari operators and professional hunters determined to generate as much income as possible. An analysis of existing literature of many hunts conducted in the past shows great discrepancy between principle and practice. One factor often cited as the reason for non-compliance with sport hunting ethos is the huge monies paid by clients.

Although responses given in interviews by members of conservation organisations seemed to suggest that trophy hunting is a well-organised sport that generally complies with the basic rules of the game, further research and closer examination of the literature seem to suggest the opposite. As stated in an interview with one RDC ex councillor, it would seem the safari hunting industry never really had effective means of monitoring safari hunts in the first place. Without such formidable monitoring mechanisms, the ex-councillor felt that non-observance of sport hunting rules and quota limits in Zimbabwe must have reached their worst levels of abuse during the land reform period when political heavyweights also joined the industry to try and make as much money as possible. He said the cheating in the safari industry is so high that many RDCs wonder if trophy hunting is a real sport as often claimed. The respondent showed strong reservation about the concept of sport hunting saying:

> *As far as we are concerned, the name sport hunting is used in most cases as window-dressing to disguise continuation of ivory trade that was banned by CITES in 1989.*

The ex-RDC councillor spoke very strongly about the lack of monitoring of safari hunting activities in Zimbabwe and wondered if there were still as many animals for some species such as lions and elephants in the bush because as far as RDCs were concerned, the department of national parks had long lost its capacity to carry out population surveys for key species during the land reform period. The ex-RDC councillor then questioned how the department continued to increase quotas of animal off-take, especially to safari operations belonging to top ministers during the land reform without any faint knowledge of the population of wild animals there roamed the wilderness.

The suspicions that sport hunting principles are fragrantly violated for the sake of profiteering are further heightened by the secrecy with which sport hunting procedures are generally conducted. Unlike many conventional sports such as netball, tennis, cricket, and many others that are played in full view of the public under the watchful eye of a referee, what happens during safari hunting is usually a closed affair between the hunting team and the quarry. And like in other parts of the continent where trophy hunting is allowed, the monitoring mechanisms for safari operations in Zimbabwe have always been virtually non-existent. As explained by an NGO representative in an interview, the only token mechanism to monitor whether trophy hunters do not overhunt or abuse animals is by attaching a national parks game scout to accompany hunters during hunting expeditions hoping that the game scout would report the goings-on at a safari camp. This is also the commonly used monitoring mechanism in many other African countries particularly in Tanzania where "Game scouts accompany all safari hunting parties and have to make reports at the end of each hunt to accompany the game returns of the wildlife utilised" (Hurt and Ravn, 2000). But as commented by an NGO respondent in an interview, this monitoring method constitutes a mockery of checks and balances especially when it involves monitoring a billion-dollar industry. One NGO individual interviewed expressed his objection to the monitoring mechanism saying:

> *How can a lone, underpaid national park employee resist a tip of a few dollars and privileges of receiving or even distributing game meat offered by safari operators just because he wants to report to the government about the overhunting of animals?*

However, when asked in an interview about accusations of hostility that safari operators show towards visitors, a member linked to the safari industry responded that the 'no nonsense' attitude by safari operators

was expected. He said, to begin with, it was mainly in the interest of their rich paying clients from overseas to be protected from members of the public who may want to attack or rob them. In defence of the protectionist attitude resembled one member of the conservation group linked to safari operations said:

> *People should not loiter in hunting areas. It is not safe. Bullets often fly around as clients hunt animals they paid for. We try hard to discourage unnecessary visits to the hunting camps for the safety of members of the public who may be accidentally caught by stray bullets intended to kill quarry,*

And when asked about the lack of effective monitoring mechanisms to guard against overhunting the member of the conservation movement said there were clearing protocols put in place by the government to ensure that only trophies hunted according to valid quotas and national parks procedures would be cleared by customs. That way, according to him, national parks can verify if the total number of trophies exported tally with the number of animals on the quota list issued to RDCs or a safari operator.
But two members of conservation organisations in separate interviews rubbished claims that there were any serious controls in Zimbabwe considering the high levels of corruption that besieged the hunting industry and which worsened during the land reform period when no one could stop or arrest a minister from doing as they wished when trying to make money from safari. The respondent linked to conservation organisations however seemed to have it all reasoned out when he asked:

> *If one lion could fetch as much as US$55 000 dollars for a safari operator, would spending US$200 to bribe a customs or national park officer to allow shipment of trophies of extra animals hunted over and above a sustainable quota be any problematic for a safari operator?*

He said government officers can be very pleased to receive even US$50 as not so many people know the huge amounts safari operators received for animals hunted.

Although members of the safari industry seemed content with levels of abidance to sport hunting principles as shown by responses in Chapter Four, a perusal of articles written by clients in safari journals that circulate almost exclusively to safari operators revealed overwhelming evidence of violation of sport hunting canons and etiquettes during many of the hunts hosted by safari operators in Zimbabwe as well as other African countries. When asked in an interview question of whether trophy hunting is a true sport or not considering the frequency with which sporting etiquettes are violated, the conservation organisation member who was linked to the safari hunting industry answered with a question:

Tell me any sport that does not have infringements? Even in a game of football, infringements are so numerous that referees are ever busy running around with a whistle in their mouths to blow for offsite, foul tackle, handball, a push, or many other kinds of offenses.

4.10.2 Opinion of interviewees on Environmental Soundness of Quotas Issued During Land Reform

Further questions were asked to Conservation Organisations on whether hunting quotas that were issued by National Parks during the land reform period were backed by genuine and scientifically sound estimates of animal populations in the wilderness.

Results on the soundness of quotas showed mixed feelings among Conservation Organisations with regards to hunting quotas issued during the hay days of the land reform period (2000 -2015). Interviewees were asked to agree or disagree with strongly agree suggesting highest rate of approval as opposed to strongly disagree which represented the lowest disapproval rate. Results on Figs 4.14 showed that the majority 60 percent of Conservation Organisations *disagreed* that the quotas were sound while 20 percent *strongly disagreed*. 14 percent and 5 percent *agreed* and another 5 percent was undecided.

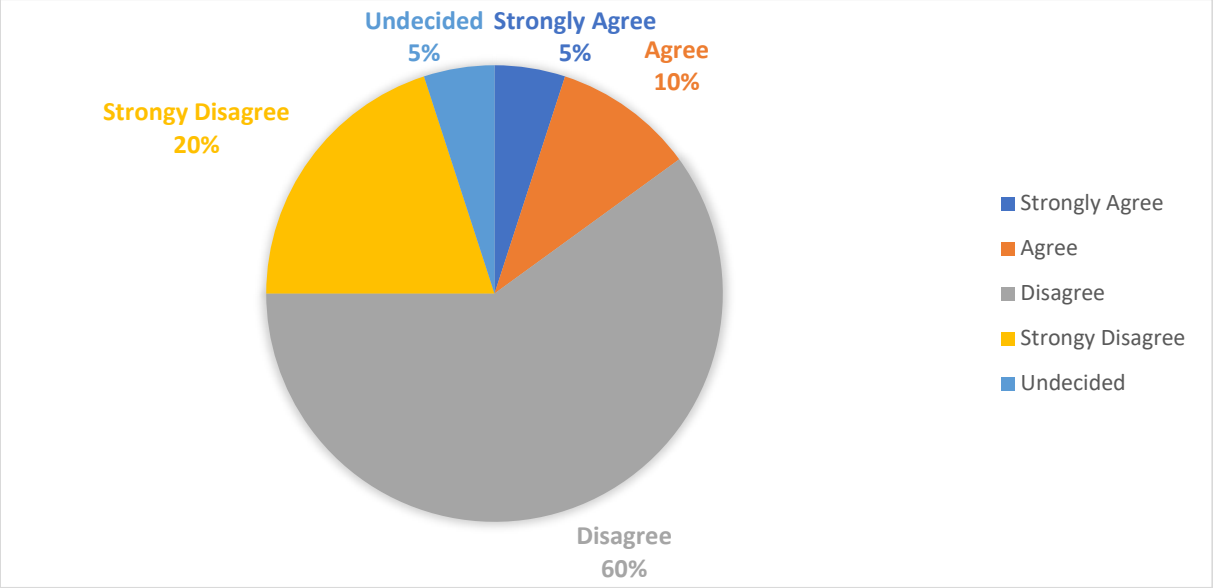

Fig 4.12 **Responses from Conservation Organisations on sustainability of hunting quotas**

It is not clear why there is such diversity of opinion among members of the conservation organisations but it is possible that the opinions represented subjective interests mainly on the part of hunters who wanted to legitimise the hunts they conducted during the crisis.

Conservation Organisations were also asked to express their views on legitimacy of activities of Ministers who were operating safari operations following information during pre-survey that ministers were demanding from National Parks heavy quotas for elephants and other mega fauna for their companies while not paying any money to communities as share of their dividends during the course of the land reform program. The question sought to find out whether Conservation Organisations thought activities of ministers were above board and whether their participation was backed by a properly constituted policy of indigenisation. This was important since there were reports that the ministers operated under the cover of white men whom they put on the front. The ministers would then pile pressure on RDCs and National Parks whom they controlled so that they would award their underground investments bigger quotas for hunting than would be ordinarily awarded to safari operations not owned by ministers. The issue of secret involvement of ministers in operating safari operations was also raised as problematic by Magaisa (2021) cited in Kasere (2024).

It was against the background of these developments that stakeholders were asked to express their opinion on how the participation of top government ministers affected sustainability standards for hunting.. According to statistics 60 percent of the conservation organisations interviewed said participation of ministers did not constitute genuine indigenisation processes while 20 percent said the involvement of ministers constituted a genuine response to a policy of indigenization. Only 8 percent of respondents of Conservation organisations said they were undecided. There were however concerns raised in literature that ministers close to President Mugabe owned a number of safari camps but would put white safari operators pretending not to have anything to do with the projects. The problem, according to the ex-RDC councillor was that white operators would over-hunt to wipe out populations of elephants, lions and other species in order to maximise their gains. This kind of underhand operation according to Heath (2004: 3) was carried out by safari operators who operated "in conjunction with some corrupt local officials and politicians." In a one-on-one interview with a former RDC councillor, the quotas issued to minister's safari operations skyrocketed so much that in some areas where off-take of 7 elephants used to be granted, the quotas increased to 13 for Minister-owned safari companies.

The ex RDC councillor even went on to say that the takeover of safari operations by ministers who operated under the cover of white safari operators did not constitute proper indigenisation of the safari industry. Proper indigenisation, according to the ex-councillor, would have required a Parliamentary committee be established by Parliamentarians to study what was obtaining in the in the industry in terms of dominance of the sector by white people. Having established that, the Committee would then table recommendations

of how black and other races would openly invest in the industry and how Ministers were required to declare their interests when applying. He said this was necessary because it is known that some of them were responsible for control of the industry. The full Parliament would then endorse the recommendations and then members of the public would be invited to apply for tenders. He said it was not a proper indigenisation policy when opportunities were transmitted as a secret for a few ministers who privately grabbed tenders that were only advised inhouse. He said it was also immoral to use blackmailing tactics to white safari operators to grant them shares by threatening them that if they did not comply, the white operator would lose a contract and never will again win any tenders for hunting in Zimbabwe. Clifton (2015) showed in an article that President Mugabe relied on blackmailing of safari operators to squeeze them for money. The ex-councillor condemned such methods as shameful.

4.10.3 Spotlight on trophy Sport hunting and enforceability of its sporting etiquettes and principles

A number of responses were obtained from the stakeholders of conservation organisations on their views about the moral acceptability of trophy hunting as a real sport. Further questions were asked on how the hunts were monitored and carried out during the land reform period. Respondents were asked to state YES if they believed trophy hunting was a genuine sport or state NO if they thought it was just a way to facilitate export of ivory and other wildlife products to the West following strict bans by CITES and foreign legislation especially the US Endangered Species Act. 12 people (60%) said NO, it was not a real sport; 5 (25%) were UNDECIDED while 3 (15%) responded YES. The same question was not presented to the safari industry who had their own kind of question.

The 20 members of the conservation organisations were further asked to rank on a scale of 0 to 20 (20 being the highest and 0 lowest) the extent to which different kinds of outdoor sports involving wild fauna were practised in Zimbabwe. The results as shown on Fig 4.16 below were fascinating. No other kind of sport ranked anywhere near *trophy sport hunting* which scored 18 points. *Bird shooting* scored 5 points while *Angling* scored 4. It would seem that the reason why trophy sport hunting is ranked so highly above *angling* and *fowling* is because it is big business for the hosts namely safari operators, professional hunters and governments who altogether generate millions from clients who come from abroad to hunt animals for sport.

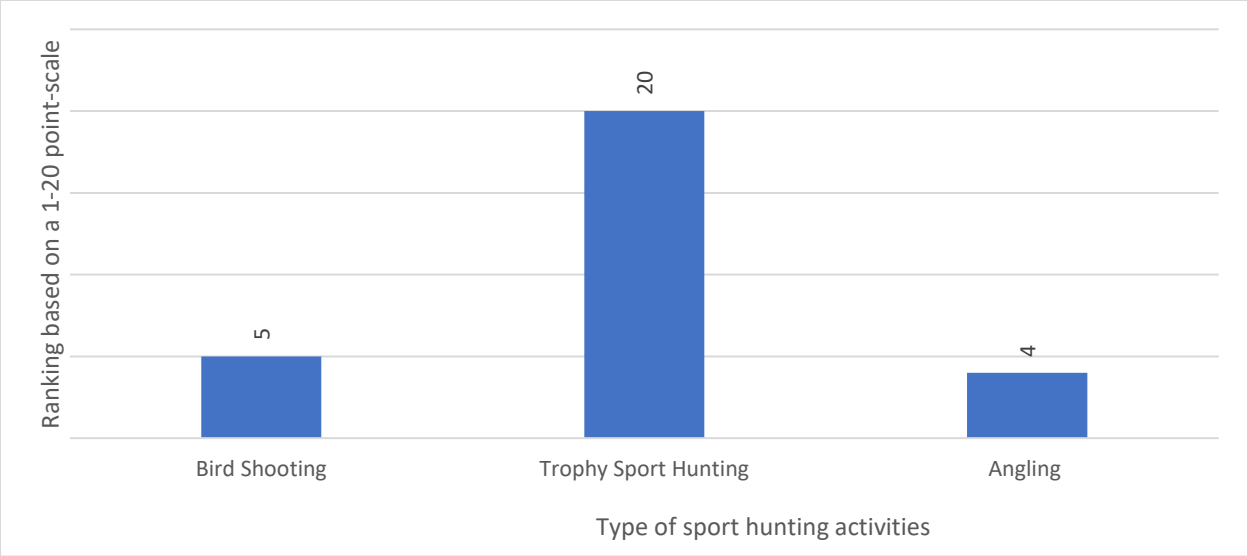

Fig 4.13 **Different forms of sports involving wild fauna in Zimbabwe**

However, when asked in an interview about accusations of hostility that safari operators show towards visitors, a member of the conservation organisation linked to the safari industry responded that the 'no nonsense' attitude by safari operators was expected. He said, to begin with, it was mainly in the interest of their rich paying clients from overseas to be protected from members of the public who may want to attack or rob them.

Fig 4,17 below shows results of an interview in which members of the hunting industry were asked to evaluate on a point of 1 – 10 (1 being the least and 10 the highest) the extent to which different listed categories of sporting ethics, principles and procedures are enforceable to qualify trophy hunting as a true sport.

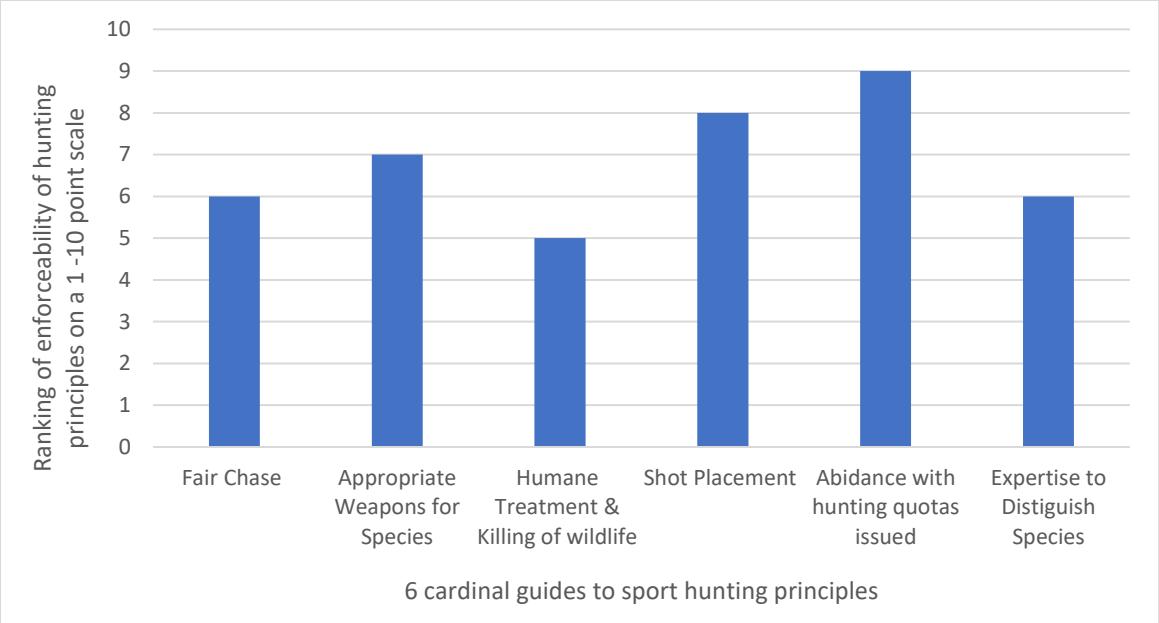

Fig 4.14 **Enforceability of trophy sport hunting principles, rules and etiquettes**

The results presented in Fig: 4.17 above show that members of the Conservation Organisations believe safari operators adhere mostly to the quotas they are granted. This aspect, though important for conservation purposes (to ensure that animals are not depleted by over hunting) does not speak much of the fundamental rules of playing the game as typified by rankings of other areas as listed in a, b, c, d, f, and g above. It is however interesting to observe that members of the Conservation Organisations evaluate the observance rate of all aspects of sport hunting principles and etiquettes at above 50 percent. The least observed is *humane treatment of animals* while the second highest observed sporting ethic has to do with the fitness of the clients and (d) which deals with shot placement expertise. It is also important to observe that one of the most defining aspects of sporting credentials which is *fair chase* is only ranked at 60 percent observance rate.

4.11 Human Induced Factors That Endangered Wildlife During the Land Reform Period in Zimbabwe

This section evaluates the extent to which interplay of anthropogenic factors played a part to endanger wildlife species, their eco-systems and environment in newly resettled farms during the 2000 land reform programme. A number of questions were put across to communities in Darwendale and national stakeholders at large to investigate the extent to which the overall process of farm invasions and fast track resettlement of people resulted in negative effects on the environment which in turn endangered many species of wildlife directly or indirectly. Factors that endanger wildlife are well documented at global level and, according to Chiras (1989: 223), include the following:

- Habitat loss and alteration
- Pollution
- Superstition
- Hunting for sport
- Hunting for food
- Hunting for commercial trade
- Pest and Predator control
- Introduction of alien species
- Others

However, since some of the factors may only apply at national and not at local levels, communities in Darwendale were asked to rank a set of human factors according to their estimation of how they contributed in endangering wildlife since resettling in the area. The ranking was to be on a scale of 1 – 10, with 1 being the lowest and 10 the highest.

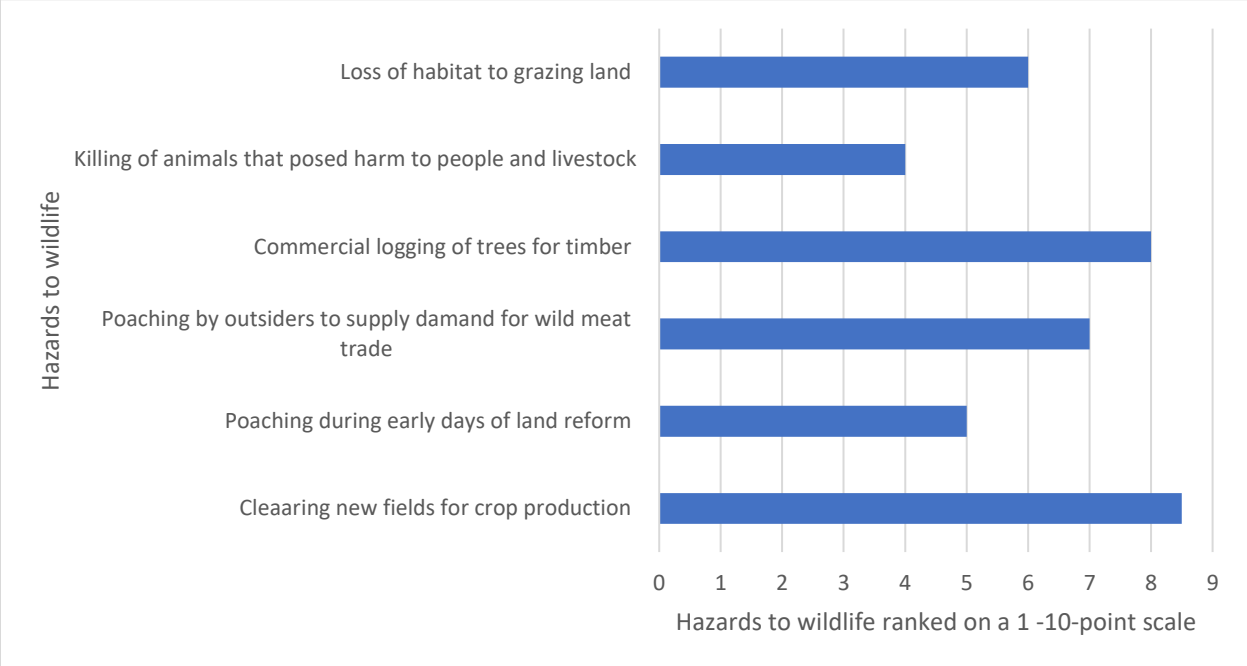

Fig 4.15 **Ranking of human factors that threaten wildlife according to communities in Darwendale**

According to community responses captured on Fig.4.18 above, habitat loss due to clearing land for agriculture was ranked highest at 8.5, followed by commercial logging which scored 8. The third highest was poaching of wildlife for meat which scored 7 while loss of habitat due to livestock grazing came fourth

with a ranking of 6. The least harmful factors were poaching wild game for subsistence by the community themselves while killing animals that posed harm to people & predation on livestock scored 4.

4.11.1 **Activities That Impacted on Habitat Loss During Land Reform**

Communities in Darwendale and other stakeholders at national level were asked to rate several factors or activities that occurred during the land reform and afterwards according to how they contributed in reducing vegetation cover and destroying habitats for wildlife (including fish). The ranking was to be made on a 10 point scale with 10 being the worst impact and 0 the least. The communities had to base their ranking as to their experience staying at their present domicile in Darwendale, while Conservation Organisations could base their ranking on observations they made in other areas of the country. As shown on graph form in Fig 4.19 below, there were very little differences between observations of communities and Conservation Organisations concerning siltation and cutting of trees for building of accommodation during the land reform period. Differences between communities and Conservation Organisations at national level were manifest on siltation;

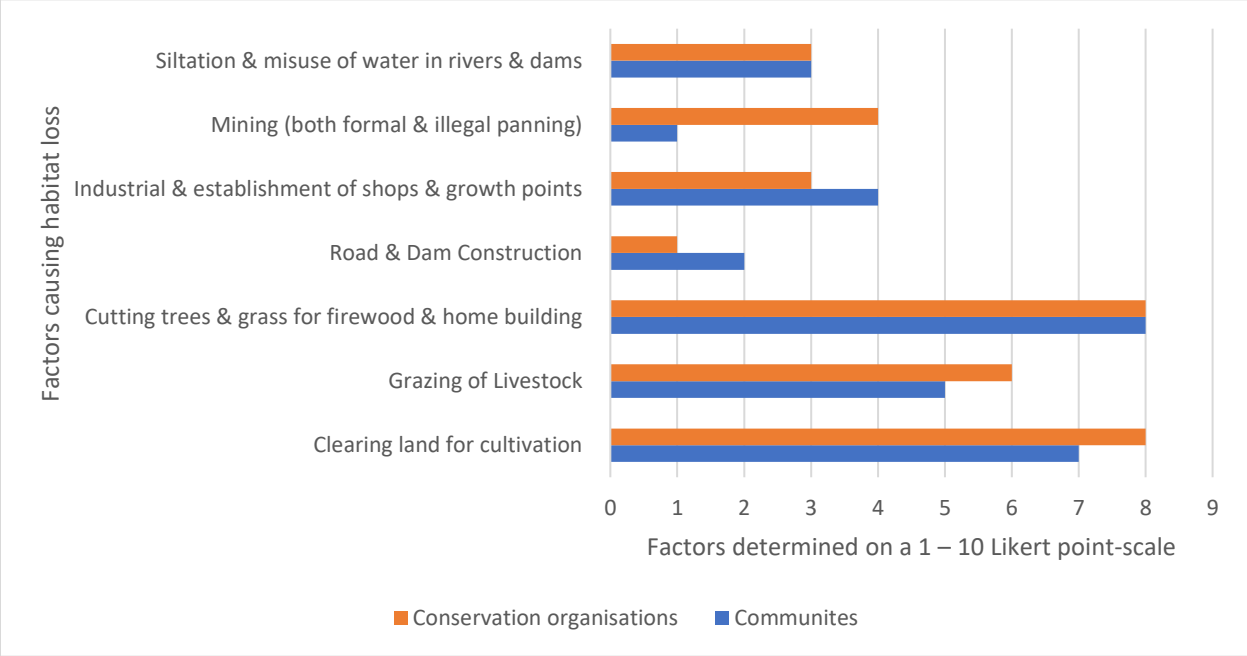

Fig 4.16 **Major factors that destroy wildlife habitats in newly resettled areas**

In order to determine the contribution of livestock on degradation of former wildlife habitats, communities were asked to compile details of increases or decreases in their livestock over the 15-year period from year 2000. It was observed that the number of livestock increased steadily since the new farmers were allocated A1 pieces of land. Cattle alone increased from a total of 160 in 2006 to 560 in 2012 and to about 970 in 2015. Goats increased from 76 in 2006 to 175 in 2012 and to 235 in 2015. Although rabbits, pigs and

poultry form the other forms of domestic livestock owned, these are mostly incarcerated in pens and therefore pose little damage to former wildlife habitats as compared to goats and cattle which took over former wildlife habitats in the typical open access system that Garrett Hardin criticized as the tragedy of commons (Chiras, 1989).

The other important statistics to observe are that a total of 168 people (80%) of questionnaire respondents at Darwendale farms admitted to have cleared new land for agriculture. In focus group discussions, 10 out of 16 (63%) of participants admitted to have used uncontrollable fires that spilled beyond their allocated areas in clearing land for farming.

4.11.2 **Community Welfare and Effectiveness of Anti-Poaching Laws**

Communities at Darwendale farms were asked if they, as new settlers and abandoned farm employees, were provided with enough food supply and utilities during the economic hardships and drought periods of early 2000s. The question was aimed at assessing how poverty and economic hardships that afflicted the country during many years of the land reform contributed in forcing people to poach and scramble for edible as well as commercially viable species of wild fauna and flora during the hard moments. As indicated on Table 4.4, 16 percent said yes they were provided with good supply of food whilst 84 percent said they did not. When asked whether they (communities) thought the anti-poaching laws of the country were effective enough to protect wildlife species of game that roamed former white owned commercial farms at the time their farms were acquired for redistribution during the land reform program, 30 percent said yes while 70 percent said no.

QUESTION	**Yes**	**No**
Were you provided with enough food supply during the economic hardships and drought periods of early 2000s?	16%	84%
Were you as a household able to easily access game meat offered for sale on the black market around Woodrow, Zaranyika, Elinda and Shield farms?	89%	11%
Do you think the anti-poaching laws of the country were effective enough to deter people from poaching wildlife in the first 5 years of the land reform?	30%	70%

Table 4.4 **Community responses on their welfare and laxity of anti-poaching laws**

One question posed to communities whose results are captured on Table 4.4 was whether they were able to easily access wild game meat offered for sale on the black market around Woodrow, Shield, Elinda and Zaranyika since the beginning of the land reform. The question was aimed at gauging the extent to which

wildlife that existed mainly at Shield farm was poached either by communities who stayed at the farms or by other people who came from outside. Interestingly as indicated on Table 4.4 above, 89 percent said yes they were able to access game meat while only 11 percent said they could not.

4.12 **Concluding Remarks**

Notwithstanding comprehensive demographic details which were intended to show how age, ethnic background mattered in observing cultural traditions, responses obtained for Aim 1 showed how little the post independent faired in decolonising the mind-frame of people from the influence of colonial demonisation of the spirituality of the country which used to play a crucial role in conservation of natural resources especially wildlife. People responded with a degree of coldness to questions that sought their opinion on the education system inherited from the colonial government which was so quiet about the struggles that had been spearheaded by the Mwenemutapa/Nehanda institution to fight imperialism from as far back as the 1500s. A very fascinating array of responses have been provided by key national conservation organisations and communities in response to research questions that formed other major outputs for the study. In addition to decolonisation, there were questions posed on how far the post-independent government instituted reforms in the wildlife industry in order to address colonial and post-colonial imbalances that benefited white people at the expense of local Africans. The list of interesting questions also included those seeking to know how the government's preoccupation with agrarian reforms marginalised initiatives to involve newly resettled farmers from focussing on wildlife management. Chapter Five will discuss responses obtained in the context of broad themes of the research including literature reviews as highlighted in the past Chapters.

CHAPTER FIVE

DISCUSSION

5.1 Introduction

This chapter leads a comprehensive discussion on different themes as provided for by the four major research questions. The chapter largely interprets research findings of both quantifiable and non-quantifiable primary sources of data obtained through surveys and other methods used by the researcher to allow discussion not only in line with prevailing perspectives of the dependency and the rational choice theories, but also according to conventional logic of how best to implement land reforms in a manner that does not fragrantly violate conventional principles of conservation and sustainable utilisation of wildlife that form part of the global goals and mission to achieve sustainable development. It must be noted from the onset that while questions and responses obtained by the study were structured to provide data to answer research objectives streamlined according to various aims envisioned in Chapter One and re-capped for convenience below, the discussion itself that follows should not be seen as bounded strictly according to the different objectives and research questions of the study. This is because questions and responses provided overlapped to also address different other aims and research questions. This means that themes covered under Objective 1 for example may also connote for answers sought for Objectives 2, 3 and 4. Thus, while the aims and research questions of the study are heuristically listed as forming separate sub-divisions and themes, this was done only for convenience of academic analysis which was necessary to explain a matrix of variables of factors that all help towards a better understanding of how the land reform affected wildlife conservation in Zimbabwe. But for the purposes of this discussion, it will be important to view the different objectives or research questions as dovetailing, and not necessarily as independent of each other.

Following below is a recap of the Objectives and Research questions that guide the discussion.

5.2 A recap of objectives of the study as provided for in Chapter One

(a) To establish the extent to which ubuntu and conservation values practised in post-independent Zimbabwe complied with pre-colonial values observed by Africans prior to the invasion of Zimbabwe by Europeans.

(b) To determine if the government's fast track land reform programme had been well planned to ensure that newly resettled farmers and ex farm workers would conserve the environment and sustainably utilise wildlife upon being allocated the land.

(c) To assess the strategy that government and stakeholders had put in place for land users to conserve and sustainably utilise wildlife species that existed in Zimbabwe during the 2000 FTLRP.

(d) To establish the capacity that government had to monitor and control activities surrounding environmental conservation and sustainable utilisation of wildlife during the 2000 land reform period.

5.3 Research questions

i. What progress had the post-independent government of Zimbabwe made by the year 2000 to decolonise the colonial superstructure and ensure that traditional values of ubuntu and wildlife conservation were restored as guiding principles for national development and sustainable living?

ii. To what extent did the government's socio-economic and political agenda to fast-track acquisition and resettlement of people in former white-owned-farms compromise the need for proper land use planning that would enable people to protect and sustainably utilise wildlife species during the implementation period of the FTLRP?

iii. What socio-economic and ecological programmes and plans did the post-independent government put in place to conserve and sustainably utilise wildlife that existed in commercial farms when the FTLRP was launched in Zimbabwe in 2000?

iv. What capacity did government and other agencies have to monitor and control people to observe sound environmental conservation and sport hunting principles during the FTLRP?

5.4 Objective a: This objective investigates the extent to which Ubuntu and conservation values practised in post-independent Zimbabwe complied with pre-colonial values followed by Africans prior to the invasion of Zimbabwe by Europeans.

This objective is of great significance according to both the Zambezia school of thought and the dependency perspective. It seeks to establish the extent to which the post-independent government went to restore the truth about the meaning and significance of the role played by the supreme spirit medium of Mhondoro generally known as Mwenemutapa which whose religion of the Mwari deity had been misinterpreted and demonised as paganism by white people because Africans used spirit medium and ancestors to worship and communicate with God. As demonstrated throughout the thesis, the Mwenemutapa institution has been projected according to the Zambezia School of thought as the philosophical foundation of ubuntu and conservation of wild life. This narration shows how the post independent government of Zimbabwe, by not restoring the integrity of the traditional values of conservation, transgressed from the ubuntu system of conservation of wildlife by inheriting a super structure of conservation and exploitation of wildlife that was not insensitive to the ethos that the 'Mhondoro spirit' enforced. Chapter Two went into detail not only to show how the conservation system based on the Mwene we Mutapa (owner of the earth) linked with the ubuntu system of sharing, but also on how Europeans, because of their lust for gold, ivory and other natural resources destroyed the African system of spirit medium which they demonised as evil, and then violently

tried to kill the person whose body hosted the spirit (Mwenemutapa) that God designed to ensure that Adam, upon his death, would continue to incarnate as spirit to supervise human activities so that they keep sharing resources (ubuntu) to safeguard them from extinction. The thesis then went into detail to re-write the proper history of how violent white people were right from the early 16th century. Taking advantages of their sophisticated weapons in the form of canons, Portuguese people sent an army under the leadership of Barretto to try and kill Mwenemutapa whom they only regarded as a King, hoping that upon crushing of the Makorekore people and killing of Mwenemutapa, Europeans would then have unfettered access to valuables such as gold and ivory which they had exhausted in Europe because of disregard of ubuntu (sharing) principles that Adam had put in place to guard against selfishness or possessive individualism (Macpherson, 1985).

Without again going through to repeat minute details of how violent the Mwenemutapa was attacked which has occupied the big part of Chapter Two because of its significance and omission from being taught in Zimbabwean schools and universities, I think the important point for this discussion should revolve around the manner the powerful supreme spirit worked to protect the real Mbuya Nehanda (Maretekwa) from being killed by white colonialists under Cecil John Rhodes in 1898, and how Mbuya Nehanda's grandson Supreme Kasere was transferred to go and live in Zvimba where he sired his sixth child Bigboy, who then emerged as 'X' to direct conservation and utilisation of natural resources at global level according to Mwenemutapa principles that Western Imperialism had since 1500s fought to destroy. What is interesting is that President Mugabe's government, which, unlike South Africa, did not only try to suppress the Ubuntu values that the Mwenemutapa stood for, but (Mugabe), had underground joined forces with agents of imperialism to want to kill 'X' who seemed to frustrate their plans to convert millions of dollars meant for communities for themselves.

It is interesting for discussion purposes to note that even though neither 'X' himself nor the white CCG members who recruited 'X' knew that 'X' was Mbuya Nehanda's biological great grandson (note ***Supreme Kasere*** never revealed the secret of him carrying the Adam/Mwenemutapa seed because of fear of persecution by white people who had killed the wrong Nehanda in 1898), what is fascinating is how white people had on their own initiation and inspiration, set up parallel structures to the Mugabe government that allowed 'X' and the multi-racial group to rise and spread the gospel of conservation and Ubuntu (sharing income with communities), in the manner Adam would have wanted done. This principle of multi-racial cooperation is important in grasping the philosophy behind the Zambezia school of thought, which argues that all races came from the same African Adam (Wells, 2003). It has been further argued and postulated by the Zambezia school of thought that when Adam died in flesh, his spirit and the relevant bodily

infrastructure to host the spirit, continued to be passed on through a genetic process of sexual re-generation through one Korekore family based in Dande or Lower Zambezi escarpment. This therefore explains why a section of white people (and later the Mugabe-led government) could not be able to kill members of the Mwenemutapa family starting from Mupunzagutu in 1560s, to Kapararidze and recently Mbuya Nehanda and 'X' whom the combined international intelligence and Zimbabwean government failed to kill. But the most significant academic argument that arises with this thesis is that while South Africa was right to embrace principles of Ubuntu upon gaining majority rule, they only scratched on the surface by making the virtues of ubuntu seem to be strictly African. This is why when ubuntu is interpreted from its proper Shona/Adam language as 'humunhu' shortened 'hunhu', then it becomes clear not only why Europeans also incorporated ubuntu principles by adopting Adam's Shona word 'hu munhu' to come up with the English concept 'human' which means 'ubuntu'. Thus while it is regrettable that this thesis has emphasised the negative aspect of skewed distribution of millions of financial resources between white and black people in CAMPFIRE, it has underplayed the significance of ubuntu and conservation principles that seem to have motivated some of the world's best thinkers among white people to want to come up with a socio-ecological phenomenon called CAMPFIRE which spread like wildfire to the entire globe, which was based on ubuntu principles (of sharing benefits) through wise utilisation of wildlife and other natural resources. This is very important to stress, because CAMPFIRE brought together some of the world's geniuses who cannot be mentioned by names but who, despite having been largely white, were driven by some kind of religious fanaticism of ubuntu to 'bond' with African advocates to come up with a blue-print that would guide all members of the global village to use to live sustainably. Many of these white people might not even have been driven by the money factor syndrome which might latently appear to have been the reason for the formation of CAMPFIRE, but by pure joy and love that community participation and sharing of resources meant in order to ensure conservation of natural resources. The umbrella shed of ubuntu may even extend to the Republicans in the U.S. whose Ubuntu sense of realism might have inspired them to set aside millions of dollars to establish structures and the blue-print of Ubuntu and conservation of natural resources using Zimbabwe (Mwenemutapa/Adam's nation) as a model. The point I am trying to argue out here is that there must have been a very strong element of good faith that drove people at international, multilateral and national levels to start the CAMPFIRE blue print of ubuntu and conservation of natural resources. Such 'good faith' should not be swept under the carpet for the sake of trying to prove an academic paradigm of dependency that clusters all efforts made by developed countries of the West as being driven by an imperialist agenda to want to maintain links that condemn third world countries to the status of the underdeveloped.

The bottom line is that throughout all nations, races, tribes, families and so on, there exists a bi-polar system that distinguishes between good and bad, ubuntu and selfishness, left and right, holy and evil so much that it is wrong to think of ubuntu strictly as an African virtue. This division can be amply demonstrated by highlighting how the Mugabe led government embraced the Munhumutapa ideal of evil manifestation of man's cruelty and unbridled love for money characterised as evil against embracing the Mwenemutapa principle of brotherhood and conservation that not only existed prior to the returning of Europeans to their ancestral home in southern Africa where Adam resided, but which had been restored by CAMPFIRE initiative which the President wanted to defeat because of knowledge he privately had of how the liberation war he led, was not only based on evil practices that would use Mbuya Nehanda's body parts for rituals, but that necessitated him to stay focussed on 'X' and his family for fear that they would one day expose him as one of the most violent, ruthless, ritualistic and cannibalistic dictators that the world had ever seen. On the whole, the entire discussion revolves around the theme of eco-religion (Mhangara, 2024) which is inspired by the Ubuntu philosophy. The starting point for the discussion of Eco-Ubuntu religion is that there exists a bi-polar system that was breathed into man by God to govern not just people but wildlife that existed in the garden of Eden and other parts of the world. These two bi-polar systems as discussed above and continues below relative to wildlife management are (a) the holy Ubuntu system that emphasizes sharing of resources and (b) the Unholy system that emphasizes individual accumulation of wealth and power.

It however needs to be highlighted from the onset that even though the discussion is based on comparison or categorisation of holy and unholy, this is only done to emphasise the differences between an ubuntu oriented approach and a non-ubuntu oriented approach. Otherwise, a closer scrutiny of literature and research findings does not show that there exists in real life experience a typology of governance which is either 'wholly holy' or 'wholly unholy' as the discussion may seem to suggest. What however seems to be the most distinguishing feature is that one approach is far more biased towards the holiness or the far left (sharing resources) while another is more biased towards possessive individualism of the far right. Both systems will however have a bit of each other meaning there is no one system that is purely perfect or imperfect.

It will also be within the context of distinguishing the two philosophical foundations that the discussion will put into perspective the dependence theory to show how the excessive love for money or the money factor syndrome influenced the post independent government of Zimbabwe to adopt an approach to governance that fused with the imperialist of the West that was the catalyst for creating the system of development and underdevelopment that is associated with the dependency theory.

5.2.1 **A discussion of the Mwenemutapa system as it applied to the promotion of ubuntu and wildlife Conservation**

A major characteristic of the Mwenemutapa supreme spirit medium that has arisen throughout Chapter Two and beyond is the role the Mwenemutapa institution plays in enforcing ubuntu principles of brotherhood that were carefully designed to ensure that people would share and sustainably harvest natural resources especially wildlife sustainably. In principle, the ubuntu principles were designed to ensure mutual dependence between man and nature. This means God wanted wildlife to depend on wise management of man so that man would realise that if nature ceased to exist, then he also will not live at all (Kasere, 2024). The whole subject of man's good management extends to the issue of climate change. But even though Kasere argues that the whole noise about climate change is a farce made by developed countries to restrict developing countries from trying to catch up in development (Kasere in Newsday, Feb 2015), everything seem to come back to the Mhondoro/Mwenemutapa institution and philosophy, which, according to African civilisation, always warned that calamities such as drought and floods will come to haunt humanity if people failed to observe certain environmental ethos and protocols that placed limits on humans against abusing the environment that sustained livelihoods (Kasere in Alyanak, 1996). This point has been interestingly reiterated in Chapter Two and is the major reason why the Mwenemutapa spirit became relevant to the theme of research since the spirit was created to enforce principles of ubuntu or ***hu munhu*** in Shona which required that man should first and foremost be his brother's keeper so that in the joint spirit of wanting to exist, the entire society observes the principle of *quis custodiet Ipsos custodes* which required each man to guard the behaviour of the other to ensure that no one violated socio-ecological norms that were designed by Adam to safeguard natural resources from extinction.

This principle of *quis custodiet Ipsos custodes* was clearly demonstrated in Kasere (1994: 14) when he stated this in terms of enforcement of traditional system of sustainable utilisation of wildlife:

> *Policemen were not even needed to detect offenders. Everyone owned and survived from the resource and therefore had an interest in checking on the behaviour of others. To make matters worse, everyone knew that there would always be the invisible Mhondoro (spirit) to watch the behaviour of everyone even when alone, and deviants risked being visited by a series of misfortunes or provoking a natural disaster that would affect the entire community for lack of observance.*

It may be important to note that this article had an impact on academia as many universities began for the first time to teach about cultural values even without acknowledging Kasere as the original source of their

teaching notes. Its significance was noted when the article was reproduced in several publications and most particularly when Cambridge Examination Board asked 'A' Level students to answer a November final examination on the paper by Kasere (Gateway, 2006). What is interesting is that throughout the career of the Kasere family, albeit on the community work, researches on Mwenemutapa or Mhondoro and so on were done without any faint idea that the Mhondoro spirit referred to their father ***Supreme Kasere*** who had been moved away from Mt Darwin to Zvimba by his grandmother Mbuya Nehanda to protect him from being killed by white people who were determined to destroy the Mwenemutapa spirit. This adds to the conviction the family now holds about the reality and powers that the Nehanda/Mwenemutapa spirit commands which they wish should be shared to enable independent study by academics keen to trace the spirit from Adam.

Without going into detail to summarise the socio-ecological principles that are thoroughly discussed in Chapter Two and Four, what is however important to observe is that at independence, the government did not restore and re-instil the values of the powerful and eternal supreme spirit of Mwenemutapa/Nehanda which was severely harassed by Europeans since the early 1500s when Vasco da Gama seemed to celebrate his discovery of the Biblical land of Ophir, which, as interpreted by Kasere (2022) must have been a reference to southern African countries not just Zimbabwe. Da Gama however assumed that the Land of Ophir represented a Kingdom in Mashonaland presided over by a man called Mwenemutapa recorded Monomutapa. The confusion of the spirit medium as a name of a Kingdom explains the long-protracted struggle that ensued from the mid-16th century which was well described in Chapter Two which saw many battles being waged by Europeans on Makorekore people as the true Mwenemutapas took turns to expose evil intentions and efforts that sought to plunder natural resources of the then Zimbabwe/southern Africa. What the enemies of the Mwenemutapa learnt far later was that it was virtually impossible to kill a Mwenemutapa or Nehanda (Mwenemutapa and Nehanda refer to one continuous spirit of the lion which take turns to incarnate. The spirit can incarnate in a woman in one generation or more and will be called Nehanda but when it incarnates in a male body it is called Mwenemutapa (Kasere, 2022). The narration however does not explain whether Nehanda represented Eve and the Mwenemutapa represented Adam. What is important to note, as highlighted and repeated perhaps several times is that the spirit is the same and always addressed as "Sekuru" meaning 'Grandfather'. This seems to suggest that the spirit is the same that produced Adam and Eve and that there has never, and perhaps will never be a situation where a Nehanda and Mwenemutapa incarnate and reign simultaneously in two different human bodies as this would mean splitting the same spirit into two).

Whilst issues of the spirit cannot be proved empirically, there seems to be an element of truth on claims made that it is next to impossible that a person selected in every generation to host the supreme spirit of the ***Mhondoro*** cannot easily die of foul means. Hard as it may seem to believe, the narration given about how the British who were eager to kill Mbuya Nehanda ended up killing the wrong person Charwe Nyakasikana thus allowing the real Mbuya Nehanda to hide her grandson ***Supreme Kasere*** at a faraway place from Dande, seems to be well explained. It clarifies the confusion that existed among people on why there seemed to be two Nehandas- one hanged by the Pioneer column in 1898 and the other who was taken by liberation war fighters namely Cde Chimurenga et al to go to Mozambique in 1972 where she died in 1973 (Martin and Johnson, 1981). The most unbelievable part however seems to be on how Supreme Kasere's son whom he named Bigboy but referred to in this thesis as 'X' experienced strange mysteries from childhood when a large black snake coiled around his 6-month-old body before he walked through long and hard roads to acquire education. It is interesting how, without any knowledge of his relationship to Nehanda/Mwenemutapa spirit, 'X' emerged to become a conservation director who tormented top government leadership as they teamed up with white-led conservation organisations to want to eliminate him in order to share tens of millions of dollars of donor funds which 'X', as project manager, wanted to be channelled towards alleviation of poverty to rural communities (Kasere, 2023). As demonstrated throughout the different chapters of the thesis, 'X' believes that the Mwenemutapa/Nehanda spirit exists and is truly very powerful and everlasting and was the one that inspired all national and international endeavours that saw him rise and excel in promoting ubuntu and conservation throughout the world without the need to have the blessing and consent of the Zimbabwean government (Kasere, 2023). A glance at 'X's accomplishments over the short time managed CAMPFIRE projects at home combined with exceedingly successful international lobby for sustainable use of natural resources could not have been accomplished were it not inspired by the Mwenemutapa spirit that protected him (Kasere, 2023).

It is on the basis of this background that 'X', according to Kasere (2023), was able to see the nexus between his role and the duty that the Mwenemutapa/Nehanda played since time immemorial to enforce ubuntu and conservation values starting way back from Adam when he sought to ensure that people were organised through totems and other ethos to harvest and share food so that no one went to bed hungry to have reason to sneak in the forests to obtain his own animals (Kasere in Alyanak, 1996). The point of notation is that the role 'X' played in leading national and international campaign for sustainable utilisation of wildlife was the role that Mwenemutapa was expected to play if the Europeans had not disrupted the system by violent means which saw his father Supreme Kasere being whisked to go and stay far from Dande. This seems to suggest that the spirit has travelled in the blood stream of many Mwenemutapas who passed it on from one generation to another for over 50 thousand years until reaching 'X'. 'X' feels that the spirit will continue

because it is God-ordained and should always be there for as long as humans will live and need the protection of the spirit in the bi-polar human institutions.

It is therefore the main reason why this study places so much emphasis for the need for academics to get as much correct spiritual and biological facts about the institutionalisation of the Mwenemutapa even in the body system of a human being so that a proper management system is developed to safeguard its hosts from harassment since the spirit will always exist in posterity for as long as people will live. It will be impossible to eliminate it because such elimination would imply the defeat of God by the evil embedded in human nature which will always work to drive some more privileged elite who will use Satanic symbols such as the Munhumutapa in Zimbabwe to want to acquit themselves politically and economically so they outcompete other members of society in over harvesting and personalising renewable and non-renewable natural resources to their advantage.

5.2.2 **The Munhumutapa: The opposite of Mwenemutapa**

A very interesting aspect for discussion that comes out clearly from the thematic exercise of examining the impact of the land reform on wildlife in Zimbabwe is the emergency or existence of a history about the Munhumutapa paradigm of governance that is in dire conflict with the so-called holy spirit of the Mwenemutapa. The Munhumutapa paradigm which is a caricature of a powerful man or conqueror is somehow castigated as demonic or Satanic in the context of this study, not least because it was not envisaged to be a spirit medium just like the history of Mwenemutapa which is not taught in Zimbabwean schools, but an imagined real man called Nyatsimbe Mutota who started off as a heroic son of a chief, who in ancient Zimbabwe took off from a place near the Great Zimbabwe Monument in the modern day Masvingo province to go to look for salt in the Zambezi Valley where he conquered all the people of the area to become a legendary leader that Europeans called Monomotapa. It was this Monomutapa which the Robert Mugabe government adorned as Munhumutapa. The Munhumutapa therefore can be viewed as a caricature of evil or rather the anti-ubuntu approach that emphasises possessive individualism which entails doing anything possible even killing for wealth and power (Kasere, 2023).

It is important to note the argument by Main (1990) about the myth surrounding the so-called Nyatsimbe Mutota having been the Mwenemutapa (Munhumutapa the raider) who migrated from the Masvingo area to become what post-independent government describe as Munhumutapa (for Mwenemutapa). Main (1990), who casted doubt on the migration hypothesis, propounded that if such migration ever occurred, Mutota must have gone to the Zambezi valley not to become Mwenemutapa, but to join a group of criminals called the Zimba. According to the hypothesis, the Zimba were anti-ubuntu cannibals or sea pirates who

raided sailors in the Indian ocean to get all sorts of valuables, perhaps including salt while living in the bushes where they also terrorized African communities as the much-feared criminals classically known in Shona as 'magandanga'. Typical magandanga were not revolutionaries like freedom fighters. They were evil people who committed all sorts of satanic things and cannot be mistaken to have become the Mwenemutapa which, according to the Zambezia school of thought, represented God's spirit of brotherhood and conservation that existed since the creation of man. Its purpose was to safeguard people against evil acts committed by people including witches and raiders such as Zimbas.

Thus, when discussing and interpreting the two contrasting philosophical stances that existed in Zimbabwe, one must take note of the existence of a bi-polar spiritual system in African theology discussed in Chapter Two. According to the bi-polar principle, there exists at every level of human institutions two opposite sides consisting of Godly spirit on one side and the evil side that violates ubuntu principles on the other. The existence of these two sides explains why spirit mediums wear a black and white cloth with the white side representing the holy side and the black representing the unholy side. Although no one side exists either as 'wholly holy' or 'wholly unholy', the Mwenemutapa represents the white side for its emphasis as the guardian of brotherhood sharing and sustainable utilisation of resources while the black side pulls towards anti-ubuntu evil practices of human nature which emphasise extreme love for money and power to the point that one can do anything including killing, cannibalism, stealing or raiding or even abusing wildlife - all because of wanting to gain wealth and power to further selfish interests of what Macpherson (1985) described as 'possessive individualism'. Unlike the Mwenemutapa/Nehanda holy spirit that emphasized protection of human rights and conservation principles that characterized good governance of an ideal African democracy, the Mutota concept of a raider that the Mugabe regime embraced, emphasized unholy values of a raider member of the Zimba who ascended to power by going to kill fellow Southern Africans in the Zambezi valley not only to get material valuables such as salt but, to conquer and subdue them to become the legendary Munhumutapa which they confused to be what white people called Monomutapa or Mwene we Mutapa (Kasere, 2022). What is important to note is that mudzimu or spirit medium represented at the highest level by the Mwenemutapa Mhondoro spirit does not "approve of anything that harms other human beings" and also does not "approve to any behaviour causing human suffering" (Gelfand et al, 1985) whereas the Mutota phenomenon can kill or steal and is not as sensitive to avoid behaviour that cause suffering.

Just like Main (1990) who rejected the possibility that Mutota referred to the same 'person' called Mwenemutapa, Kasere (2017), who dismissed the theory of Mutota migration as 'rubbish', went deeper into research and established that the myth of migration was started by white researchers – a Mr Abraham

who hypothesized that the well-known Mwenemutapa in the Zambezi valley must have been a Mutota who had constructed the Zimbabwe Monument (Zimbabwe Ruins) in present day Masvingo area before migrating to the Zambezi Valley (Davidson, 1972: 171). Even though Kasere (2022) has argued articulately that there was never such a Mutota migration in history considering that Mwenemutapa was a holy spirit medium of ubuntu that always existed and incarnated in one family in Dande (Zambezi valley), the fact that the post-independent government fancied the legend of killing and subduing people as heroic acts speaks volumes about the character of former President Mugabe who seemed to have believed and modelled his lifestyle along the character and exploits of a Mutota.

Also, when discussing major characteristics of Munhumutapa which President Mugabe seemed to emulate, it is important for academics to be conscious of the significance of salt that Mutota is fancied to have travelled more than 500km on foot to acquire in the Zambezi Valley. As explained by Vulala (2023), salt in the ancient times represented money. Hence one could marry his loved one by delivering a bowel of salt (Vulala, 2023). This means that the objective for which legendary Mutota Nyatsimbe travelled all the way to the Zambezi Valley was to accumulate salt (money) and power.

This is why Mutota leashed out violence on Matavara to kill and subdue them to become their leader. This perhaps explains why the Mugabe leadership in Zimbabwe saw it necessary that they put friends and relatives almost everywhere in Zimbabwe and the globe to build up riches for themselves and the President. The accumulation of riches either by hook or crook was not a problem to Mugabe since his character model Mutota or Munhumutapa was a fortune seeker who went to war and fought Tavara people to acquire salt (money) and power. It is therefore no wonder that Mugabe never felt guilty as a leader to enter into shenanigans to collaborate with the West as early as 1981 to misappropriate millions of blocked funds without suffering any cognitive dissonance for doing so. To him, the noble objective for a leader such as him, who travelled on foot to cross into Mozambique to lead guerrilla operations against Rhodesian forces was to acquire wealth. To him, his travelling to Mozambique to lead guerrillas was a sure sign of a gallant fighter like Munhumutapa the raider who went to the Zambezi valley to join cannibalistic Zimbas (Main, 1990) who raided ships of sailors on bay and took their possessions and then turned his lethal weapon at the Makorekore and conquered them to become Munhumutapa.

This analogue of the Nyatota or Munhumutapa seemed to have fitted with Mugabe's violent and kleptomania philosophy perfectly well. If it is true that Mugabe was born at a mine near Masvingo, then the similarities between him and the Mutota are striking considering that Mutota Nyatsimbe (Munhumutapa) also hailed from Masvingo, travelled on foot for over 500 kilometers (like Mugabe and

Tekere) who travelled long distance to join guerrillas in Mozambique where (like Mutota who joined the Zimbas) fought the colonial government to then become the leader in just the same way Mutota conquered Tavara people to become Munhumutapa. This analogue was perhaps the thinking behind the naming of the building that housed his offices as 'Munhumutapa' and then naming the High Court block overlooking his offices after his real surname 'Mapondera' meaning violent killing (Zvikaramba, 2023). The analogue in which Mugabe fancied himself as Munhumutapa also perhaps explains why he always boasted of having many degrees in violence hence he, throughout his political career never hesitated to kill political rivals starting way back from the guerrilla warfare through to the post-independent era. Documented inhuman activities of the Mugabe era are overwhelming and include the mass bombing and shooting of people of Matabeleland in a genocide-like operation known in Shona as Gukurahundi (Mpofu, 2014). Gukurahundi was typified by "mass killing of civilians in the countryside in Matabeleland and the Midlands provinces" as well as targeting for arrest of former ZIPRA leaders and commanders who were accused of caching up arms for use by dissidents who were dissatisfied with the humiliating manner that Mugabe had used to politically side-line Dr Joshua Nkomo who after dismissal from Cabinet "had to flee the country on a tipoff that his life was in danger" (Mpofu, 2014: 205).

The post-independent government committed many other violations of human rights such as Murambatsvina which inflicted so much pain on people of urban areas in Zimbabwe at the peak of the FTLRP in 2005. As explained by Kasere (2023), the whole exercise touted 'Murambatsvina' or clean-up operation meant cleaning up the scourge that swelled the votes for opposition MDC., was described by one writer as 'Robert Mugabe's madness'. The exercise, which as confirmed by Booyens (2005) even provoked angry reactions of Desmond Tutu of South Africa while the West muttered inaudible comments that deferred duty of intervention to the African Union (AU), was a strategy by a dictator to once more use his heavy boot to crash the liberties of huge populations of people in urban areas who thought it was their democratic right to vote for a party of their choice which at that moment was the opposition Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) which, unlike ZAPU in the war of dissidents, did not have its own militia to defend its people (Mpofu, 2014). The idea was to destroy properties and small-scale businesses including houses and furniture that a huge section of youths relied on in urban areas. But for the dictator, these people constituted dirty that had to be cleaned out from towns in order to reduce big numbers of voters that had developed in urban areas (Zvikaramba, 2023). Houses were therefore bulldozed to the ground in the chilly winter weather (Booyens, 2005). The idea seemed very clear. Mugabe destroyed the houses and properties so that the majority of people who voted for MDC in cities and towns would quickly think of relocating to rural areas where they would, under militia-controlled circumstances, continue to be forced to vote for him and ZANU PF. It also explains why his regime preferred to violently squash people of Matabeleland in

1982 in the so-called Gukurahundi Dissident war instead of negotiating with Joshua Nkomo and avoid the use of state force to crush political dissent.

One then cannot help relate the agony felt by Zimbabweans to the song sang by Leonard Zhakata at the turn of the century titled 'Mugove' which clearly seemed to be an attack on Mugabe's extreme levels of oppression under poverty related conditions ushered in by the chain of dependency in which only a few people like Mugabe and his cronies benefitted. Mugove, which is a Shona word meaning 'My Share' is a dependency song par excellence, in which a young Zimbabwean appeal to God not only for his share of reward for toiling, but for an explanation of why an African is made to suffer so much for virtually nothing while those who had a chance to rise in high echelons take virtually everything leaving little or nothing for ordinary hardworking people. The song seemed the most articulate protest not only against President Robert Mugabe's insensitive rule and tendencies to want to take everything for himself and his cronies, but also for rich employers who would dare stash millions in offshore accounts while people went to bed hungry. The song also shows its appeal for ubuntu when the singer says: "Dai ndaive ini ndigere paye", ndaikudaidzai kuti munombore dovi ("if it were I sitting at the top, I would call all of you to come and have your share of peanut butter").

The whole issue of Munhumutapa whereby the post-independent government of Zimbabwe seemed to glorify anti-ubuntu violence and satanic activities of a raider (Munhu Mutapa) is problematic and confirms Joshua Mahlathini Mpofu's claims that the independence that Zimbabwe celebrated in 1980 represented "triumph of nationalism without democracy" (Mpofu, 2014: 212). As argued by Zvikaramba (2023), it was mainly because of President Mugabe's faith in violence as opposed to democracy that the post-independent government went to the extent of re-naming 'Munhumutapa' to the building that housed the highest office of the President. The whole Munhumutapa stance as opposed to Mwenemutapa puts the Zimbabwean government on spotlight for having been founded on anti-ubuntu or satanic background which are totally opposed to the holy ethos of ubuntu and sustainable utilisation of natural resources that the holy Mwenemutapa Mhondoro spirit stood for (Kasere, 2023). Even Gelfand et al (1985) explained exhaustively how the spirit medium phenomenon in Zimbabwe opposed acts of killing of fellow humans. According to Gelfand et al (1985), the spirit medium phenomenon in Zimbabwe did not condone acts of killing which themselves attracted harsh spiritual retributions of mainly bad omens known as 'ngozi' in Shona. Thus, in interpreting the philosophical stance of the Mutota philosophy that the Mugabe-led government fancied, it is essential for one to take note of the existence in African theology of a bi-polar spiritual system as explained in Chapter Two. According to the bi-polar principle, there exists at every level of human institutions two opposite sides consisting of Godly spirit of ubuntu on one hand and the evil spirit that

violates ubuntu principles on the other. The existence of these two sides according to Kasere (2023) explains why spirit mediums wear a black and white cloth. The white side according to Kasere (2023) represents holiness since African spirituality does not condone killing (Gelfand et al, 1985) while the black side called 'zvitema' or 'zvitadzo' largely describes witchcraft and many evil practices of unholiness in general including carrying out rituals as well as stealing or raiding people's properties as Mutota was presumed to have done.

Although none of the two sides exists either as 'wholly holy' or 'wholly unholy', the Mwenemutapa represents the white side known in Shona as 'hunhu hwakanaka' or 'moyo wakachena' because of its emphasis as the ubuntu side of sharing, brotherhood and sustainable utilisation of resources. The black side on the other hand is said to represent Satan's empire of sin and unholiness characterised by killing, raiding or stealing. while the black side pulls towards anti-ubuntu side of human nature which emphasise extreme love for money and power to the point that one can do anything including killing, cannibalism, stealing or raiding or even abusing wildlife - all because of wanting to gain wealth and power to further selfish interests of what Macpherson (1985) described as 'possessive individualism'. Unlike the Mwenemutapa/Nehanda holy spirit that emphasized protection of human rights and conservation principles that characterized good governance of an ideal African democracy, the Mutota concept of a raider that the Mugabe regime embraced or emphasized unholy values of a raider member of the Zimba who ascended to power by going to kill fellow Southern Africans in the Zambezi valley not only to get material valuables such as salt but, to conquer and subdue them to become the legendary Munhumutapa which they confused to be what white people called Monomutapa or Mwene we Mutapa. (Note that salt in ancient times in Zimbabwe was a commodity of value that was used in place of money. This is why lobola was settled by transferring a bowl of salt as bride price).

It seems the Zimbabwean leader fancied himself to be a Mutota Mutapa (Mutapa being a noun derived from the verb 'kutapa' which literally means to raid in vernacular Shona Zezuru). Hence claims that the Zimbabwean leader was a satanic ritualist who would do anything, including eat remains of Mbuya Nehanda as rituals to gain power and money. This was the dictator that the whole African continent cheered as the greatest revolutionary when he spoke at international forums such as the United Nations while violently crushing his own people whose only mistake was to be born in Zimbabwe, which arguably according to the Zambezia school of thought, was the place that God chose to be the domicile or home of the first man created by God namely Adam (Kasere, 2022). Hence the view that the first religion created by Adam was the African 'Mwari deity. Kasere (2022) postulates that all major religions including Christianity, Judaism, Buddhism, Muslim and others were offshoots of the African spirituality of the Mwari

gospel, whose globally decentralised spirit was supposed to prevail and protect not just southern Africans, but the whole world where people observed ubuntu or the ten commandments. What this essentially entails is that the Godly or Mwenemutapa/Adam spirituality decentralised throughout the world to inspire people like Jesus Christ, Buddha, Mohhamed and many others to start religions or branches of the Mwari deity which remained headquartered in southern Africa under the Mwenemutapa. The position of African religion as the basis of the ten commandments was clearly articulated by Gelfand et al (1985).

The Zimbabwean leader's approach to governance and the most slithery and cunning hypocrisy that made him seem like a pro-people revolutionary, deserve a serious discussion and further studies. It would also be interesting to analyse his behaviour vis a vis the principles of ubuntu and wildlife management. This is important so that people should be able to distinguish more correctly the difference between guerrilla warfare that is led genuinely to liberate people and satanic acts of robbery such as those that made people mistake Munhumutapa and Mwenemutapa as referring to the same thing when indeed they were just two opposite sides of human nature that are constantly fighting each other in a war that none of them would ever seem to be be able to win on earth. Otherwise, it will always be a big tragedy for humans to mistake evil for holy in just the same way Zimbabweans mistook some of their black leaders to have fought a people's liberation war when in reality, they were, to use Ian Douglas Smith's language "terrorists", who like their Zimba hero Munhu Mutapa (not Mwenemutapa), had a selfish motive to gain power and amass wealth for themselves and their families (Zvikaramba, 2023). Of course, there were many among the liberation war veterans who truly sacrificed their lives for the common good, but questions will always arise whether Mugabe was one of them given the ruthless methods he used during his 37-year rule in Zimbabwe. No wonder a report published by TRAFFIC, the wildlife trade monitoring network and the International Union for Conservation of Nature (IUCN), showed that since 2006 to the time of compilation of the report in 2010, 95 percent of all poaching recorded on the continent of Africa occurred in Zimbabwe and South Africa (African Hunter, Vol.16 No. 3, 2010: 33). This led the Tropical Game Commission (TGC) to issue a directive calling on the Zimbabwean Government to "stop destruction and mismanagement of its wildlife" (African Hunter, Vol.16 No. 3, 2010: 32).

5.3 **Implications of the study findings on the Dependency theory**

It helps bring out the story of how Zimbabweans (southern Africans) had, through the centuries resisted the creation of the centre-periphery relationship of exploitation which as Portuguese started as far back as 1500 to try to plunder gold and other valuables for repatriation to Europe. It then goes on to show how the white factor and money factor syndromes contributed to influence the post-independent government to adopt wrong history of the country as it was written by white people who did not understand the spirituality of

African people. It also shows how the President and the top leadership were influenced by the need to join the white and international capitalist juggernaut in allowing the former colonial system intact by forming alliances with Anglo-American organisations such as Zimbabwe Trust not only to soften up on the need to take-over land by force, but in facilitating trophy hunting which according to Kasere (2024) operated like a mafioso syndicate which unsystematically slaughtered wild animals without observance of sporting or conservation principles in order to make huge profits for safari hunters and top politicians which were then deposited in offshore accounts leaving the country cash strapped in dire poverty.

It is interesting to note how the study went into detail to show how in its bid to create a dependency structure of centre-periphery relationship, Europeans up to the colonial era went into a propaganda spree to produce very biased literature that demonized the African religion and the spiritual institution of Mwenemutapa or Nehanda to make it seem as if the African ubuntu system of brotherly love and wildlife conservation was an antithesis of true Godly religion which they (Europeans) stood for. The study, through this aim has shown that the creation of the dependency structure was never a simplistic or friendly process for both Africans and European because wars, as described in Chapter Two were fought since the 1500s and many lives were lost as southern Africans under Mwenemutapa spiritual leadership had first to deal with Portuguese troops led by Fransisco Roy Barretto and then recently by Cecil John Rhodes who used the most violent means including hanging of the two spirit mediums namely Priestess Charwe (whom they thought was Mbuya Nehanda) and Sekuru Kagubi in order to diffuse and destroy spiritual resistance in their bid to procure the natural resources abound in the region..

But far from embarking on decolonization of colonial literature that demonized African culture and religion, the black government under the leadership of Robert Mugabe, perhaps inspired by the rational-choice perspective about realities of the power of imperialism, seemed to have found a personal strategy of forging underground links with the capitalist system, and thus completely ignored the teaching of the historical accounts of how Africans were ruthlessly subdued for over 500 years and chose to only teach very superficial history and literature that made it seem as if all evils perpetrated by the Western imperialism only started with the largely Zezuru uprising involving hanging of Zezuru people whose Priestess Charwe and Sekuru Kagubi (both Zezurus like President Mugabe) which did not link the real Mbuya Nehanda spirit to the Mwenemutapa dynasty in the Zambezi valley. The history also makes a mockery of the struggles by King Lobengula who in Zimbabwean literature is often portrayed as a traitor who sold away the country to white people (Zvikaramba, 2023) yet the reality is that Lobengula had not only fought hard to control Europeans from over-hunting wild animals including elephants and ostriches (Thomas, 1995), but was also known to have put up a more emotionally-charged rebellion which led to his mysterious death in flight

which is often made to seem like suicide (Martin and Johnson, 1981). Thus the re-writing of the literature on Zimbabwean history under the theme of restoration needs to be done because the existing literature was manufactured in a way that not only distorted the correct background of the true Mbuya Nehanda as daughter of the 19th century Mwenemutapa, but also in a way that blinded Zimbabweans from appreciating the true history of the formation of the chain of dependency which Mwenemutapa and Makorekore people of the Zambezi valley had resisted long before the so-called first Chimurenga that Mugabe wanted to project as a Zezuru rebellion; the first of its kind without acknowledging that thousands of Makorekore in the Zambezi valley had perished since the 1500s in trying to prevent the heavy dependency syndrome which bind Zimbabwe and many third world countries into a position of poverty which is so difficult to reverse. [27]

In fact, according to the true history of Zimbabwe as extensively described in Chapter Two, the role of Zezuru people since Gatsi Rusere in early 1600s, was to be used as vassals (fake Mwenemutapas) to outwit the Makorekore people so they would sign treaties that gave away mining rights to white people. The installation of fake Zezuru Mwenemutapas caused so much bloodshed in the Zambezi Valley (Kasere, 2023). By opting to shut out such literature from being taught in schools, and then forming underground partnerships with imperialist forces, Mugabe seemed to have continued from where fellow fake Zezuru Mwenemutapas left in betraying spiritual leadership of the country which fought wars to resist expropriation of Zimbabwe's natural resources. The role played by Mugabe since the war of liberation seemed to have fermented divisions which made guerrillas kill each other in big numbers in order to acquit himself as the rightful leader (Zvikaramba, 2023). Very unorthodox things were done to the real Mbuya Nehanda who was eventually abducted by liberation war guerrillas whose remains up to now have never been laid to rest after Mugabe promised to take them to her biological grandson who resided in Zvimba (Kasere, 2022).

[27] Please note that I as researcher am half Zezuru and half Mukorekore (Tavara). My criticism of Zezuru people is therefore purely academic because I was born and raised by a pure Zezuru mother, 'Mwana we Mushawasha' who worked so hard almost single-handedly to get me educated. I was raised in a family where my father was heavily despised for being a Mukorekore who never went back to Mt Darwin to mourn or bury even his own mother which was interpreted by my mother's Zezuru family as evidence of a bad spell. It was hard for my father who would not explain his reasons for never returning to his home of origin in Mt Darwin since this would have leaked the secret that he was the only surviving grandson of Mbuya Nehanda whom his grandmother had arranged for him in Zvimba for his safety and never tell anyone about his relationship to Nehanda or come back to Mt Darwin. This is because Mbuya Nehanda, after hearing that the white people had killed a wrong woman for her, felt Supreme Kasere would also be targeted for killing in their determination to eliminate the Mwenemutapa spirit. So ***Supreme Kasere,*** to avoid constant harassment and ridicule at home about not going back home, found refuge outside in drinking beer with friends on weekends and after work where he was affectionately known by his nickname "Kufa kwangu zvarova" meaning "the secret goes down to the grave with me". But though very likeable by people, the nickname stigmatized him more as his family wondered what secret it was that he would never divulge. There was even fear that perhaps he had killed someone back home in Mt Darwin where he would not return.

The level of brainwashing that took place in Zimbabwe against the Mwenemutapa was amply demonstrated in focus group discussion when participants preferred voiced very strong sentiments against a change of curriculum which the post-independent government used to teach in schools which poisoned the minds of the people to say the least. Contrary to the detailed historical account published by Kasere (2022) and repeated extensively in Chapter Two, one cannot be blamed for questioning the authenticity of knowledge that made Mugabe bloat about having a degree in violence while having no clue about straight forward errors that white people genuinely made due to lack of understanding of African languages, culture, names and so on. It would have been expected that the black leadership would have been the first to notice that Mwenemutapa was a spirit medium not a name of an emperor or conqueror as the government taught in school. Just a glance at the Grade 5 Social Studies text book shows that children in Zimbabwe are forced to cram the legend of migration of a Mutota or Munhumutapa to pass their examinations. Mutota Nyatsimba is said to have been the son of a a Chief Nyatsimba. The sonis said to have been sent to search for salt for the people which he discovered among the Tavara people of the Zambezi Valley (Houes et al, 2017: 6). He conquered the Tavara and settled at Zvongombe near the Zambezi River. He became known as Munhumutapa" (Houes et al, 2017).

Kasere (2022) was right to attribute all these mistaken assumptions of migration to the white factor syndrome which made the African government blindly follow the literature written by white people without reflecting on its accuracy. Investigations show that the whole imagined legend about a Mutota started as speculation by a Mr Abrahams who hypothesised that the great Zimbabwe Ruins or monument must have been built by Mwenemutapa before he migrated to the Zambezi valley (Davidson, 1972). It must be pointed out that white people had already by the time of independence in Zimbabwe disproved the hypothesis of Mwenemutapa migration so much that it must have been embarrassing for them to see it taken as an article of faith by a post independent government that claimed to be well educated. A credible and well-respected scholar and archaeologist from University of Witwatersrand Prof Tom Huffman had compared structure of buildings at Great Zimbabwe and that obtaining at Mwenemutapa homestead near Mt Darwin to prove or disprove the migration hypothesis. Prof Huffman noted that no attempt had been made in Mt Darwin to build stone work similar to Zimbabwe Ruins. The assumption was that if at all Mwenemutapa had migrated from the Karanga people who constructed the Zimbabwe Ruins then he would have continued to build structures similar to the Zimbabwe Ruins at his new home in the Zambezi Valley. But this test failed (Kasere, 2017; Main, 1990). Besides as Kasere (2022) noted the history of Mwenemutapa as a spirit medium that resonated since time immemorial is beyond dispute and the assumption that a Mwenemutapa could be a raider is the most insulting attribution of the white factor syndrome that only people with little

knowledge of African cultural understanding could suggest. Hence the questioning of whether Mugabe was a truly educated man or someone who just commanded oratory and eloquence in spoken English but with really very little of academic value that filled his head.

What is even more significant for the purposes of this study is the observation that Zimbabweans were alleged to have protested to stop one Minister of Education, Mr Dokora who had proposed to change the curriculum with the intention of teaching more proper history in the country. The question is who instigated the protests against a proposal on changes to curriculum in Zimbabwe where a culture of protests against the establishment has never been allowed by the country's dictatorship since independence? And how could people who did not know what the curriculum would look like protest against it? And why was it necessary for the first time in the history of the country that opinion of citizens would be sought about Primary and secondary education curriculum when opinion of people had never been sought on the current curriculum which badly needed decolonisation as demonstrated in Chapter Two of this study? All this goes to show that the leadership of the country had something to fear by teaching the correct history of how the Makorekore people and Nehanda/Mwenemutapa family fought for over 500 years to resist the establishment of the underdevelopment syndrome which Mugabe secretly sought to perpetuate through underground deals while paying lip service to the need to take over land which he only did 20 years later when his interests seemed at stake.

What may be important for discussion under this theme of study is not just to show how evil and selfish Mugabe was to the extent of not making Mbuya Nehanda's remains available for burial, but on how he deluded the entire international community to appear as a true revolutionary who cared to uplift the standard of living for the impoverished Africans. As he preached revolution, Mugabe spared no efforts to work underground to build a pariah state to ensure that no one would ever dare stand up against him. As he did this, Mugabe mobilised his relatives and close friends to penetrate every sector of the economy to primarily enrich himself. What even came out more articulately in literature is how the President used the land issue and the dependency rhetoric to make himself seem to be the custodian, not only of the interests of all the African people who languished in poverty, but also of white people who had a lot of fears of losing the investments they had made in Zimbabwe for decades.

The President thus not only used the dependency theory to gain an understanding of the imperialist structure that made white people and the West feverish and gullible, but also to turn everyone in Zimbabwe both white and black into depending on him and his family as the only gateway for anyone to have their interests attainable. Then he started dictating terms for the land issue, cooperating with white people in the name of

reconciliation when it suited him best, and then lashing out at them (white people) when it seemed clear that after 20 years of playing hide and seek with the land issue, the President had run out of ideas and tricks of how best to serve diametrically opposed interests of the local impoverished people on one hand, and those of white people and the imperialist West on the other. It may need remembering that Zimbabwe Trust was a British organisation that had hooked the President into indulging into massive corruption of transferring blocked funds to England. This happened as far back as 1981 when Zimbabweans were still dancing in the streets to celebrate the so-called independence. The reality though is that independence did not mean much as Zimbabweans found themselves trapped into the jaws of a dictatorship in which Mugabe would use every possible means especially violence and election-rigging to cling on power for 37 years (Zvikaramba, 2023). How else could anyone dare challenge him when he solely appointed all heads or leaders of the different branches of government be it the judiciary, army, CIO, Police and whatever where he placed first and foremost his blood relatives some of whom had been issued with birth certificates that disguised their affinity to him? It may be worthwhile to mention that some members of the post-independent government are said to have gone to the extent of devouring human flesh and bones for rituals with no sense of guilt or remorse because they wanted to capitalise on their God-given opportunity to acquire wealth and power. It is suspected that Mbuya Nehanda's bones were devoured for rituals which is the reason why her remains could not be handed over for decent burial by the Kasere family (Kasere, 2022).

This in a nutshell confirms the significance of the money factor syndrome and explains how far people, especially African leaders, can go in order to join forces with Western imperialism and make money. With such craving for wealth, it becomes so hard for Africans to reduce their dependency on the West which, in essence, will continue to dictate terms that will bind developing countries into poverty for ever.

5.3.1 How lack of decolonization distanced the black population from the need to conserve wildlife during and before the implementation period of the FTLRP

This discussion focusses on why the post-independent government did not try to dismantle the colonial state of affairs in the wildlife industry, but instead proceeded to entrench white racism and the dominance of white people in the industry instead of introducing legislation that empowered Africans to tackle racial imbalances so that Africans would then be capacitated to also participate and enjoy a more equitable distribution of income generated from trophy hunting and other wildlife-related projects. It would seem the post-independent government had teamed up with the international community to continue sprucing up the domination of white people in the wildlife industry by preferring to channel financial resources through Zimbabwe Trust and other white led organisations which forced the entire population of Africans to dependent on white people to form the first layer of dependence structure that Wallerstein described in his

world systems theory (Macionis and Plummer, 2012). Bonner (1993: 82) confirmed why the Western countries practiced this kind of unfair discrimination saying: “Americans and Western donors do not feel as comfortable dealing with Africans as they do with white Americans and Europeans.”

In a one-on-one interview held with national conservation organisations, the question of why foreign hunting clients hailing from the West preferred to be handled and “guided by ‘white hunters’ rather than black Africans” (Hulme and Murphree, 2001) showed almost consistent views as many respondents felt the practice was fine since the government seemed to be fine with the practice since independence.

It needs to be noted that many of the responses obtained from interviews with stakeholders blamed bad governance on the part of the post-independent leaders who revered wildlife matters to the hands of white people while doing nothing to decolonise the industry whose affair had continued to be a whitey issue since colonialism. From a dependency point of view, Fanon (1990) explained the tendency that is common in Africa where the African petty bourgeoisie only sought to replace white people upon gaining power but would do nothing to change things since the petty bourgeoisie felt comfortable to work as managers who would replace white governments in serving the imperialist interests of the West. Most interestingly, Fanon described how African leaders would be corrupted by the West to become puppets who will allow the West to continue enjoying benefits that they always enjoyed during the colonial past. In Fanon’s words: “The national bourgeoisie will be greatly helped on its way towards decadence by the Western bourgeoisie, who come to it as tourists avid for the exotic, for big-game hunting and casinos.” Thus, in turning Africa into the brothel of Europe, the national bourgeoisie would organise centres of rest and relaxation in the name of hospitality thus entrenching an African country deeper into a chain of dependency all because of greed (Fanon, 1990). This perhaps best describes how white people in Zimbabwe enjoyed unfettered freedom to create community-based programmes which were community-based in name only yet serving as boondoggles to serve the interests of the former colonial master and his master abroad.

One member of the CAMPFIRE Service providers said it was not possible that a President, who presided over CAMPFIRE policies and activities for many years would not know enough about trophy hunting. Another RDC official said ministers particularly close to the President were running safari operations and there was no way the President would claim ignorance about how much trophy hunting generated. “I think the President was aware but played a game of bluff so that no efforts would be made to formalise trophy hunting activities through a properly constituted indigenisation plan discussed and passed by parliament.” It would seem the President and his ministers who were privileged to partner with certain white people, did not want huge benefits earned in safari operations published through an indigenisation paper because this

would have opened up the gold mine to the public which only the top leadership secretly benefitted from. One member of the Conservation Organisations said perhaps the President knew better that an indigenisation plan, formulated by a properly constituted Parliamentary Committee, would have invited scrutiny of undercover safari operations that included ministers who were probably already benefiting heftily from trophy hunting incomes that were deposited in offshore accounts. Another ex-councillor from one of the most active Campfire districts stated that at one time they had turned down a top politician who had applied for a tender to hunt because he and his white partner offered to pay little or nothing to communities. “Much to our shock, just a year later the very same politician was appointed minister and placed in a position to control wildlife tenders and quotas awarded by national parks,” the ex-councillor said. It would seem there was a depth of knowledge behind an article written by Clifton under the heading: “How the Cecil Killing helps Mugabe to squeeze more money out of trophy hunters”. Perhaps it was through his ministers, who, according to Mr. X Files (2010), engaged in a racket with Chinese officials to trade in rhino horns that the President also squeezed trophy hunters to benefit himself and his cronies for self-benefit activities.

Everything seems to add up to bad governance and corruption when considering how President Mugabe’s family members aided the illicit creation of British-based Zimbabwe Trust and transferred over US$5m of frozen bank accounts of foreign companies that operated in Rhodesia to the new trust “and take a tax deduction in Britain” (Bonner, 1993: 262). Since this development in 1981, Mugabe through his blood relatives and cronies went into a self-enrichment spree to grab any possible opportunities to make money from almost every sector of the economy in full trust that nobody could discover that the President himself was the one enriching himself and his family members through the schemes. In a paper presented at a conference recently, Zvikaramba (2023) touched the hearts of many conference participants when he referred to Mugabe’s daughter Bona as owning more than five farms and several houses. One can then imagine how many other farms were owned by Grace Mugabe, the former first lady and many other relatives whose properties have not been revealed, argued Zvikaramba. Could the high level of corruption by the Mugabe family be the reason why the Utete Report (2003:2) declared that “Some sections of the Utete Report, dealing with the highly controversial issue of multiple ownership of farms by members of the elite, have not been made public.” Zvikaramba (2023) said the high levels of kleptocracy in Zimbabwe seem to explain why some Ministers such as Ignatius Chombo would stay in one key Ministry such as Ministry of Local Government and National Housing for more than ten years without being changed: “it is because he was converting almost every part of urban and peri-urban land for private ownership of the President family and himself”, Zvikaramba (2023) argued in his paper.

Zvikaramba's article seemed to concur with the Helen Suzman foundation which had observed as far back as 2001 that corruption levels in Zimbabwe had reached very alarming levels as Mugabe placed his blood relatives at almost every sector of politics and economy as fully described in Chapter Two. In a critical paper, Zvikaramba (2023) blamed everyone both at home and abroad for allowing Mugabe to build a pariah state in which he controlled everyone and everything. "Nobody could voice opposition to Mugabe and survive. He controlled the media, the police, the army, the judiciary, the opposition and everyone and everything so much that one would only be committing suicide by showing discontent and opposition to Mugabe", observed Zvikaramba (2023). Zvikaramba (2023) said the most frightening thing in Zimbabwe is that even opposition seemed to be made up of CIO operatives who were planted while posing as critics of government in order to flush and wipe out true opposition figureheads such as Morgan Tsvangirai, Eliphas Mukonoweshuro, John Makumbe, Forbes Karimakuenda and many others who all died from similar ailments and accidents that seemed to suggest foul play. Zvikaramba (2023) said the price that Zimbabwe paid to host Mugabe and his cronies in ZANU PF was rather too high and might haunt the country for the next hundred years.

Zvikaramba (2023) said it would be interesting if a study is conducted to show how Mugabe plundered virtually the entire economy of the country including the wildlife sector by placing his relatives and cronies everywhere where there was money. In discussion of the corrupt tendencies that manifested in the wildlife industry, it is also worth noting that the President placed his relatives almost everywhere where there was any prospect for accumulating riches. Even when diamonds were discovered at Chiadzwa in Manicaland, the President appointed a relative to be the Minister of Mines while mining tenders were salvaged by companies owned by the army generals and the Presidium (Human Rights Watch, Jun 2009). The article by Nyamunda and Mukwambo (2012) exposed details of how Mugabe's no-nonsense patronage system worked at the discovery of diamonds at Chiadzwa which turned into an orgy of death as the state bulldozed its way to allow the registered mining companies of its choice to move in and start mining operations. It may also be interesting to observe how the Mugabe-family juggernaut descended on the wildlife sector during the 2000 Land Reform period to cause so much consternation as Politicians and Ministers close to the President used their authority to win hunting tenders and partook in poaching and trade of endangered rhinos. (See below). All these acts point strongly to arguments raised by the rational choice theory that Africa's poverty and under-development owes more to internal mismanagement than it does to external factors as over-emphasized by the dependency theory.

5.3.2 The mystery behind X Kasere's rise and work in CAMPFIRE: Divine intervention or mere superstition?

However with regards to the theme of decolonisation, one area of interest that requires discussion revolves around the mysterious emergence of Supreme Kasere's son referred to here as X who joined CAMPFIRE without any knowledge that he was Mbuya Nehanda's biological great grandson. Referred to here as X, Mbuya Nehanda's great grandson was invited by CCG members to join CAMPFIRE as the Communication Manager but soon rose to the position of Deputy Director when unrelenting efforts were then made by both government and white-led CCG to remove him and to kill him as information obtained from the Kasere family claimed. With no one else in the CCG knowing that X was Mbuya Nehanda's biological grandson, it seemed, according to Kasere (2023) the reason the government and the CCG members wanted him eliminated was because of his anti-corruption stance and his determination to ensure that over US$60m that had been raised for the CCG were directed towards the welfare of rural communities.

It is perhaps interesting to highlight for the sake of discussion that 'X' was the sixth child sired by Mbuya Nehanda's only biological grandson ***Supreme Kasere*** whom the Mbuya herself had organised to go and live far away in Zvimba so that he would survive ruthless efforts by British colonialists who, under the leadership of Cecil John Rhodes, had mistakenly hanged Priestess Charwe and Sekuru Kagubi in a bid to end the Mwenemutapa spiritual dynasty which always defended good governance of both people and natural resources since the death of African Adam (Kasere, 2023). Thus, as if by some kind of divine intervention and human-spiritual conspiracy, events in CAMPFIRE and the conservation sector in general took a dramatic turn with X's emergence. There was shock in the industry when the man who was tasked to eliminate him was involved in both roads and aircraft accidents, each occurring on the exact days that meetings were privately held either to remove him or to murder him (See picture of a crashed aeroplane on addendum). It was then after the crashes and death of the man tasked to kill him that panic struck the industry and forced the CAMPFIRE Board to appoint him the Director (Kasere, 2023). Board minutes and several communiques held by the researcher all point to the fact that donor driven efforts were made by the CAMPFIRE Board and leading CCG executives to force X out of the organisation.

What is fascinating about the X factor is that X did not know upon joining the CAMPFIRE programme that he was the surviving great grandson of Mbuya Nehanda since his father had to die without informing his children about the secret because of fear that he, and his family will be harassed or killed by white people. At joining the programme, X, who did not know the secret that the programme was only established as a boondoggle or front to prevent banning of the lucrative trade in ivory and hunting of the elephant undertook his community-based conservation principles so seriously that so much that the architects of the

CAMPFIRE boondoggle had to fight to remove him and kill him so that no one else would then bring to light that the millions intended for community projects had to be shared between the CCG and the top leadership of the country. Without this knowledge, X, as both project manager of USAID sponsored NRMP II and as Deputy Director cum Director, discharged his duties emotionally and effectively to empower communities and to spread the gospel of conservation abroad (Dzikiti, Oct 1999). An examination of literature shows that progress made by X was well published both in Zimbabwe and abroad so much that upon his resignation, even the Herald (the main newspaper of the country) warned that the resignation of X would destroy the programme since he was the man largely behind its success.

Notwithstanding most dramatic occurrences to eliminate X from both the Zimbabwe Trust-initiated CAMPFIRE and life itself, it is the role played by X with support of mainly white specialists in the programme that draws academic interest on explaining how far the doctrine of superior responsibility (Bantekas, 2003), which is used mainly on mundane matters of international humanitarian law, can be extended to explain God's spiritual responsibility in determining the behaviour and fate of people in their day to day activities. While it is convenient to dismiss indigenous African beliefs as mere superstition, there is no doubt that the invitation of Mbuya Nehanda's great grandson by Zimbabwe Trust officials, his anti-corruption stance and determination to protect local people and their natural resources and his mysterious survival – all seem to suggest that God had a hand in the X factor. Could there be some divine intervention that influenced the white-dominated CCG to appoint Mbuya Nehanda's grandson only for him to start dictating to them the importance of channelling millions of dollars to communities? Was it by coincidence that X, the great grandson of the Mwenemutapa, who himself at that time did not know about his ties to the Mhondoro family, continued to implement the Ubuntu and conservation gospel that his fore parents implemented centuries back as they defended gold and other natural resources from being expropriated by Europeans as far back as the mid-1500s? Could it also be a matter of coincidence that attempts to kill X failed in just the same way attempts to kill Mbuya Nehanda in 1898 ended up killing the wrong innocent people namely Charwe Nyakasikana and Sekuru Kagubi thus sparing the true Mbuya Nehanda to transfer her grandson to Zvimba and then lived long to be carried by liberation war fighters to go to pray for safety of guerrillas while living at the headquarters of the ZANLA guerrillas in Mozambique? Notwithstanding strange things that happened to X from childhood (See addendum), could the X factor not be linked to the same mysteries associated with Mbuya Nehanda when former Zimbabwean Minister and National Hero Josiah Tungamirai's passed a comment sayingt: "There must be some science in this. Some time we must really go deeply into this because there are some wonders being made by some of these people" (Martin and Johnson, 1981: 77).

Some of the questions that sceptics of the Mwenemutapa Mhondoro spirit may never be able to explain is why it had to be Mbuya Nehanda's great grandson who was selected to occupy the position in CAMPFIRE which demanded a Mwenemutapa-like character who never could compromise rights of local communities from enjoying benefits accruing from their resources be they minerals in 1550s when Silveira was killed, or ivory when Nehanda's father was Mwenemutapa in the 1700s. Why was it that without knowing what happened in past centuries before them, all the people who succeeded the Mwenemutapa spiritual dynasty including Mbuya Nehanda, Kapararidze, Mupunzagutu and many others always maintained the Ubuntu stance which insisted that local resources must primarily benefit local people in the same way CAMPFIRE principles read today?

5.4 Objective 2: To determine if the government's fast track land reform programme had been well planned to ensure that newly resettled farmers and ex farm workers would conserve the environment and sustainably utilise wildlife upon being allocated the land.

5.4.1 Political agenda for the land reform revisited

A sound discussion on a study that seeks to establish how the land reform programme impacted wildlife management cannot be accomplished without putting into proper perspective the agenda for which the Zimbabwean government carried out a violent fast-track land reform programme in the first place. This question is crucial especially when considering that the government could have opted for a negotiated approach which would have seen more peaceful, well-planned, and phased-in stages. As opined by the majority of national stakeholders and communities interviewed, it never made sense why the government opted for a fast-track crash programme in the first place, and not wait for a slower method of takeover of farms which could have been friendlier to planning for wildlife conservation than a fast track. A burning question that literature has left begging for dialogue is why the land reform had to be fast-tracked in the first place Why was proper planning compromised for speed by a government that had been in power for 20 years and therefore had ample time to plan for a gradual takeover of land and resettle people in phases rather than using force and urgency that provoked harsh reactions from the West?

A perusal of literature and research findings show that the land reform that was carried out in Zimbabwe for almost 15 years since the turn of the 21st century was not inspired by a mass revolutionary goal to repossess land from white people to resettle masses of people. As pointed out by an academic interviewed as a representative of one of the conservation organizations, what logically seemed to have sparked the war for land in 2000 were the personal power-serving interests of a President who wanted to punish whites and the West for seemingly drifting towards supporting the newly formed political party namely the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) which was winning widespread support, especially in urban areas. The

Professor also raised concerns about the timing of the land reform and asked why the government opted to rush the process even when there were early warning signs from SADC for an impending drought that stretched continuously from 2000 to 2003. Even the Utete Report (2003) also confirmed how the deadly effects of the drought crippled the implementation of the FTLRP.

One question that arise is why the government could not delay the exercise till a more conducive time considering that the majority of Zimbabweans had voted against the takeover of white farms without compensation in the 2000 referendum in the first place. The issue was discussed at length in interviews cited in Chapter Four as some academics questioned why the President and ZANU PF, who were in power for 20 years and knew beforehand the Zimbabwean economy was so intricately tied to the white man and the West for survival went on to rush to implement the FTLRP without properly planning for it. It is clear the President knew that a fast-track takeover of land was bound to result in sanctions which the Utete Report (2003) lamented as one of the external challenges that affected smooth implementation of the FTLRP. In consideration of all odds, the only logical explanation of why the ruling party adopted the radical land reform was not just to teach white people a lesson, but also to punish the local African population for having voted 'NO' to the 2000 referendum as well as showing a resolve to want to exercise their democratic right to improve their livelihoods by changing the government. After all that was the essence of democracy which the post-independent government always insisted as governing elections that gave Mugabe and ZANU PF legitimacy to stay in power since independence.

5.4.2 **Absence of a proper land-needs assessment: A sign of a rushed and unplanned work**

An AGRITEX officer interviewed said the government seemed to have rushed the process without having carried out a land-needs assessment to establish how many local Africans needed land in the first place. She said the land need assessment would have avoided the embarrassing situation in which many people were not as keen to apply for land forcing government to place many advertisements virtually begging people to apply. She said it was no wonder that the majority of people who ended up applying for land were soldiers, policemen, civil servants and even lawyers and doctors who had to scratch their heads in order to imagine what reasons they could give to justify their application for land. A University Professor also observed that there were many other people who applied for land for speculative reasons to receive diesel and other farming inputs which they simply sold on the black market. He said many thousands of people who had skills in agriculture or needed land to undertake non-agricultural projects such as wildlife ranches did not bother to apply because the government agenda did not seem serious and humane. Many of these people would have preferred a negotiated transfer of land on mutual agreement and not one which required to spill blood of white people to secure land.

5.4.3 **CAMPFIRE: the continuation of colonialism by other means**

I think it is important to discuss research findings that showed that many Zimbabweans never had a clear understanding of the CAMPFIRE background or the status and role played by Zimbabwe Trust and other CCG members in taking a lead in the establishment of the programme in a manner that favoured Western imperialism. There is need to observe that according to the rational theory, Western imperialism had every right to use every diplomatic strategy to negotiate deals that best represented their interests. The problem lied squarely on the Zimbabwean leadership particularly President Robert Mugabe who clandestinely formed underground alliances with British officials who used their intelligence far more effectively to strike deals more favourable to themselves. The fact that the British easily trapped the Zimbabwean President into a corrupt deal to transfer millions of dollars of blocked funds by 1981 speaks volumes about the weakness of the Zimbabwean ruler than a fault on the part of the West. The President's behaviour and propensity for corruption raise serious academic eyebrows about the intellect and integrity that President Robert Mugabe had as a suitable personality to lead Zimbabwe. Although the dependency theory may blame the West on internal problems for underdevelopment, virtually everything the President did, be it how he handled Mbuya Nehanda's remains; his violent disposition in settling political differences which manifested in crushing political descent and how he placed trust on white people and relatives in running the wildlife industry, the economy and his personal financial interests all raise questions of whether there was any modicum of reasoning and integrity in the manner Mr Robert Mugabe conducted himself either as Prime Minister or President. It would seem many people including I (the researcher) who adored President Mugabe did so more out of an emotional appreciation of the leader's well-spoken English than about a more serious consideration of the vision and strategies the leader had in place and in mind on how he intended to manage the Zimbabwean Political Economy and drive the country to prosperity. Apart from his folly of not foreseeing how his handling of blocked funds would make him gullible for blackmailing by imperialist agencies that cannot be blamed for obviously wanting to maintain their socio-cultural, political and economic interests, the President could not foresee how weak his approach was in allowing the CCG to form CAMPFIRE and run the wildlife industry to further their own foreign-determined interests than those of local Zimbabweans.

The leader seemed to pursue a policy of muddling through which lacked a sound philosophical vision for running the country. Right from assuming office in 1980, the Zimbabwean government appeared clueless about what political dispensation it preferred for economic development. The leader's one step forward towards socialism and one-party state and the two-steps backward in embracing capitalism through the painful structural reform programme adopted in 1987 confirm to the leader's lack of a formidable approach

and philosophical conviction on how to run the country. No wonder he had to depend on Western leadership in the development of projects and programmes for the management of the wildlife industry in particular. His insatiable appetite for self-enrichment which started with the Zimbabwe Trust deal and continued with blackmailing safari operators throughout the years (Clifton, 2015) must have contributed significantly in undermining the authority he had either as Prime Minister or President in taming white people and imperialism into towing the CAMPFIRE line which required communities to receive a fair share of dividends. Instead, the Zimbabwean President had become a vassal of Western imperialism who could not come up with tight policies to prevent massive transfers of millions or perhaps billions of dollars that were proceeds of money paid for hunting which had to be transferred to offshore accounts. In fact, the President became a puppet of the West when an underground deal was struck for the benefit of Western hunters who wanted to block international efforts to ban ivory trade and hunting of the elephant when concerned members of the international community wanted to save the endangered elephant from extinction. object stand his grounds to object to demands made by either Britain or the US. To influence the UN convention, it was strategized that one country such as Zimbabwe, which was a popular destination for hunting of the elephant, had to use the North-South rhetoric and argue that hunting and trade in ivory had to continue because it benefited impoverished African rural communities who had since developed programmes such as CAMPFIRE to share benefits of hunting and trade in ivory for their rural development (Kasere, 2008)..

It was then that the Zimbabwean government, through the initiation of Zimbabwe Trust (a British organisation using a Zimbabwean nomenclature) agreed to send the then Minister of Environment, Mrs Victoria Chitepo to fly to CITES Conference of Parties meeting in Switzerland to make a false affirmation that Zimbabwe already had a programme such as CAMPFIRE which benefitted rural communities arguing that banning of hunting and trade in ivory was undesirable because doing so would have negatively affected rural communities who benefitted from the hunts and ivory trade. This false assertion that was made to support the Bush Administration which wanted hunting to continue (Bonner, 1993), was the reason why white people alone started to lead the formation of CAMPFIRE whose establishment was only fast-tracked later after it had been falsely proclaimed to exist. This is why Clifton (2015) was right in stating that CAMPFIRE was a boondoggle. It was only established to ensure that the top leadership of Zimbabwe and the U.S would never be exposed for having made false claims that a programme that benefitted communities in ivory trade and trophy hunting already existed in Zimbabwe.

As a result, it seems true, as stated in Chapter Four that the establishment of CAMPFIRE had to be rushed so that the programme would appear operational in Zimbabwe. It was only thereafter that architects of the CAMPFIRE programme developed all the fancy principles of community participation which were

intended to convince the international community about the existence of CAMPFIRE so that the planned CITES ban would fail. As well argued in Chapter Two, the fancy principles of community participation were designed by white architects not because the white people genuinely wanted grassroots people to benefit, but because the program had to seem to exist to save the face of Republicans who did not want it to appear that fraudulent declarations about the existence of CAMPFIRE had been made to save hunting from being banned at CITES in 1989. This is why well-informed British academics such as George Monbiot scoffed at CAMPFIRE and described it as a project of Western colonialism, "devised by white Zimbabweans, managed by British and American agencies" who were not at all keen to engage the rural people of Zimbabwe. Monbiot (1999) went on to reveal that: "Campfire has little to do with the welfare of poor Zimbabweans. It has little to do with conserving wildlife." In reference to its origin to serve interests of U.S. gun lobby, Monbiot said the programme "has everything to do with servicing perverse and lucrative fantasies of a bunch of American gun fanatics who have something missing in their trousers department."

One question that deserve clear discussion is whether Zimbabwe Trust should be blamed for playing the role it played in the wildlife industry. What makes the Zimbabwe Trust case an interesting subject for academic discussion is not just the socio-economic and ecological role the organisation played in perpetuating imperialist interests in Zimbabwe, but also the underground role that Mugabe played to create it. It must be noted that the organisation known as Zimbabwe Trust never made any effort to conceal its British status. While it cannot be denied that the name Zimbabwe Trust concealed the Welfare Organisation's true identity as a foreign organisation, I think it needs highlighting that in its documentations, the organisation openly projected itself as a white owned, white led and financially powerful organisation. Even though its nomenclature seemed deceptive especially to Zimbabweans who dealt with it, the trust never misrepresented its status as a British organisation. It openly declared its British registration or Welfare No. 279854 so much that one cannot find them faulty of misrepresentation. It is also interesting that the organisation never played hide and seek with its management. Everyone who dealt with it knew that Rob Monro was its Zimbabwean leader while Keith Madders was its UK-based Director-General. It must also be stated that even though the organisation was not obliged to declare the family background of Lady Soames as the husband of Lady Soames or as daughter of former Prime Minister Winston Churchill, the organisation was quite transparent in publishing that Lady Soames was its President in UK, and that many of its other UK based trustees included Sir Glyn Jones (Chairman), Sir Bryan Roberts, Mr Martin Madders and Keith Madders himself (Zimbabwe Trust, 1996).

It would seem that if there was a problem of lack of transparency, the problem was more on the Zimbabwean side than on Zimbabwe Trust. Zimbabwe Trust must actually be applauded in that in its 15th Year

Anniversary Report, the organisation openly acknowledged how in 1981 they sourced services of two men-John Mapondera and Cornellius Mubi to acquire the blocked funds (Zimbabwe Trust, 1996). Lack of transparency over a matter that should have been openly addressed in Parliament and the mysterious appointment of Mugabe's own blood relative to help in the proposed deal by Zimbabwe Trust to donate money in frozen bank accounts of foreign companies that operated in Rhodesia to the new trust "and take a tax deduction in Britain" (Bonner, 1993: 262) was an internal problem for Zimbabweans. The whole secrecy raises serious questions about the extent of President Mugabe's involvement on the deal. The fact that Zimbabweans did not know that John Mapondera was President Mugabe's cousin who had blood ties with him through the Matibiri family which Mugabe belonged to reflects more about the weaknesses of Zimbabweans than the British. It was also problematic that perhaps many academics did not know that John, like his brothers Chris, Herbert and Hosea and sister Esnathi constituted one of President Mugabe's most trusted relatives who Mugabe placed in different state boards to represent him. It seems Mugabe had strategized his corruption strategy very well by placing Hosea Mapondera as the former director-general of the Zimbabwe Broadcasting Corporation, while John and Esnathi sat on the boards of various government-owned companies (Helen Suzman Foundation, 2001). In fact, members of the Mapondera family were an almost permanent feature of Mugabe's boards throughout his 37-year rule in Zimbabwe (Helen Suzman Foundation, 2001). For example, in each of the numerous mining and environment boards published in the Herald of 5 February 1999, President Mugabe's inner circle relatives featured in almost every one of them. Among the notable names featured included Chris Mapondera who was put in the Parks and Wildlife Board and Leo Mugabe who was placed in the Tourism Board (Herald, 11 February 1999). John Mapondera, who at one time was appointed CEO of Zisco Steel, had also been placed in so many boards of government-owned companies since 1980. It is even surprising that Zimbabweans had put so much trust in their President so much that none of local academics even dare realised how it was Leo Mugabe who was given the tender to build the National Airport even when his organisation was rated the fourth (Theroux, 2002). All Zimbabweans never even bothered to understand why Mugabe named the High Court building Mapondera to reflect his true surname. Nobody, not even the media, ever cared to observe how Mugabe placed his kins and colleagues in key ministries such as Local Government; Mining and many others where they helped the President acquire wealth which is estimated to run into billions of dollars (Zvikaramba, 2023).

It was therefore of significance that during the survey the researcher posed questions about the origins of CAMPFIRE and how white people were allowed to do as they pleased in Zimbabwe while the President of the country never did anything to control them. The response captured in Chapter Four of a Professor who alleged involvement of the top leadership in corruption seemed on point. It would seem Zimbabwean rural

communities, who were only used as a proxy for the continuation of hunting, never really benefitted. Hence communities in Darwendale seemed rational enough to prefer to use their newly acquired land for livestock and crop production even when knowledge that had been accumulated to date showed that if four farms including Shield that teethed with many species of game had been utilised for a medium-sized community-based conservancy, communities stood to earn huge revenues from tourism, hunting and other ventures that are made possible by high level of precipitation that produced food and drinking water for wildlife.

5.5 Objective 3: To assess how far newly resettled farmers were capacitated to manage land to conserve and sustainably utilise wildlife species for both their commercial and subsistence value.

Objective 3 brings into discussion a very interesting area which seeks to establish whether newly resettled farmers had been given the necessary support and direction to manage and sustainably utilise wildlife species that roamed the former white-owned farms such as Shield and also most of all farms which had many species mainly antelopes within their boundaries. The discussion is again meant to show how President Mugabe's government lacked clear policy on most things he did including the FTLRP and how to resettle people accordingly. Responses obtained through questionnaires and focus group discussions at the four Darwendale farms showed that many members of the African community lacked substantial knowledge about the major benefits that wildlife could offer a landowner at the time they were allocated land during the 2000 FTLRP. Almost all communities who participated in focus group interviews only thought land could only be put to best use through crop and livestock production. The ignorance stems mainly from a lack of knowledge by politicians, academics, government departments, and many other stakeholders among black communities who did not understand what sport hunting was all about and how it generated millions of dollars for mostly white safari operators and top government ministers and politicians. Interviews held with Conservation organisations showed that many of them understood how over 90 percent of the income generated by CAMPFIRE came from sport hunting, but showed no further knowledge of how trophy hunting functioned as a sport. Almost all people asked during focus group discussions also showed neither knowledge nor interest in how safari hunts were marketed.

Government ignorance about trophy hunting and prices paid by international clients also surfaced in the aftermath of the shooting of Cecil the lion by American dentist, Walter Palmer. When asked to shed light on how much safari operators received from international clients to hunt the mega fauna, President Mugabe answered: "We do not know what payments they are given" (Clifton, 2015). Mugabe went on to describe the safari industry saying, "They have what they call safaris and we do not know what is happening in the safaris because they make arrangements with visitors from outside to come and shoot this animal, that

animal ...” (Clifton, 2015). He said the government was not happy with the safaris. As far as he was concerned, the wild animals that were being shot were supposed to be approved by the government, but the government was not aware of what was happening in the industry.

However, the literature reviewed shows why many Africans including political leaders seemed to know little about safari hunting. There seems to be little or nothing taught in schools about sport hunting. This is also true for the South African curriculum where virtually nothing is taught about the wildlife industry even though the wildlife industry has been growing rapidly since the 1960s. Although South Africa had developed secondary school subjects in tourism for Grade 11 students, the content of the curricula reviewed in Focus for Tourism by Train et al (2006) and Tourism: Learner’s Guide by George et al (2006) shows that focus of tourism is placed almost exclusively on non-consumptive tourism in general which hardly touches on hunting. This has led many people not to focus on safari hunting, its definition and benefits derived as less significant. With a lion such as Cecil fetching over US$55 000 and perhaps far more for an elephant bull, it makes a mockery of knowledge to assume that safari hunting is inferior to non-consumptive safari to justify the lack of curricula on safari hunting operations and Wildlife Management in schools and universities in general.

It is also important to put into proper context the comments obtained from an interviewed university lecturer who moaned lack of proper courses on tourism and wildlife courses at primary and secondary schools in Zimbabwe. The lecturer argued for the need to provide the new crop of farmers with a wide base of knowledge on different land use systems so that they would appreciate the commercial value of many species of wild fauna that seem only useful to them for poaching for the pot. The comments by the University lecturer seemed to be on point considering responses shown in Chapter Four on people’s choices on land use and how they value different species of wildlife in comparison with livestock. In a survey that sought to show the extent to which lack of knowledge or training on the value of wildlife influenced land users to be disinterested in embarking on wildlife-based projects, communities did not hide their lack of experience with wildlife projects and their preference for livestock over wildlife.

It is also important to note that government approach to sub-dividing big farms into smaller units was agrarian and nothing more. This was confirmed in the Utete Report (2003) which clearly stated that under fast track, emphasis tended to be placed on the use of land for crops and livestock, with not much attention being paid to wildlife production as a legitimate land use option on newly settled farms. The fact that the Utete Report went on to state that government and communities showed little appreciation of good progress that had been made in converting former agricultural land into wildlife ventures confirms the main argument

of this researcher that responses obtained by communities on Table 4.2, in which they showed preference for agriculture, even when given land in agro-ecological regions IV and V were a reflection of ignorance and lack of training by implementors of the FTLRP who did not prioritise conservation of wildlife and the need to train new settlers accordingly. The responses by new settlers were therefore not a measure of reasoning of a well-trained man/woman who carefully considered the bulk of literature that gathered dust in cabinets of top government officials whose own interest in implementing the land reform was to be able to acquire more farms for themselves in violation of the one-man one farm that seemed to be the idea behind the FTLRP.

But is it not a big surprise that the FTLRP was implemented purely as an agrarian programme when the conservation movement, which was made up of largely NGOs and government departments had made a lot of progress involving millions of donor funds to rally international support for conservation programmes in Zimbabwe which only needed to be properly managed for implementation? Despite reservations appearing in this study, there seemed to be so much enthusiasm of donor support for CAMPFIRE and other wildlife programmes so much that was that showed that the Zimbabwean government, through its implementation of the CAMPFIRE programme had become a worldwide model for best practices in natural resource management that other countries had to emulate. There were even Parliamentary Commissions, including the Rukuni Commission on Agriculture which were set up by President Mugabe's government long before the FTLRP began, which heralded the achievements made by CAMPFIRE in showing the value of wildlife as a competitive land use system that can compete with agriculture in almost every type of agro-ecological regions including regions II. Is it also not enough evidence of the success of CAMPFIRE that even the President's own district of Zvimba used the powerful voice of the President's sister (Sabina Mugabe) to mobilise the Zvimba constituency to join CAMPFIRE so that donor funds available in CAMPFIRE could be channelled towards wildlife conservation in newly acquired farms? Or could it be possible that all the efforts that were being made to join CAMPFIRE and to get funding were intended to help the President's family to acquire and personalise farms such as Shield while the supposed rightful beneficiaries were criminalised as poachers who became a burden to new farmers as articulated in the Utete Report (2003). Was there moral justification to award the Shield farm to the son of President Mugabe's sister who also benefitted hugely from state funds provided to A2 farm owners to personalise ownership of all the animals that while ordinary people were being told either to pack and go back to countries of their parental origins such as Malawi, Zambia and Mozambique or to accept working for the President's family perhaps for virtually nothing because they were deemed foreigners in the country of their birth.

I think the disenfranchising of Rhodesian-born ex-farm workers that manifest far more clearly in the Utete report (2003) deserves a more elaborate anaslysis to render this discussion more illuminating and valid for academic discourse. This is important because it shows clearly that the xenophobia attacks on foreign nationals in South Africa were also deep-rooted in the Zimbabwean President with regards to ex-farm workers who were perhaps third or fourth generation of migrants who largely came from neighbouring Zambia, Malawi and Mozambique in search of farming and mining work in Southern Rhodesia. It needs observing that during the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, Zimbabwe then Southern Rhodesia was the most attractive destination to earn a decent livelihood in just the same way South Africa has become today. What is interesting from the discussion is that Mugabe, who himself seem to have covered much of his true background as a son of a foreign migrant (Vulala, 2023), fancied himself to be a Zezuru because of the ethnic background of his mother. But if true that he indeed had a foreign origin, then it should raise questions as to why he continued to harbour xenophobic sentiments against people of foreign origins typical of those who worked in mines and commercial farms who were second or third generation of Zimbabweans. What would be important for discussion here is whether it made sense to continue discriminating against ex farm workers who seemed to have been denied rights to also inherit land and to effectively participate in conserving and utilisation of natural resources in their country of birth.

But before going deep to analyse the implication of the marginalisation of ex-farm workers as confirmed by the Utete Report (2003), I think it is important to clarify that the Chairman of the Commission Dr Charles Utete himself was not as independent as many non-Zimbabweans may think, but was an insider to the Mugabe family whose report therefore must be understood as part of Mugabe's propaganda to project himself to both Zimbabweans and the outside world to make it seem that he was a principled leader who consulted independent minds to guide his policies which included his mania to persecute ex farm workers and deny them right to form wildlife based initiatives that also benefitted them and their families. Though well-respected even by the researcher, Dr Charles Utete must be correctly identified in his rightful context as the uncle to Grace Mugabe (nee Utete). He was the sole man who played the important role of arranging the meeting between President Mugabe and Grace which led to their marriage. This means that far from seeming to be a report from independent citizens, the Utete Report was more or less a public relations gimmick intended to express personal opinions of President Mugabe hence an unfair attack on ex farm workers who could not speak for themselves in defense to stigmatization that labelled them as poachers who caused a menace to the new farm owners.

It must be noted that President Mugabe had long expressed resentment for ex farm workers whom he accused for having been working with white farmers in voting 'No' to the 2000 referendum which would

have given him sweeping powers to takeover white owned farms without compensation. In other words, Mugabe seemed to dislike ex-farm workers whom he associated with those that had been influenced by white farmers and the British government to vote him and his ZANU PF out of office. It is perhaps with regards to the manner Mugabe treated farm workers which may help academics to investigate the truth about President Mugabe's origins and why he showed a strong phobia for farm workers whom he regarded as foreigners who deserved to be repatriated back to their countries of origins notably Zambia, Malawi or Mozambique. Could it be that the presence of farm workers in Zimbabwe were a constant reminder of his own background that he wanted to hide or forget about?

An interesting study made by Vulala (2023) showed that President Mugabe's father might easily have been of Malawian origin which is why Mugabe played hide and seek with his real surname which was certainly not Mugabe. According to Vulala (2023), the surname Mugabe must have been adopted because he was possibly sired by a migrant worker at a mine which was located near the Mugabe area in the Makaranga province of Masvingo. Mugabe's real name then must have been Matibiri or Mapondera. Both the names, according to Vulala (2023), are highly likely to have been of Malawian descent. Vulala's findings seem to be correct when considering that the name of the building that houses the High Court of Zimbabwe might have been named after Mugabe's real surname 'Mapondera' which means 'killing violently'. This seems to confirm assertions by the Helen Suzman Foundation (2001) that Mugabe, had since independence planted his nephews of the Mapondera family in key institutions and Boards to represent him as well as to arrange the transfer of millions of dollars of blocked funds to Britain in the controversial deal that formed Zimbabwe Trust (Zimbabwe Trust, 1996)). It is also argued that his foreign descent was likely to be the reason why he favoured to appoint some members of the past and present government who have been embroiled in Zambian politics because they are probably half Zambian and half Zimbabwean.

Let me however be quick to point out that even though the strange behaviour and attitude of Mugabe's government against so-called alien citizens are the reason why we should investigate Mugabe's background, the philosophy of the Zambezia school of thought upon which this study is premised does not condone fixed classification of people especially of southern Africa according to national boundaries established by colonial masters. This is because, according to the Zambezia school of thought, all indigenous people of southern Africa are descendants of one family of the Mwenemutapa/Nehanda (Adam/Eve) and share a long history of migration and intermarriages so much that it becomes ludicrous to qualify citizenship in accordance with national geographical boundaries that were recently imposed by colonialists. Upon coming to southern Africa, white colonialists did not understand how all people of the

region in particular started off as one homogeneous family of the Mwenemutapa/Nehanda who then expanded into all directions of the continent and the globe.

This means Kenneth Kaunda had every right to rule Zambia whether his father was of Malawian origin or not. It also means both Mugabe and Emmerson M'nangagwa have every right to be 'elected' Presidents in Zimbabwe regardless of whether their paternal history was foreign or not. Let me qualify my statement by mentioning that the name Mnangagwa does not sound Zimbabwean. At most, it could be spelt Munangagwa to remotely pass for Shona. To some academics, particularly Vulala (2023), the name Mnangagwa seems to derive from Zambian Nyanja and can be assumed to mean 'Mamuna agwa' which when put in English means 'A gentleman has fallen'. (Please note that I am not making any political innuendos about President Mnangagwa falling from power. My thesis is not focused on evaluating President Mnangagwa who is highly respected for his role as a fighter for Zimbabwean independence and hence deserves a chance to rule Zimbabwe. Besides I have stated that southern Africa is one sure region made up of related people who should be the least of all regions expected to be divided according to foreign determined geographical boundaries). But the question of Mnangagwa being Zambian is further reinforced by the fact that the Mnangagwa family still retain their farm in Zambia and that President Mnangagwa has been actively engaged with influencing political processes in Zambia which all confirm his citizenship as a Zambian (Vulala, 2023). As argued by Vulala (2023), the whole argument that Emmerson Mnangagwa's father migrated to Zambia and bought a farm there in the mid-20th century does not sound realistic considering the level of poverty that affected many peasant farmers in Zimbabwe during the colonial era which would have rendered it almost impossible not just to raise funds to buy land in Zambia but also to gain Zambian citizenship without any Zambian background to justify it. The truth being averted, according to Vulala (2023) is that "Emmerson Mnangagwa was a son of a Zimbabwean woman and a Zambian father which accords him dual citizenship as both Zimbabwean and Zambian."[28]

[28] The role that Emmerson Mnangagwa played in the liberation of Zimbabwe must not be understated. According to Martin and Johnson (1981), Emmerson Mnangagwa led the first group of five guerrillas to have gone to China for training on 22 September, 1963. The other members of the group included Eddison Shirihuru who in the early 1990s received negative publicity as a top CIO director responsible for the disappearance of his former girlfriend Rashiwe Guzha who was later declared to be dead. A newspaper report on front page of the Sunday Times of September 13, 1992 headed 'Rashiwe case not closed' gave details that linked Shirihuru as deputy director of CIO who faced charges of murder for Rashiwe Guzha. The paper reported that Shirihuru's case was dropped but former CIO operatives namely Collin Chingura and Cleopas Budiyo (who were believed to be accomplices) remained accused of charges of kidnapping. Subsequent newspaper reports indicated that Shirihuru must have committed suicide over the murder of Guzha (Vulala, 2023).

The point for this discussion is to show that there seemed to have been something two-faced and ambiguous about President Mugabe's policies which on one hand seemed to favour certain people who on the face of it seemed to be of foreign decent while on the other hand continued to harass a certain population of full Zimbabwean citizens who at the launch of the FTLRP were considered better off tracing their foreign background with a view of going back home to neighbouring countries where their forefathers came from. What foreign home in the 20th century was the Utete Report referring to with regards to ex farm workers who were all born in Zimbabwe by parents that were also born in Zimbabwe by fathers who had long been forgotten to be citizens in the country they hailed from? The song '***Aphiri anabwera kuchoka kuHarare'*** which made a hit in the 1970s surely depicted the plight of migrant workers who tried to go back to their so-called foreign home countries without anything to show for their stay in one of Salisbury's well-known suburbs called Harare which later became the name of the capital city of Zimbabwe at independence. When listening carefully to the song, one may not help sympathizing with Aphiri who worked so hard to build Zimbabwe only to go back home to find all his parents long dead and with no one to give him food or shelter. This does not only raise serious questions of justice but also human rights. For the case of this study, it raises whether there was any sense of justice, first for Mugabe to blame all farm workers of Zimbabwe as having been used by white people to vote him out of office, and also whether these people, who according to the survey made at Darwendale farms, were all Zimbabwean born. It is quite disturbing that Zimbabweans have had a history of being persecuted by Mugabe who since the war of liberation always had "a psychological hold" on people who lived in fear of his violent tendences (Booyens, 2005: 131) and hence never raised their voice to protest against him. When Mugabe lost elections to opposition leader Tsvangirai, Mugabe did not announce results for three months, and when re-run was unfairly requested, Mugabe had access to the voter list and used it to cut limbs of people in remote parts of rural Zimbabwe to demonstrate that people's choice of polls was not a secret and if anybody else dare voted against Mugabe at the re-run, then they would have no one else to blame except themselves if they were sniffed out and treated far worse than those losing limbs (Zvikaramba, 2023). It was also Mugabe who subjected city residents to the madness of Murambatsvina which saw furniture and buildings been smashed and bulldozed to the ground in the coldest month of the year to force huge numbers of voters in towns and cities to go to rural areas because they were voting for MDC in urban areas. Was there any justification and respect for human rights to expect that some ex-farm workers be sidelined from being allocated land on the understanding that they had an option of returning "to their countries of origin or to their rural homes in Zimbabwe" (Utete Report, 2003: 3) when they were all Zimbabwean born citizens?

It would seem the Mugabe government's FTLRP (I prefer calling it Fast Track Land Reform Crisis) as confirmed by the Utete Report (2003) was to allocate land to real Zimbabweans and not anyone with a

foreign decent. This discriminatory approach seemed both cruel and problematic to say the least. How could people whose parents or grandparents migrated to Zimbabwe 100 or so years back be considered less Zimbabwean just because their paternal ancestry could be vaguely traced to a neighboring southern African country when conventional standards for granting citizenship should no longer depend on outdated principles of male primogeniture that discriminated women and treated them like minors? Everything boils down to the kind of reasoning and consistency that the national leader commanded. Since independence, President Mugabe never appeared consistent. At one time he was socialist and another time capitalist. What made the Mugabe government even seem far less consistent in terms of policy was how the alluded xenophobic attitude came from a man who not only seemed to have questionable paternal history which he never showed comfort to talk about, but who also seemed surrounded by nephews some of whom used the surname Mugabe perhaps to avoid such surnames as Zhuwawo which could easily be linked to migrant farm workers who lived somewhere around Nicotine farm as shown on the map of Darwendale farms in Chapter Three.

As I have argued before, I honestly do not think it is necessary to find out where each of us came from as long as we are Zimbabwean or southern African or even African. My opinion is that almost everyone in Zimbabwe came from somewhere and all people must be treated equally as we all will need each other as brothers and sisters. If Mugabe accepted that ubuntu (brotherhood) philosophy, then questions of xenophobia and discrimination would not be arising. It is clear that according to the Utete Report (2003), farm workers ended up feeling unwanted and had to wait for years because Zimbabwean government had taken white-owned farms on justification that Prime Minister Tony Blair had made a u-turn to the commitment that Britain had made at Lancaster to provide funding for the land reform in Zimbabwe (Utete, 2003). It was while they awaited government that they were described so badly as ‘poachers’, ‘gold panners’, ‘thieves’ and so on (Utete, 2003). Why all hundreds of thousands of ex-farm workers deserved that criminal categorization only the Zimbabwean leader knew. which seems to be an unfair description to classify hundreds of thousands of ex-farm workers throughout the country. This presented problems for development workers who needed to decide who could be included and excluded when designing conservation projects. The principle of exclusion and inclusion is very important when designing conservation (Maveneke, 1995). It was therefore unfortunate that the policy became so controversial during the implementation of the FTLRP when the land redistribution seemed to depend on how well-connected and likeable one was to the elite who called the tune. The net result was lack of certainty on how best to organize and implement natural resource management projects such as wildlife conservancies and game ranches which would have required that project owners be registered and geographical boundaries be drawn among other factors. No wonder some ex-farm workers at Darwendale farms found their own way back to

their rural homes while others stayed refusing to work while poaching animals as alluded by the Utete Report (2003).

5.5.1 Fear of government's anti-poaching operations as disincentive for wildlife ventures in newly resettled farms

It also needs mentioning that the subject of introducing wildlife projects in newly resettled farms opened up a can of pent-up emotions among communities during the research as it aroused among some participants emotions about friends and relatives who were lost through anti-poaching patrols in some parts of the country where some resettled members hailed from. Some members of communities became wary of participating in anything concerned with wildlife not because they did not want money, but because it would imply bringing to their door-steps anti-poaching operations that lacked a human face. With hundreds of alleged poachers such as Mai Matiki's son who were killed in the Zambezi valley in the late 1990s, it became a mountain task to convince communities that so-called community-based wildlife schemes such as CAMPFIRE are genuine in their founding principle that "wildlife belongs to the person on whose land it is found" (CAMPFIRE News, October 1994).

Perhaps it needs restating that despite having been popular for initiating the CAMPFIRE programme, Zimbabwe remained one of the only two or three countries in the world to enforce a 'shoot-to-kill policy in dealing with poachers who allegedly operated in the Zambezi valley in search of ivory and rhino horns for sale at international markets. According to statistics provided by Bonner (1993: 18), Zimbabwe alone, killed 145 poachers between 1984 and 1991, with only 83 being arrested. While the figures omitted those that were killed from the 70s till 1984, there is no doubt that the total number probably ballooned to a total of 600 or more in subsequent years considering that many more poachers were killed at the peak of CITES debate to down-list the African elephant back to Appendix Two in 1997.

During the focus group interview, many of the communities were not convinced that their loved ones deserved to be killed in the manner they did. Bonner (1993: 18) stated in his book that he had interviewed a white senior ranger who seemed to celebrate the war with poachers in which he killed 17 black poachers personally. Bonner, who cited the senior ranger as saying "We 're fighting it actually as a war" noticed how the ranger seemed thrilled by the war as if it was the one, he had fought in the 70s as an officer in the white Rhodesian army fighting against black independence.

With such simmering rage and brutality that the ranger showed in killing black Zimbabweans, it was not as surprising that an old woman stood up to protest about her son who had been killed in anti-poaching

operations in the Zambezi valley. Perhaps this goes to show the need for anti-poaching units to show some human face in their operations as it seemed that priority was accorded more towards protecting animals than human lives. Shooting of people for animals does not speak well for a country which boasted of having created a community-based programme such as CAMPFIRE for rural people to participate. Why then was there need to use force when people were being hailed as participating in the programme? And is shedding human blood the necessary measure to stop poaching by rural people of Zimbabwe who can not only be easily arrested by the country's well-trained police, but who are not known to own or cache arms in the first place.

Again, the exercise showed great confusion on the leadership in managing people and wildlife. A question should arise as to how a country that shed so much human blood during the war of liberation allow people, especially white to continue shooting people as if they were still Rhodesian soldiers fighting guerrillas during the war of liberation? Was this not a result that the Zimbabweans paid because of the corruption that saw the President working to transfer millions of dollars to Britain and then rendered him powerless to say anything against high levels of brutality that black people continued to endure?

5.6 Objective 4: To establish government capacity to monitor and control activities surrounding conservation and sustainable utilisation of wildlife during the 2000 land reform period

This discussion revolves on how government of Zimbabwe, faced with economic sanctions and a wave of natural disasters and land invasions was able to enforce discipline among citizens to observe environmental laws of the country particularly those aimed at protecting wildlife. It is also worth remembering that lack of restoration of ubuntu and the tradition of wildlife conservation which had been demonised by white people contributed to high levels of poaching as people no longer viewed wildlife as sacred as their fore-parents did when white people attacked the Mwenemutapa institution most notably during the colonial era.

5.6.1 Inherent challenges of monitoring sport hunting activities in Africa

Background information raised in literature as well as research findings in Chapter Four show that there existed so much controversy in both Zimbabwe and outside which raised the question of whether sport hunting could qualify to be called a sport (Kasere, 2024). This subject is of great relevance for discussion when considering that more than 90 percent of CAMPFIRE revenue was generated from sport hunting alone (Bond, 2001). It is therefore of paramount importance to consider the merits and de-merits of trophy/sport hunting if the establishment of a medium sized conservancy in four Darwendale farms would be intended to earn revenue from trophy hunting.

According to Kasere (2024), there was very little sporting to talk of regarding the manner trophy hunting operated. A cursory perusal of literature on most hunts conducted to date shows that there are very few, if any hunters who observe fair chase principles during their hunts. After reading a plethora of existing articles published by hunters themselves, one may be forgiven for thinking that sport hunting is probably more about freedom to break or completely ignore "fair chase" sporting rules than observe. This makes one wonder whether most hunters of the elephant which provides 64 percent of all revenue generated by hunting in CAMPFIRE (Bond, in Rihoy, 1995), are not masquerading as sport hunters to continue with hunting for ivory which was banned by CITES in 1989. Perhaps the seemingly rampant violation of sport hunting principles among hunters suggests that the banning of commercial hunting and trade in ivory in 1989 forced many commercial hunters who cared least about sporting to continue hunting in the guise of sporting.

It would seem that a major reason that may force safari operators and professional hunters not to enforce conservation and sport hunting ethos if not properly monitored are the huge amounts of moneys paid by clients to them. There is no doubt that hunting is big business in Southern Africa and safari operators invest heavily in it to generate as much profits as possible. Though varying with country and marketing abilities of safari hunting operators or outfitters, it is known that hunting clients, who come mostly from Europe and the U.S. pay trophy fees no less than US$20 000 – US$40 000 and daily subsistence fees of $1000 per day up to 21 days to hunt an elephant in Zimbabwe, and perhaps far more in other countries such as Tanzania where, if elephant could be hunted, "a $50 000 fee for a mature bull elephant with ivory of over 30 kg a side would not be unrealistic" (Hurt and Ravn, 2000: 307). The recently published figure of US$55 000 paid by Palmer to shoot Cecil the lion (Clifton, 2015) shows how crazy the prices paid to safari operators are to hunt big game. One can therefore imagine how much a safari operator can generate from a typical full quota granting him rights to hunt over 40 species of animals with one species such as the elephant alone typically granting him 7 bulls per quota.

It is because of the lucrative business generated by the safari industry which is why there has been a phenomenal increase of professional hunters and safari operators particularly in Southern Africa. In Zimbabwe, there has been a dramatic increase of hunters and guides from 50 in 1980 to about 800 fully licensed hunters and guides in 1995 (Zimbabwe Hunter, July 1995). The figure is much higher in South Africa where there are over 9000 registered game ranchers who offer hunting opportunities to all nine provinces of the country (Boddington, African Hunting Gazette, 2011). According to Bigalke (2000), South Africa (before the year 2000) had a total of 50 000 local hunters and 400 professional guides. It is also claimed that in 1991 alone, game farming alone generated R355 million, which when using the then exchange rate translated to more than US$79 million (2000).

What even makes the safari industry attractive for investments are lack of controls that prohibits a safari operator or outfitter from depositing income received from sale of hunts in offshore accounts (Kasere, 2008). There are also no serious monitoring mechanisms to prevent an operator from overhunting to maximise his profits. Ian Michler (2008), writing in the African Geographic, complained about arm tactics used by safari operators to intimidate honest officials and local communities to prevent them from observing the hunting operations in Tanzania. In his article entitled, "End of game", Michler (2008) said no one else among the people he interviewed said anything positive about sport hunting in Tanzania except the professional hunters themselves. According to Michler (2008: 30), "Corruption, lack of transparency, unscientific quota assessments and unethical hunting practices" were just some of the words used by people to describe the industry. Michler (2008) was writing in response to allegations submitted by an MP in Parliament who claimed that unreliable lease contracts and underpayment of rents for hunting blocks were costing the Tanzanian government approximately US$80-million annually. The MP believed that the industry was dominated by a few corrupt operators who received the majority of their income offshore, and who operated as a cartel in collusion with certain senior officials from the Wildlife Division (Michler, 2008).

Most of Michler's findings are also relevant in Zimbabwe where safari hunters or outfitters travel to attend safari conventions such as at Reno in the US where they market hunting quotas to trophy hunters abroad (Kasere, 2024). They then receive advance payments to book hunts which they deposit in foreign accounts and then come back home to receive and host hunting clients on a future scheduled hunt. This way they are able to under-declare the amounts received to RDCs who for example are given far lower trophy prices on which profit-sharing ratios between the safari operator, RDCs and communities are based. In countries such as Zimbabwe where a quota system is used to hunt in safari areas, there has been growing suspicions that quota limitations and sport hunting principles are fragrantly violated for the sake of profiteering (Kasere, 2024).. These suspicions are further heightened by the secrecy with which trophy hunting operations are generally conducted without transparency and accountability on the part of safari operators. Lack of monitoring of safari activities seems a ubiquitous problem throughout Africa where safari operators never seem to encourage anyone to oversee their activities.

Despite having been touted as "one of the most successful community-controlled wildlife programmes in Africa" (Martin, 1996: 37), the Zimbabwean CAMPFIRE programme, when carefully scrutinized reveals serious administrative incapacity to control activities of largely white safari operators engaged in trophy hunting. James Murombedzi (2001: 253), who described CAMPFIRE methods as "patently racist",

complained strongly about the way safari operators prevent any serious monitoring of their hunting operations. He noted that "locals attached to monitor the hunting operations are typically left stranded in the village due to lack of space for them in hunting trucks, and consequently the communities remain suspicious about what actually goes on out in the bush" (Murombedzi, 2001: 253). This issue is of major conservation concern especially for hunters in CAMPFIRE areas where the system lacks effective monitoring mechanisms to restrain hunters from over-hunting or abusing wildlife in order to maximise their profits.

It needs underscoring that the only really known mechanism by government and communities to monitor the work of hunters is that "A national parks game scout accompanies hunters to ensure that quotas are observed" (Kasere, 2024). This is also perhaps the commonly used monitoring mechanism in many other African countries. In Tanzania, "Game scouts accompany all safari hunting parties and have to make reports at the end of each hunt" (Hurt and Ravn, 2000: 308). But considering that "government authorities throughout Africa have become steadily more corrupt and incompetent in their role as licensing authorities" (Williams, 1997: 3), and also low salaries paid to game scouts, one wonders whether it is not possible for a lone game scout assigned to accompany hunters to be compromised by gifts, game meat and small moneys in order to shut up about overhunting and other malpractices. No wonder it was overhunting and abuse of quotas by safari operators which forced Kenyan government to ban trophy hunting in 1977 (Ottichilo et al, 2000: 203).

Perhaps one needs to take cognisance of comments made by W P Lyman in the Zimbabwe Hunter, (March, 1997) to understand the commercial fiasco that sport hunting had turned into. In his abortive bid to call for the establishment of a committee to judge and control the ethics of hunters in Zimbabwe, Lyman, who was apparently an avid hunter, noted that the objective of making money had become a strong factor that rubbished the whole issue of ethical hunting (Lyman, 1997). According to Lyman, (1997: 34), "if you have sufficient money, you can buy as much hunting ... and as many animals as you want". Lyman went on to demonstrate malpractices that afflicted the hunting industry in Zimbabwe and made an eye-catching statement towards the end of his article which suggested that those who broke hunting ethics in sport hunting seemed to outnumber those who chose to respect them. In Lyman's words, "As regards Ethics in the hunting profession, there will always be those who abide by them but I feel they are in the minority, and they are ruled by the money they can make at any cost" (Lyman, 1997: 35).

A cursory study of most articles written and published by the hunters in their own in-house journals raise doubts on whether host safari operators or professional hunters can actually force a highly paying client to

abide with sport hunting and conservation principles during hunting sessions. Despite Mark Butcher's denial that he would not stand by and watch a paying client abuse sport hunting and conservation principles by using wrong ammunition or shooting animals from unacceptable long ranges (Butcher, 1999), many published articles show that big game trophy hunting in Africa since the dawn of colonialism perhaps up to the present, was always predominantly commercial, and not sporting. This is because there is nothing in literature that shows at what point in history in Africa that hunters who always hunted elephants for ivory, ever converged to renounce unscrupulous commercial harvesting of big game species in order to assume a new sporting dimension that prescribed a well agreed ethical code of conduct for sport hunt. A recent publication written by Eustice Sapieha who was a well-established safari operator in East Africa before Kenya banned hunting in the 1970s provides testimony that trophy hunting in Africa was always a non-sporting adventure which never observed principles of fair chase that characterise sporting.

5.6.2 **Use of intimidator tactics by safari operators to prevent being monitored**

It is important to note that safari operators have been evading control and supervision by authorities. This was true for Zimbabwe as it was in other countries in Africa. In Tanzania where Ian Michler reported about arm-twisting tactics used by safari operators to discourage any officials from visiting safari camps, the situation with safari operators in Zimbabwe, according to Kasere (2024) revealed a very gloomy picture indeed where RDC officials have been unable to control safari operators. In commenting about the hidden and unfriendly nature hunting operations conducted in CAMPFIRE districts in Zimbabwe, Murombedzi (2001) also observed that the methods of wildlife utilisation under CAMPFIRE were patently racist and alienated and humiliated local populations. According to Murombedzi (2001: 253): "The safari industry continues to be dominated by whites, with very little participation of blacks in the skilled worker categories." Murombedzi (2001: 253) went on to say that "locals attached to monitor the hunting operations are typically left stranded in the village due to lack of space for them in hunting trucks, and consequently the communities remain suspicious about what goes on out in the bush."

According to literature perused, the magazines for safari operators themselves have been at the forefront from as far back as the 1990s to condemn high levels of corruption that had become institutionalised in the wildlife industry. Writing in the Zimbabwe Hunter, the editor Antony Williams admitted that government authorities throughout Africa had become steadily more corrupt and incompetent in their role as licensing authorities (Zimbabwe Hunter, Jan 1997), while other writers including Barnett (undated) wondered how game scouts and other employees in national parks made ends meet considering poor salaries they were paid by government. The reality though is that government does not, and has never had the capacity to monitor and restrain safari operators from over hunting. This means there is no enforcement of sport hunting

principles in Zimbabwe or outside, and most of the associations that exist are primarily there to organise hunting for their members and to lobby for their rights to hunt but not necessarily to insist on enforcement of sporting principles.

5.6.3 **Challenges of dealing with corrupt activities of top politicians**

The involvement of government ministers in activities involving the exploitation of wildlife resources during the land reform period is of critical concern in assessing how government agencies such as the Parks and Wildlife Authority and Rural District Council were able to execute their duties diligently to control activities of ministers who were their official masters. Several national stakeholder representatives interviewed for this study confirmed that the land reform offered an atmosphere of lawlessness which Ministers not only created but took advantage of to gain entry into former white-owned commercial farms to loot natural resource valuables with a personal agenda of enriching themselves. The observation by conservation organisations of high levels of poaching and habitat loss seemed to fit well with findings at the national level where logging and loss of habitat, in general, were cited among some of the worst impacts on the environment ever to result from Zimbabwe's 2000 land reform programme (Dzingirai et al, 2014).

Top government ministers were also known to have invaded the safari industry with a personal agenda of subduing all other actors including RDCs and national parks to allow them to gain tenders for their companies. The discussion not only represents arguments for providing meaningful tenure to communities to guard against abuse of their resources when AA is granted at RDC but also illustrates how top ministers and politicians used their heavy boots to crash or pacify law enforcement agents and organisations such as national parks and RDCs who dare tried to stop them from abusing the conservation system in the name of black empowerment. Interviews held with all National Stakeholders namely RDCs, Conservation Organisations, and the Safari Industry confirmed that the invasion into the safari industry by political heavyweights shortly before the land reform began as ministers formed safari companies in which they put handpicked white operators mainly from outside Zimbabwe to use as front men for their safari companies. Then, as stated by one NGO official, it was left to the minister, under closed doors, to pile pressure on RDCs and National Parks officials that fell under their control to award them tenders and larger than normal quotas to hunt elephants and other species.

Literature assessed shows that the activities of particularly three top government Ministers who were known to be closely related and or connected to President Mugabe became a subject of consternation among the predominantly white hunters and safari operators who had traditionally enjoyed the monopoly of winning hunting tenders from RDCs. The whites had formed themselves into monopolistic associations such as the

Zimbabwe Association of Tour and Safari Operators (ZATSO). As indicated by one African member of the safari industry in an interview, hunters and safari associations that had been created before 2000 were predominantly for white people and were very difficult for blacks to penetrate. Literature also shows that these whites used to have the exclusive monopoly of winning safari tenders that exploited black communities who received very little contribution as dividends while the white people reaped huge financial benefits (Monbiot, 1999; Patel, 1998) which they stashed in offshore accounts without paying any taxes to governments (Michler, 2008). These whites then felt territorially invaded by ministers who engaged white safari operators allegedly handpicked mainly from South Africa to conduct unethical hunting activities on behalf of ministers. Even the president of the Zimbabwe Conservation Task Force, Johnny Rodrigues implicated government officials in managing or profiting from poaching syndicates. According to Rodrigues: "The big issue is that there are some bigwigs involved in poaching, and this should be thoroughly investigated," (Wright, 2015).

5.6.3.1 How greed and parsimony by politicians worsened the developmental plight of communities

The money-factor syndrome, or rather the necessity to enrich oneself as discussed in Chapter Two has had a strong bearing in influencing high levels of parsimony among top ministers who stopped distributing income to grassroot communities when they allocated their own safari companies tenders to hunt in rural areas. Without democratic institutions in Zimbabwe and an independent judiciary, it was a mere mockery to think of the concept of rule of law and pre-suppose that any of Mugabe's cabinet ministers could be stopped from engaging into acts of corruption that caused a collapse of CAMPFIRE for more than a decade (Masara, 2011), as top government officials pocketed virtually 100 percent of income earned from sale of hunting quotas abroad. With Mugabe's relatives and top ZANU PF members taking over almost everything lucrative in the country be it farms, industries, mines, hunting tenders and others, there was an outcry in the wildlife sector over the tendences involving top government officials and ministers who took over hunting tenders and flouted with impunity the CAMPFIRE principles of community participation and sharing of revenues. The trend started in 1999 when Dr Don Heath, wildlife ecologist and Editor of the African Hunter claimed that the biggest threat to wildlife and its conservation in Zimbabwe did not "come from poaching, the anti-hunting crowd, unethical hunters or operators", but rather came "from greedy (corrupt) politicians or professionally incompetent and/or corrupt senior parks officials" (Heath, Feb 1999: 11) who wanted to make as much money as possible before the chances were lost. In subsequent issues of the African Hunter, Heath and later Ira Larivers (2010) attacked the crop of top government ministers for not being concerned with serious conservation of wildlife but to maximise their financial gains by awarding their safari operations big and unsustainable quotas and by even hunting in national parks where hunts were not

permitted. In the August 2000 issue of the *African Hunter*, Heath (2000) observed that: "High morals, lofty ideals or even good, sound, scientific advice on the long-term essentialness of genetic conservation are completely lost on politicians whose vision extends only as far as the day after the next election."

In one issue of the African Hunter written in 2009, Ira Larivers (2010) wrote that "with corruption now a mainstay in the Zimbabwean government, it is a fact that unlicensed, or 'irregularly' licensed safari operators are taking clients on hunts in the country, often within the Parks and Wildlife estate..." (Larivers, 2009: 3-4). It was in the context of high corruption involving top government ministers that the Hwange National Park was subjected to bouts of illegal hunts, both for meat and by 'sport' hunters guided by dubious operators, mostly from outside Zimbabwe's borders (Larivers, 2010). It had also been alleged that a gang of white hunters based in South Africa was the one that was being engaged by Zimbabwean ministers to unethically shoot wild game animals including the protected black rhino population. The attack on alleged corrupt activities of top government ministers was even more pronounced and vitriolic in The Mr X Files that were being more regularly attached in the middle pages of the African Hunter magazines. According to The Mr. X Files (2010) when rhino poaching reached unprecedented levels during the land reform era, "a Chinese national was arrested at a roadblock with rhino horn, and he implicated three cabinet ministers". According to The Mr. X Files (2010), "The police investigated, but the docket was mysteriously lost and the investigating officer transferred".

As observed by Kasere (2024) trend noticed throughout the land reform period is that revenue distribution to communities declined as politicians took over more and more hunting tenders in trophy hunting. This was confirmed in interviews with an ex-RDC councillor who observed that the strategy used by top government ministers was to form their own safari companies which put white men on the front while behind closed doors, the top ministers piled pressure on subordinate RDCs to award hunting tenders to their bids that offered far little or no benefits to communities. According to one ex-councillor interviewed, the practice started to manifest around 1998/99 as ministers gained more knowledge about the lucrative benefits surrounding safari hunting which generated millions of dollars that would be deposited in offshore accounts without paying tax or give a share to CAMPFIRE communities.

Without coming up with a public indigenisation policy that would open up the industry to all Zimbabweans willing to invest in the lucrative safari industry, top government officials, especially ministers closely connected to President Mugabe secretly pounded on the industry not only to ensure that they took over profiteering schemes that were a preserve for white operators, but also made sure that they even paid far less or nothing to communities while using their office to pressurize national parks and RDCs to award

their companies hunting tenders and bigger quotas that allowed them to overhunt elephants and other species. During the entire decade 2000 – 2010 when CAMPFIRE had virtually ceased to operate, rural communities were even sabotaging wildlife projects owned by ministers by poisoning elephants and other animals in Hwange National Parks perhaps as a way of registering their protest against selfishness by ministers who no longer cared to pay the little dividends that communities used to receive in the hay days of CAMPFIRE (Larivers, 2016). An interview with another official from the conservation organizations revealed that one of former President Mugabe's most trusted Ministers who had become very close to him at the time Mugabe was removed from power in a coup in 2017, had caused so much tension and pandemonium at the Nyaminyami Rural District Council in 1998 when the top ZANU PF politician and his white partner personally attended the ceremony for opening and awarding safari hunting tenders (Kasere, 2008). There he pressed that his company is awarded the tender even though he offered to pay ten times less money as dividends to communities than what the highest competing bidder (which was also a partnership of black and white) offered. From then on, many more top politicians joined in and began to look at more opportunities to take over expired hunting tenders all over the CAMPFIRE areas by forming partnerships with as many unregistered white hunters as possible.

As argued by Larivers, (2016), the collapse of CAMPFIRE in Tsholotsho which led communities to support acts of poisoning 100 elephants in Hwange National Park with cyanide, was a reaction of sabotage by communities who were protesting against the loss of dividends they used to receive before top government officials had taken over hunting tenders.

5.6.4 **Non sustainability of quotas issued for hunting**

A discussion on the sustainability of quotas issued to safari operators is a very important theme to ensure effective conservation of wildlife species. An assessment of responses obtained from the survey showed that quotas were prodigiously issued to safari operators before and during the FTLRP. The discussion revolved around a conservation requirement that quotas issued should be calculated based on populations that exist in the wilderness (Child, 1995: 64). And to reach the sustainable size of quotas, the issuing authority has to be able to undertake population surveys so that the numbers allowed for off-take quotas will not allow animals to be over-hunted to extinction. But an analysis of literature and responses obtained from interviews seem to suggest that the Zimbabwe Parks and Wildlife Authority had long lost the capacity to conduct aerial and ground transects to establish populations of species including elephants due to economic hardships and lack of equipment. For many years during the hey days of CAMPFIRE, WWF office in Harare, under USAID funding used to conduct surveys on behalf of the Department of National Parks and Wildlife Management. But in later years towards 2000, WWF began to complain that their

capacity was overstretched and not keen to carry out the surveys as expected (USAID, Mid-Term Evaluation, 1998: 85). Thus, with the expiration of USAID funding and economic hardships that afflicted the country during the period of the land reform throughout the 2000 decade, it almost became a virtual 'impossibility' that the department could ever have recovered its capacity to carry out population surveys for major wildlife species to back quotas issued to safari operators. What this means, according to Kasere (2024), is that hefty quotas throughout the land reform period were being issued to ministers without due consideration of the population of species in the wild.

The responses given by national stakeholders (conservation organisations) in Chapter Four in which the majority (32%) said national parks did not have sufficient resources to carry out its routine duties are perhaps the most rational indicators to assess whether there was any capacity in the department of national parks to conduct population surveys. The capacity of national parks was crucial for the establishment of a medium-sized conservancy in Darwendale since wild animals in Zimbabwe are *res nullius* (Chitsike and Child, 2000) meaning that wildlife utilisation will depend on control and issuance of quotas by government. Far more significant are empirical observations reflected in Chapter Four in which 62% of combined Conservation Organisations disagreed that the quotas issued during the land reform period were sound. When pressed to explain why they felt the quotas were not sustainable, two representatives of Conservation Organisations interviewed also confirmed that ministers during the land reform used their offices to pressurise national parks to award their companies bigger quotas to overhunt elephants and other species beyond sustainable off-takes. For example, according to one interviewee, where an area used to be allowed an off-take of 7 elephants, the quota increased to 13 for a Minister's undercover safari.

It was therefore out of the need to satisfy hunting quotas for ministers that the national parks announced that it would allow hunting of elephants in Hwange national parks – an announcement that irked many conservation specialists who understood that no hunting had to be done in protected areas (Kasere, 2024).

5.6.5 Lack of Government capacity to control communities against acts of violation of environmental laws during the FTLRP

In discussing the capacity that government and other agents had in managing human activities during the land reform processes in Zimbabwe, it is important to appreciate that a number of factors culminated together to undermine the country's capability to protect natural resources from abuse during the land reform period. It needs observing that the economic crises that gripped the country during the land reform was caused by a multiplicity of factors. The factors included natural catastrophic effects of floods and drought; economic sanctions called upon by western countries to boycott funding projects or visiting

Zimbabwe and the general lawlessness, corruption and open access to former white owned farms which all rendered wildlife species vulnerable to abuse by people in general as many people wanted to survive or maximise their benefits as Garrett Hardin's theory of the tragedy of the commons suggest. As such it is not easy to attribute blame to a single factor since in most respects causes and effects mutually reinforced each other to worsen the plight of safeguarding environment and mitigate people's propensity to want to abuse the environment in order to survive.

5.6.6 How government's arrogance and violent approach towards white people and the West undermined economic sustainability of the environment sector during the FTLRP

In its confrontational approach to take over land by violent means, the government seemed to have forgotten that the economy in general and the wildlife industry in particular depended heavily on white people and the West both for funding and markets. Zimbabwe's economic dependence on white people and the West, while not easy to comprehensively account in a few paragraphs, has been more clearly manifest in the wildlife industry where millions or perhaps billions of Western funding have been received before and after the country's gaining of independence. It needs to be noted that soon after independence when Mugabe, pragmatically allowed for the much-needed reconciliation and co-existence with white people, floodgates of Western investment and donor funding began to heavily pour into the country, which, according to Andre Astrow, entrenched the Zimbabwean economy deeper into dependence on Western countries.

As far back as 1980, President Mugabe had started to appeal for Western aid and investment in Zimbabwe. Pleased and impressed by what seemed to be an assurance to perpetuate the dependency of the Zimbabwean economy to the rich capitalist countries of the West, a total of £160m pounds worth of aid was promised by the West by August 1980 (Astrow, 1983). But, as observed by Astrow (1983), the amount pledged was just a drop in the ocean when compared to what was later pledged by the West. As stated by Astrow (1983: 163): "At a donors conference organised in March 1981, a total of £636m was promised to Zimbabwe, bringing the total aid pledged to £890m." Such support and confidence among whites for Mugabe "had the effect of reassuring foreign firms that their investments and interests in Zimbabwe were safe" (Astrow, 1983: 163).

It is therefore not surprising that foreign aid and investment poured into the wildlife and tourism industry to cater to the tourism and economic interests of Zimbabweans and the West. One of the largest foreign funding which plunged Zimbabwe's wildlife sector further into dependence on the West was a grant totalling US$40 million (Clifton, 2015) channelled to the Campfire Collaborative Group (CCG) by the United States Agency for International Development (USAID). According to USAID documents, USAID

has been providing financial support to CAMPFIRE since 1989 (USAID, Mid-Term Report, 1998). Initially, according to USAID documents, USAID provided its support through Natural Resource Management Program Phase One (NRMP I) which was contracted for financial management and program implementation through Zimbabwe Trust (a British registered and white-managed NGO). Apart from USAID support, further donor funding was channelled through Zimbabwe Trust. The organisation, which started with seed money totalling US$5m (or perhaps more) secured from blocked funds (Bonner, 1993), received further millions from over 18 different donors which included USAID, Overseas Development Administration (ODA), European Union, NORAD, SIDA, High North Alliance, Oak Foundation, the Royal Netherlands, GTZ, the Wisdom/Save Foundation and others listed in Zimbabwe Trust's 15th Anniversary Report (1996). But Zimbabwe Trust, like many other CCG members closed offices in year 2000, leaving Zimbabwe to deal on its own with the crisis of land reform which according to many of the national stakeholder organisations and communities interviewed, negatively affected wildlife in many significant ways.

Despite claims of white racism and accusations of fiddling with accounts by safari operators to transfer millions of dollars to offshore accounts while underpaying dividends to RDCs and rural communities, there is no doubt that CAMPFIRE also resulted in many tangible projects during the period of its existence. Top on the list of achievements was the construction of a huge USAID-sponsored two-winged office covering approximately 400 square metres of ground at Mukuvisi Woodlands. Built at the cost of Z$1.5m, the huge office can house up to 30 staff members (CAMPFIRE News, N0. 17, March 1998:1), and was operational home to the USAID-appointed US-based institutional contractor, Development Associates on one wing and Campfire Association on the other. The USAID-sponsored NRMP II, which was CAMPFIRE's main project during the peak of the programme's existence before the land reform, managed to provide capacity-building support to over 20 Rural District Councils. Even though the total spent on CDF at the time of termination of USAID support is not available for the assessment of this article, as of February 1998, the CDF, through the Project Execution Team (PET) "had made 20 grants to the RDCs, obligating Z$24.2million or about $US1.6 million" (USAID Mid Term Evaluation Final Report, 1998: 60). These financial resources including ODA, the Royal Netherlands, and others, contributed in some way so much that many RDCs interviewed were realistic enough not to be bothered with questions of racial favouritism about the West who chose to pass their aid through white people they could trust better than a government whose corrupt tentacles and tendencies they had All the money helped RDCs significantly in meeting their administrative costs and purchasing vehicles

USAID's Phase Two of the Natural Resource Management Program (NRMP II), whose pledged financial contribution totalled US$20.5m, of which $16m were bilateral funds, was designed to allow access and coordination by CAMPFIRE Association in 1994 (USAID Mid Term Report, 1998: 31, though actual operations started far later due to bureaucracies.

And since the Zimbabwean economy, particularly its tourism sector was structured to depend almost exclusively on rich economies of North America and Western Europe, the net result of the severe drought and political standoff between leaders of the Zimbabwean government and their former colonial masters was an unprecedented calamity for the tourism industry in particular and the economy in general. Almost all western-based airlines including British Airways, Qantas, KLM, Swiss Air, and others closed operations in the country resulting in a huge decline in tourist arrivals and foreign exchange earnings (Kasere, 2008). According to estimates, annual tourist arrivals declined from 2.24 million in 1999 to 1.5 million in 2005 (Financial Gazette, Feb 2006). It is also known that over 90 percent of all trophy hunters who pay millions of dollars to hunt in Zimbabwe and elsewhere come from the developed countries of the West (CAMPFIRE fact sheets, 1996). All this shows the extent to which the wildlife and tourism industry depends on the West for economic survival and growth.

As such it is rather unfortunate that the effects of the land reform and termination of donor funds at the same time cannot be separately studied to establish how each contributed in undermining good conservation of wildlife on the ground. What is, important to note in this study is the blackout of donor funding especially the termination of USAID in particular; the drought of 2002/3; the lawlessness that characterised the land reform process; the high levels of corruption by safari operators including top politicians and the rush to clear land without caution to habitat loss may all have been factors that inter alia played a role in undermining wildlife conservation during the land reform period. It needs reinforcing that the land reform period was characterised by one of the worst economic crises in living memory. The crises which saw the government printing a 100 trillion Zimbabwe dollar note in 2007 to buy only two or so loaves of bread describe the level of the economic crisis which prevailed during the FTLRP. With virtually all kinds of goods including food stuffs having disappeared from shops, many people resorted to poaching wild game for survival while law enforcement and environmental agents lost the capacity to control members of the public who had no other alternatives other than wreaking havoc with Mother Nature to survive. The situation was compounded by a lack of provision of enough food supply and utilities, especially for ex-farm workers during the economic hardships and drought periods of the early 2000s.

All this goes to show that the FTLRP spelled doom to the country's ability to control acts of violation of environmental laws including poaching which communities admitted to have partaken in during interviews as captured in Chapter four.

5.7 Lack of capacity to control degradation and loss of habitat for wildlife resources during the implementation period of the FTLRP

It needs observing for the purposes of discussion that over 78 percent of interviewed communities in the Darwendale farms admitted having cleared new land for agriculture. More than 55% percent also admitted to having used uncontrollable fires that spilled beyond their allocated areas that they intended to clear. In focus group discussions, all participants admitted to having witnessed people working for top politicians engaged in the commercial logging of gum trees from within and without the four former white-owned commercial farms. The logging filled heavy loads of so-called 'gonyeti vehicles' that drove from the farms to commercial hotspots in Harare where many timber businesses had sprouted since the early stages of the 2000 Fast Track land reform programme. These results seem to fit very well with findings at the national level where logging and loss of habitat, in general, were cited among some of the worst impacts on the environment that resulted from Zimbabwe's 2000 land reform programme.

In accounting for many of the effects of the Fast Track Land reform programme, Dzingirai et al (2014) highlighted forestry-related impacts that rocked the whole nation thus leading to widespread habitat loss for many wildlife species. New settlers in many parts of the country cleared vegetation of indigenous trees while high ranking officials who acquired A2 farms cut down many exotic trees to start timber businesses. In Masvingo area, an estimated 6.8, 13,3 and 23.7 hectares per household had been cleared in model A1 villagised, A1 self-contained and A2 farms respectively by the year 2009 (Dzingirai et al, 2014). According to statistics provided by the Timber Production Federation, in 2006 alone, about 10 000 hectares of commercial woodland were destroyed by fires started by new settlers seeking to frighten and punish commercial plantation owners still in residence. According to Dzingirai et al (2014), farm occupiers and workers who were hostile to the plantation owners were responsible for the destruction. What makes sad reading was the fact that in many cases, neither the police nor the government took any punitive action to save the destruction (Ibid)?

In interviews as reflected in Chapter Four, communities also admitted that there was no limit on the numbers of livestock each household could possess. They also admitted to having encouraged the poaching of the game by either buying game meat from the black market or carrying out hunts for small species such as rabbits and rodents themselves. In fact, poaching of wildlife even in protected areas had become rampant

because of high inflation, drought and floods. One ex-councillor interviewed stated that most RDCs had to suspend any of their anti-poaching activities that they used to carry out to stop people from poaching as the scissor's effects of poverty and economic hardships that afflicted the entire first ten years of the land reform period forced many communities to wreak havoc with mother nature for people to survive. The situation was pathetic.

Thus, environmental degradation and poaching of wildlife reached unprecedented levels during the first 10 to 15 years of the FTLRP with many government and non-governmental organisations completely unable to do anything due to lack of funds to save wildlife and the environment.

5.8 **Concluding remarks**

There is no doubt that Zimbabweans and southern Africans and perhaps the entire population of the globe lost a huge opportunity for socio-economic and intellectual development by hosting and tolerating a self-conceited, confused, cunning and blood-thirsty (violent) dictatorship of Robert Mugabe and his colleagues who shunned and violated almost every aspect of Ubuntu and conservation principles that Africans observed for over 50 thousand years since the death of Adam. The ill-conceived, rushed and badly planned Fast Track Land Reform Programme that the post-independent government of Zimbabwe launched in 2000 is a true testimony of disastrous and destructive yields that a badly planned agrarian land reform accomplishes if it is based on methods that disregard Ubuntu and wildlife conservation ethos that characterised the Mwenemutapa Mhondoro spirit that the government of Zimbabwe spited. It is therefore no wonder that results of the survey conducted which formed key thematic topics for discussion in this Chapter revealed a lot of unsustainable practices that prevailed throughout the country in general and at four Darwendale farms in particular as newly resettled people and the side-lined former commercial farm workers wreaked havoc with the environment resulting in massive depletion of natural resources through habitat loss, water siltation, poaching, logging and other practices which took a heavy toll on wildlife species that could have been well conserved if the government had inculcated ubuntu and wildlife values that Adam crafted for observance and enforced through the Mwari religion that the Mwenemutapa institution administered since time immemorial.

But far more adverse to people and wildlife was how the heavy-booted brigandage approach that the Mugabe regime adopted during the liberation war cowed Zimbabweans for continued abuse as the former President amassed millions if not billions of dollars for himself and his family while building a pariah state which had zero tolerance for any form of criticism save for praise of dictatorial practices that many people mistook as revolutionary. The Zimbabwean leadership, which many believe used Mbuya Nehanda's body

parts for rituals to sustain their dictatorial and corrupt rule since 1980, denied Zimbabweans to make the best use of their natural resources including wildlife to achieve economic growth and development. Far from working to empower communities under CAMPFIRE, white-dominated hunters and CCG continued to use natural resources of the country in a manner that only promoted their own socio-economic interests without giving anything significant to rural communities who continued to live in squalor.

The discussion that ensued in this chapter has therefore been academically rich, informed and significant. Not only did the discussion show the deadly effects of corruption that blackmailed the government leadership from asserting its control on white people and imperialism, but also showed how important it was for the West to stop pumping out aid to Zimbabwe with full knowledge that basically everything donated will end up in the personal pockets of the corrupt dictator and colleagues who had deliberately denied Zimbabwe from building structures of checks and balances that forced rulers to be more accountable to the electorate in order to stay in office.

But far more importantly, the discussion opened up dialogue on the significance of the Mwenemutapa role in enforcing principles of sharing and sustainable utilisation which the modernisation kind of education that many people in Zimbabwe condemned as primitive, ungodly and superstitious. Using mainly primary sources provided by the Mwenemutapa/Nehanda family existing today, the chapter opened up discussion on whether there could be a possible link between the establishment of CAMPFIRE and the spiritual implementation of Ubuntu values that required restoration of conservation practices for which the Mhondoro spirit (Mwenemutapa) was created to implement. The outcome seemed to confirm that traditional links exists between the Mhondoro spirit and modern-day practices in the field of natural resource management. But because the study relied more on information provided by the survivors of the Mwenemutapa family of the researcher, it was quite rational that the discussion called for more studies on the topic.

It is thus the important to observe that the study, as well discussed in Chapter Five, has opened up new academic dimensions on how an eco-religious approach (Mhangara, 2024) that underlie the Wits-Zambezia school of thought can be intellectually used to show among other things how Ubuntu and traditional conservation practices are linked to form a heuristic model for evaluating the effects of good or bad governance on wildlife especially when embarking on land reforms. A lot of academic lessons can be derived from the Wits-Zambezia school of thought in not only showing the need to rewrite the history of Southern Africa as the land of Ophir, but also to understand the real socio-ecological and archaeological background of the region as the much sought out garden of Eden that scientists such as Wells (2002)

postulated to be located somewhere in sub-Sahara Africa. Even though it is expected that there will always exist some Western-educated sceptics who doubt the accuracy of attributions about the holiness of the Mwenemutapa Mhondoro spirit as God-ordained, a more sagacious attempt must be made by scientists to prove or refute the hypothesis advanced in this thesis. One point that calls for serious scrutiny is the claim advanced in this thesis that a Mwenemutapa can be occasionally born with a different kind of body-apparatus which is usually not clearly visible on the usually good looking child, but which have a functional role of invoking hormones for higher intelligence and care for Ubuntu and natural resource management. It will also be important to investigate whether, but also attracts spiritual protection by God which explains why attempts to kill Mwenemutapas since the arrival of white people always failed. More studies are necessary because if God's hand can be proved to have been at play in creating a continuous Mwenemutapa spirit, then the theory of evolution which preoccupied the mind and attention of western education and which went far too wildly into attributing origins of the earth and life to an accidental big bang explosion will be put to rest.

All in all therefore, the findings of this study which went far beyond the scratching on the surface to explain the impacts of the FTLRP on wildlife management in Zimbabwe must be hailed as a milestone in academic research which puts into proper perspective the role God placed on Adam to ensure wise use of natural resources through an ubuntu system of sharing that was designed to protect wildlife and other resources from degradation and extinction. This is why in his paper entitled "Is trophy hunting a real sport?", Kasere (2024) concluded with a statement stating the symbiotic relationship between wildlife conservation and human survival. Because if natural resources, which provide people with building materials, medicine, food, tourism revenue and many other things become extinct, then there will also be no life for people as well.

CHAPTER SIX

RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSION

6.1 Introduction

This chapter presents a summary of the thesis, including its contribution to the body of knowledge, proffers policy recommendations, and concludes by suggesting areas for possible future research. This study assessed the impacts of the 2000 Fast Track Land Reform programme on wildlife conservation. The findings of the study have both academic and practical significance that can be addressed to ensure effective conservation and sustainable use of the country's fascinating diversity of wildlife species and landforms that are of great importance for tourism and trophy hunting. Based primarily on the results of both qualitative and quantitative research approaches undertaken in this study, this chapter wraps up the study by coming up with a series of interlinked recommendations that are aimed at improving the effectiveness of wildlife conservation and utilisation for both government, communal and private owned land in the country.

6.1.1 Synoptic highlights of major findings and their academic significance

While the study has not been able to analyse developments that occurred at every square kilometre of the country, the case study approach and interviews held with national stakeholders together with a review of literature enabled a revelation of a broader picture of challenges the country of Zimbabwe faced with regards to wildlife management before, during and after the land reform period. Using mainly the dependency theory to interpret developments in the wildlife sector, the study was able to assess trends of political, economic and ecological developments since the turn of the 20th century. It has done so from a more radical point of view, which has not only depicted the Western countries and their economic success as a function of the under-development of the African continent, but also blamed white people in particular for the role they played in building both a superstructure and infrastructure that favoured themselves and the Western countries while contributing very little to the development and welfare of local Africans. The settler community did so by appropriating huge portions of land and building a wildlife and tourism sector that did not prioritise the interests of local African people.

It is, however, interesting how the picture painted by the dependency theory changes when analysed from the point of view of the rational choice theory. The theory argued from the opposite side of the dependency theory and helps to illuminate internal factors and pitfalls, particularly bad governance as Africa's worst enemy for the continent's under-development. When findings of this study are properly analysed and interpreted, bad governance could be blamed for the malaise that afflicts the nation even today when President Mugabe is no longer in office. But the reality is that it is still the continuation of bad governance

that President Mugabe created which lacked key democratic ingredients for checks and balances which continue to plague the country and inhibit people from optimally developing according to the full potential that exists in the country. It is therefore the same ZANU PF government which, among other things failed to properly plan for conservation of wildlife, which can be harnessed more effectively to generate income from tourism and hunting. It was also because of bad governance that the government used emotions rather than reasoning to embark on a fast-track land reform programme which compromised efficiency for speed to grab more farms than it could properly fund. It was also symptomatic of bad governance which made government to rush to sub-divide land into smaller units without also considering joining farms together to form conservancies that would generate millions of dollars from hunting and non-consumptive tourism. The government also failed to indigenise the wildlife sector to allow communities to enjoy benefits from wildlife. Instead, the government allowed white people and their economic interests to prevail in forming programmes such as CAMPFIRE which facilitated massive transfer of monies to offshore accounts. The study also shows how corruption and greed by both white and black elite, who often forged links of partnerships in safari operations in particular to externalise millions of dollars to offshore accounts while millions of both urban and rural people languished in poverty.

Lack of realism prevailed in the government which did not seem to care to build grassroots and national institutions that empowered communities and newly resettled farmers to have a sense of ownership of wildlife thus allowing heavy poaching of wildlife and logging to continue without serious capacity to control or halt them. The study also made significant headway in showing post-independent government's failure to decolonise the mind frame of people thus bringing about the much-needed restorative justice not only to Mbuya Nehanda, but also to her Mwenemutapa spiritual dynasty and Makorekore people (including other ethnic groups such as MaTonga, who suffered for over 500 years because of their proximity role to guard the Mwenemutapa den[29] which they all defended like soldier ants that unconsciously and instinctively do to defend the Queen mother far inside the tunnel. Restorative justice is also important to restore the image and struggles made by Lobengula and even Joshua Nkomo who both contributed heavily to defend the country against invasions made by Europeans who were in search of gold and other precious resources since 1500s.

This study has therefore been an eye opener to academics in general on how an unplanned land reform programme, launched more to protect selfish interests of the country's leader can lead to catastrophic results

[29] Please note that the word den is not used as a slang word as is done by youths in Zimbabwe. It is used in its correct wildlife sense which also applies to the Mwenemutapa natural home in Dande.

if politics of demagogue is allowed to lead land reforms without putting in place sustainable land use measures to protect natural resources that form the foundation for a country's roadmap to development. It also observed how high levels of corruption compromised the post-independent government's thrust not only to seek to takeover white-owned land by force, but to control the influence of white people who used With all these failures, it becomes extremely unrealistic to blame white people and the West, who, according to the rational theory perspective, behaved in the most rational manner that best represented their socio-economic interests to perpetuate the structure of dependency which continued to benefit white people and the West while doing little to benefit the majority of Bantu people who during the period of the FTLRP suffered serious economic hardships due to the confrontational approach the government used to take over land which resulted in heavy sanctions amidst serious natural disasters such as floods and droughts which also afflicted the country.

It is on the basis of the findings of this study that the thesis makes several pragmatic recommendations. It needs observing however that most of would-be recommendations have since been overtaken by events considering that the land reform lasted for about 15 years and what happened over the years, especially poaching and degradation of natural resources can no longer be halted or reversed through recommendations coming from this study.

However, there are major recommendations that require observance which are highlighted in section 6.2 below.

6.2 **Recommendations**

The following are some of the things that may be done to solve key problems observed by the study with reference to developmental issues in general and the conservation crisis that resulted mainly from the implementation of the land reform programme in the past 15 years since the year 2000.

6.2.1 **Need for restorative justice for the Mwenemutapa/Nehanda and Korekore people**

There is a very strong need for the government of Zimbabwe and academics to recapture the true spiritual and cultural history of the country so that people would for the first time in the history of the country or region, be able to gain sound and good knowledge not only about Mbuya Nehanda and her Mwenemutapa family, but also about the struggle the Mwenemutapa spirit and Makorekore people put up for over 500 years to counter white imperialism. By antagonising and fighting the spirituality of the Mwenemutapa, the white people were disrupting the conservation system as many were made to believe that the spirit was evil and that by adopting Christian principles meant that they were following a wiser road to development and

conservation. It is my opinion that the top leadership of government and liberation war fighters did not know what they were dealing with if the suspicion that they used Mbuya Nehanda's head and remains for rituals are as true (Kasere, 2022). This is because the spirit of Mwene we Mutapa was far bigger than an ordinary spirit medium that somebody thought he could transfer to bring luck to himself. It was, according to the new Zambezia School of thought as it is called in this study, a regional, if not global spirit medium of Adam which white people never understood in the first place when they sought to attack it.

If the Mbuya Nehanda/Mwenemutapa phenomenon represented a superior medium of Adam as well argued in the thesis, then it must have been wrong to have forced Mbuya Nehanda into national politics of the country by abducting her on a stretcher to go and pray for liberation war fighters who themselves were driven by some hard selfish objectives for possessive individualism that was antithetical to principles of ubuntu and natural resource management for all races presumed to have come from the same Adam called Mwene we Mutapa or Owner of the Earth. Perhaps the whole Nehanda abduction and use of her remains for rituals by the African (black) leadership of liberation war fighters and post-independent Zimbabwe was a manifestation of God-determined destiny which was intended to expose African leadership as far more evil than white people whose leader Ian Douglas Smith not only protected Mbuya Nehanda, but also tried hard to pursue and rescue her from the jaws of the liberation war guerrillas whose behaviour thereafter spoke volumes of their coldness and selfishness.

There can be nothing far worse than the treatment Mbuya Nehanda received in her last days of living as an extremely frail old woman who needed palliative care that only her care-taker relatives could provide for her. One can also not imagine anything more inhuman than the treatment she received on her death when she had to be buried only two feet under the ground leaving her head dangling out above the ground. Is it not intriguing that up to now 45 years since independence, Zimbabweans do not know where her remains were buried for her spirit to rest in peace? It is quite ironic that it was the white Rhodesian government who had turned out to be friends and protector of Mbuya Nehanda to whom white farmers consulted to pray for rain (Raeburn, 1978). No wonder it was the Smith government that showed alarm and despondency over Mbuya Nehanda when she was abducted and forced to go and live such a hooded life in Mozambique where her captors would end up scrambling for her body parts and eventually deny her the rights to be buried. This seems to speak so badly about the Chimurenga and make Ian Douglas Smith of the colonial government seem a far more humane leader than post-independent African leaders who showed such kind of coldness in treating Mbuya Nehanda the way they did. It needs reckoning that it was Ian Smith's government which sounded an alarm against the abduction of Mbuya Nehanda when it made "radio

announcements backed up by thousands of leaflets scattered over hundreds of miles by helicopters" condemning 'terrorists' for having abducted Mbuya Nehanda.

Surely the behaviour by the guerrillas who then formed the government of independent Zimbabwe cannot be allowed to quietly get away with outright violation of Mbuya Nehanda's rights as a human being. The least the post-independent government of Zimbabwe should have done was to apologize to family members of Mbuya Nehanda, give them whatever little had remained of her bones that were exhumed, including her golden bracelet and her spiritual cloth that she wore (Martin and Johnson, 1981) so that a befitting customary burial could have been undertaken by her genuine relatives for her soul to rest in peace. There is no doubt that Mbuya Nehanda and her ancestry of the Mwenemutapa spiritual dynasty played a significant role to enforce Ubuntu values and fight imperialism which sought to procure precious minerals and other natural resources without adequately rewarding local people in return. It is for the sake of justice and truth that the Zimbabwean government must provide people and academics worldwide with a correct and reasonable account of history that not only restores cultural justice and holiness that Mbuya Nehanda and the Mwenemutapas stood for, but also enable academics to understand and have a starting point from where to trace and link the Mwenemutapa's Mhondoro spirit to Adam, who as it seems, must have been residing in southern Africa where his spirit of ubuntu and wildlife conservation resonated through a family blood line of one Korekore family which Mbuya Nehanda represented. It is necessary, according to tradition that a proper burial is conducted and a cleansing ceremony performed for the transgressions government made so that Zimbabweans can receive their total blessings from their spiritual ancestors who did so much to fight underdevelopment.

It must be mentioned however that the restoration of the Mwenemutapa/Nehanda principles of ubuntu and conservation imperatives has far-reaching socio-political, economic and ecological implications for the present generation if the global goal for the establishment of a society for sustainable living is anything to go by. From a social perspective, correct teaching about Ubuntu values that the Mwenemutapa/Nehanda phenomenon stood for is important in reversing the most unfair, vitriolic and disheartening levels of demonisation, dehumanising and stigmatisation that the African religion and values suffered since the arrival of white people five hundred or so years ago. There is need to observe that where most African countries seem be shy and apologetic about their traditional Mwenemutapa system of spirituality that advocated humane spirit of brotherhood and sustainable living, there seems to be emerging a new trend in the West where academics glorify feng shui as a far more progressive philosophy of life than any other paradigm (Brown, 1997; Collins, 1999; Heaton 1998; Kingston, 1996). Being the host country of the Mwenemutapa spiritual dynasty which can be used by researchers to trace its origins to Adam, the

government of Zimbabwe seems blameworth for failing to restore the correct literature about Mwenemutapa and instead pursue a distorted version that describes Mwenemutapa as Munhumutapa, a migrant from the Masvingo area – a version that white people started as speculation which they later disproved about Mwenemutapa having migrated from Masvingo where he built the Zimbabwe monument before he went to conquer Matavara in the Zambezi valley (Dande) to become a King. By not publishing the truth about Mwenemutapa as a spirit medium, the post-independent government of Zimbabwe fails to restore the much-needed truth about the holy nature that Mbuya Nehanda and the Mwenemutapa spiritual dynasty represented in enforcing ubuntu and conservation values. No wonder the majority of modern-day population of people still believe that there is a conflict between African religion of the Mwari deity and Christianity which is said to castigate spirit mediums as evil.

But while the economic and ecological implications for the restoration of the Mwenemutapa principles of ubuntu are important in fostering good conservation values and in reducing heavy economic dependency on Western countries, it is the political implications for the restoration of the Mwenemutapa/Nehanda spirit of ubuntu that need to be addressed in order to create a conducive system of good governance and multi-racial democracy that future development will depend on. Zimbabwe needs a democratic system of governance which brings the country in line with ubuntu values that condemn high levels of selfishness, corruption, dictatorship and violation of human rights which seem to have reached unprecedented levels during the post-independent period of governance. As was clearly articulated in this study, Zimbabwe, since the dawn of colonialism, has been ruled with an iron hand that not only abused the locals, but also impoverished and denied them rights to freely elect a government of their choice. Since independence in particular, a pariah state established by Mugabe and ZANU PF not only subjected Zimbabweans to massive intimidation and corruption which made the concept of democracy to appear to be a Western concept with no relevance to the African way of governance. The restoration of ubuntu values should therefore start with revamping of the political landscape so that Zimbabweans can, for the first time since colonialism elect a government of their choice which will, among other things stop massive plundering of resources by a government which not only lack legitimacy, but stays in power only because it controls all organs of the State and Government most particularly the military.

Also, when looked at from an economic perspective, the restoration of the tradition of caring as espoused by the Adam/Mwenemutapa principles of ubuntu will not only be beneficiary to Zimbabweans but also many of the member countries of SADC which all formed the region that early European explorers regarded as the biblical land of Ophir. There is no doubt that southern African countries can benefit a lot from tourism if the hypothesis advanced by the Wits-Zambezia school of thought which link Adam's Garden of Eden to

Victoria Falls and the region in general is finally proved to be true. All SADC countries can be able to host many more millions and perhaps billions of tourists hailing from all corners of the globe who will be keen, not only to enjoy the best of African hospitality of Ubuntu or humunhu as Shona people call it, but to also re-connect with their ancestral land of Ophir where Adam and Eve are presumed to have resided.

6.2.2 **Need for temporary suspension of hunting activities in Zimbabwe**

Revelations made by this study as well as the recently published article entitled "is Trophy Hunting a Real Sport?" make it imperative that the government of Zimbabwe lead by temporarily suspending hunting operations, which according to recent publications by Kasere (2024), have been conducted in a mafioso kind of way without observing any conservation and sporting principles. With the whole world now knowing how animals are being abused and hunts being done without a strong backing of sustainably developed quotas, the country needs to redeem its reputation by adopting more serious-like measures such as temporary suspension of hunting even for just a year so that the hunting industry can re-gain the confidence of people at the international arena, particularly animal rights and conservation organisations. Besides, it is in the interest of Zimbabweans to ensure that proper population surveys are conducted to show the healthy status of wildlife in the wilderness. In other words, the ban will be intended not only to take stock of the mess that accumulated over time in the wildlife industry before, during, and after the fast-track land reform programme but to help wildlife populations to recover while the government puts together a more conducive policy framework that guides landholders and communities at large to conserve and harvest wildlife resources sustainably.

In just the same way a good farmer can practice crop rotation to allow soils to recover certain nutrients lost through continuous tilling and planting of certain crops successively, wildlife may also need breathing time to recover from horrors of abuse and torment that came with unfettered human abuse during the time of lawlessness at the peak of the land reform. Findings of the study revealed that poaching of wildlife reached almost uncontrollable levels during the land reform as the economy of the country deteriorated forcing many people to abuse natural resources in order to survive. Far more disturbing was the involvement of top government ministers and officials in logging and safari hunting operations which made it difficult for law enforcement and government agencies to police acts of environmental abuses that prevailed in the country. Perhaps it needs highlighting that by 2010, the Tropical Game Commission proposed a resolution on Zimbabwe that called on the country "to stop destruction and mismanagement of its wildlife" (African Hunter, 2010: 32). It was also established in the same issue of the Hunter (ibid) that a report by Traffic, the wildlife network and IUCN showed that since 2006 to 2010, "95% of the poaching in Africa..." occurred in Zimbabwe and South Africa alone (African Hunter, 2010: 33). It would therefore be a noble act for

Zimbabweans to show their resolve to want to rebuild their wildlife industry for the good of photographic tourists, hunters and the people of Zimbabwe in general.

It must be noted that Zimbabwe is not the only country to ban or suspend hunting. Tanzania closed hunting in 1973 and re-opened it in 1981 and was followed by Kenya which banned hunting in 1977 and perhaps never reopened it till today (*African Hunting Gazette*, 2009: 64). It, must be made clear to all and sundry that Zimbabwe is not banning hunting because of a paradigm shift from hunting to a non-hunting philosophy supported by animal rights groups, but is doing so as a stopgap measure to ensure effective planning for good conservation and utilisation policies that comply with principles for sustainable development. The ban on hunting must be understood to be temporary and for the good of all stakeholders both national and international. It must be accompanied by a good public relations campaign of a global scale to show-case Zimbabwe's tradition of caring not only about its people and wildlife but also the international clients in the tourism industry (both consumptive and non-consumptive) who pay millions to want to shoot wild animals either by use of guns, bow, and arrows or simply a camera.

Thus the tourism industry in its holistic scope (hunting and non-hunting) must lead the public relations exercise of the ban and make use of all marketing avenues including the aviation industry, the foreign embassies, citizens in the Diaspora and many others to assure the international community that the temporary ban is a housekeeping exercise carried out to allow the wildlife industry to recuperate and grow so that regional and international clients who will book their next flight to Zimbabwe will be assured to enjoy value for money when they choose Zimbabwe as their destination for recreational pleasure. International tourists, especially hunters who choose Zimbabwe for their hunting adventure need to have a sense of trust that there are enough wild animals in the wilderness and not end up being attacked by international media as happened to Walter Palmer who had paid as much as US$55 000 to hunt a lion which could only be satisfied by enticing Cecil the lion from protected areas where hunting is not allowed.

6.2.3 **Need to set up a national commission to review policies on wildlife management**

This study recommends the government of Zimbabwe to set up a National Commission on Wildlife Management and Natural Resource Utilisation to lead policy reviews needed to transform the wildlife sector. The Commission must be made up of government, nongovernmental organisations and private safari operators who all have a stake in the wildlife sector. The commission may or may not involve the already existing anti-corruption commission which many people see as a white elephant which does not act in any meaningful way to control or end corruption. The first port of call for the National Commission on Wildlife Management and Natural Resources will be to investigate the status of wildlife conservation following the

upheaval and mismanagement experienced in the wildlife sector since the beginning of the controversial land reform in 2000. It is for the good of everyone that Zimbabwe should not be seen as trying to shove its dirty under the carpet and pretend that everything in its wildlife industry went and ended well during and after the land reform programme.

The work of the Commission will involve most of the recommendations of this thesis as follows:

- Call for a meeting with all stakeholders in the tourism industry namely safari organisations including hunters, NGOs, government departments, communities, law enforcement agents and many others to establish the conservation problems experienced during ***Hondo Yeminda*** (War for land) as well as to determine the conservation status of many species of wild animals with the view of making recommendations to the President regarding resumption of hunting or any other observations that the Commission will have made.
- The Commission will investigate accusation of corruption on government ministers who joined the safari industries. The investigation should be done in the good spirit of preventing cases of possible overhunting that may result from the need to maximise profits in the lucrative hunting industry. Of particular concern is the need to establish monitoring mechanisms which provide guidelines in which ministers will be required to declare their interests and thereby be effectively monitored to ensure that their participation does not give them unfettered advantage to flout conservation and business laws that will bring jeopardy in conservation of wildlife.
- The commission should call upon RDCs and Safari operators to submit contracts agreed to hunt and assess the percent of contributions being allocated to communities. It has been observed in this study that a safari quota is capable of generating up to US$4m per each operator which is usually stashed in offshore accounts by safari operators while communities continue to live in abject squalor. The commission must not be deceived by statements often made by politicians that communities do not put money to good use because of the need to blow money in drinking beer. The problem lies with the small amounts the communities are given which contribute virtually nothing to the welfare of community households.
- **Taxation of wildlife income:** Zimbabwe's wildlife is a national resource. It essentially belongs to all people. There is no doubt that safari operators including ministers who have joined hands with whites to run safari operations are generating millions of United States dollars most if not all of it is not taxed because it is never publicly declared to authorities. A glance at an article written by CAMPFIRE Association which apparently seemed to defend a hunter outfitter in Tsholotsho explained that the hunter had spent "US$500 000" over three years on costs on road making and other such expenditures the operator volunteered to foot (CAMPFIRE Association, 2020). This

does not only show that communities lack proper representation over revenue generated by safari operators, but also that the safari industry generates huge profits in United States dollars that are not properly taxed for the good of distributing benefits to the population at large.

- Related to recommendation for taxation of safari hunting income above will be the need to investigate prospects of binding all safari hunting quota proceeds to be deposited in Zimbabwe. As observed in the study, it is quite doubtful that most safari operators are taxed at all. They also avoid taxation because the money they generate is generally deposited abroad. As noted by the study, what normally happens is that upon winning a quota for hunting, safari operators or their marketing agents go for marketing at Hunters' Conventions in the United States where the safari operators meet and agree with prospective clients who pay an outfitter or safari operator in advance to book for hunting expeditions that will take place on a future agreed date. The money is then deposited at a safari operator's choice into a bank abroad without ever reaching the country (Michler, 2008). This practice undoubtedly perpetuates dependency syndrome since incomes generated through trophy hunting is hardly ploughed back to cater for the development of the country. There seems to be nothing that should prevent the governments in Africa from insisting that the foreign earnings for payments by clients be deposited in banks of the host countries where receipts issued by local banks can be produced by the hunting client to enable him/her to be cleared to export trophy hunted back to his/her country. Copies of such receipts can then be used for taxation purposes.

These and a few other recommendations may guide in the formulation of terms of reference for the National Commission on Wildlife Management and Natural Resource Utilisation.

The following are however other key recommendations derived from the findings of the research that need to be tackled by the stakeholders in the wildlife sector.

6.2.4 **Need to outlaw the shoot to kill policy on poachers**

Although it is not clear what legislation has been used by the law enforcement and anti-poaching units to shoot to kill poachers, the Protection of Wildlife (Indemnity) Act, Act 21 of 1989 will need to be re-examined to ensure that law enforcement agents are obliged to follow up poachers with a view to arrest and prosecute them rather than choose to kill them without giving them a fair chance to appear in court and defend themselves. There are hundreds of people who have been shot and killed in Zimbabwe on allegations of poaching. To the outside world, this practice seems to suggest that animals, because of their economic value, are more valuable than human lives. The policy also does not speak well for a country highly regarded for having pioneered best practices for community based natural resource management which

manifested through the CAMPFIRE programme. If CAMPFIRE should be claimed to be working, then authorities may not need to resort to absolute force to coerce the programme's beneficiaries not to poach wild game that should be their own source of future benefits. Zimbabwe needs wildlife policies that have a human face. The CAMPFIRE principles have to be made to work so that shedding of human blood will never show its ugly face in the wildlife industry.

There is therefore need for authorities to carefully study the Protection of Wildlife (Indemnity) Act, Act 21 of 1989 to ensure that the Act does not indemnify anti-poaching /law enforcement personnel from prosecution if they choose to be trigger-happy and shoot to kill human beings for the need to protect animals.

6.2.5 **Need to decolonise the wildlife industry for indigenisation purposes**

The government must embark on a two-pronged strategy to indigenise the sport hunting industry which generates a lot of foreign currency that can be used to develop the African economy in general and the Zimbabwean economy in particular. The first strategy is to lobby for a revision of the SADC protocol in order to incorporate and standardise hunting ethics to ensure that local Africans benefit either as genuine partners of white safari operators or as individual or joint venture companies that give local entrepreneurs the advantages to enjoy wildlife benefits local resources generate in the country.

At national level, the starting point should be the development of a white paper by Parliament that spells out opportunities that exist in the hunting industry for African entrepreneurs. This must then necessitate training of local people in hunting and safari operations in order to work or invest in the industry. The need for indigenisation cannot be overemphasised. The Safari industry has been closed to black people ever since the dawn of colonialism. Since then, the whites have been running the show and making it virtually impossible for Africans to participate in safari activities especially in marketing trophy hunts. This is particularly true in Zimbabwe where hunting exams managed by the wildlife industry always disadvantaged Africans. Although the pass rate for blacks as professional hunters may have increased over time due to perseverance by individuals, the myth that foreign white sport hunting clients from abroad prefer to be hosted by white hunters has tended to favour white people for winning more hunting contracts even in Rural District Councils (Kasere, 2008). And this is probably why many black people in the industry are seen as occupying inferior positions as guides and trackers (Murombedzi, in Hume and Murphree, 2001) while many politicians keen to participate in hosting trophy hunters have to put a white man at the front.

No research has ever been carried out to prove that foreign clients will always prefer to be hosted by white operators than blacks. Though the assumption may be true here and there, the most important factor for governments to observe is that foreign clients are interested mainly on their safety, recreational pleasure and quality and size of trophy available in a country's wilderness. If Zimbabwe abuses wildlife resources to the point of overshooting and destroying their habitats, quality and size of trophy diminishes and the rich Americans and Europeans seeking and competing for big trophy will begin to look elsewhere for the product. Thus, the link between skin colours of host as a variable that attracts rich foreign clients to hunt in Africa remains arguably spurious. The most important factors that may count are the security of the client and the size and quality of trophy. Previous studies have shown that what clients are in search of most is the largest trophy. This is perhaps why Zimbabwe stands to win by banning hunting for a while to put measures that allow animals to grow bigger and attract sport hunting clients. The age of an animal is a critical variable on the size of trophy. The older an animal is, the bigger its trophy can grow. An elephant for example develops larger tusks as it grows older and if hunters are forced to shoot juvenile animals because larger specimens have been wiped out, then the country loses its attraction as a hunting destination for big trophy animals. This may happen regardless of whether the hosts are black or white.

6.2.6 **Clarify policy on ownership of wildlife in Zimbabwe**

Government should, in its white paper clarify policy position with regards ownership and devolution of usufruct rights of wildlife to communities. As observed, the current position of government with regards to ownership of wildlife is vaguely interpreted as *res nullius*. While this makes sense, more clarification is needed on government's rights to regulate and sometimes sell the wildlife which in principle, the government itself may not own. This is especially of concern with regards to rights of ownership accorded to the Parks and Wildlife Services which has become a fund with powers and rights to own its own assets. It then needs to be determined whether the national parks now own the wildlife in the country.

In the long term, lawsuits may be filled against government by people whose relatives lose lives due to attacks by wild animals; or by those whose crops have been damaged by wildlife if government position is interpreted as owning wildlife. It may therefore be important that government insulates itself against liability over wildlife by clearly spelling out its statutory custodial role and not ownership of wildlife. It will also be important that rights accorded to land users regarding animals bought are carefully explained most appreciably through legislation and not be left to the surmise of landholders who may not commit themselves fully due to their interpretation of the policy of *res nullius*.

6.2.7 **Establish devolutionary institutions to represent wildlife producers**

Community based associations must be established that directly represent wildlife management and utilisation initiatives established for communities in the aftermath of the land reform programme. According to the survey conducted on the four farms in Darwendale, more than 75 percent of all 210 households that responded to questionnaires administered preferred to establish cooperative-like structures that would be independent of councils while 83 percent preferred to join the Wildlife Producers Association as opposed to 5 percent who preferred to be affiliated to RDCs and the CAMPFIRE Association. This suggests a strong impetus towards further devolution of Appropriate Authority directly to Community based organisations (CBOs) formed and registered by communities which are different from the present set up in CAMPFIRE where AA status is given to an RDC which usually takes a bigger percentage of revenue than that given to communities. CBOs will accord communities a direct sense of ownership which gives them exclusive territorial rights not only to engage a safari operator who reports to them, but also allow them rights to benefit from all the natural resources including minerals and fruits that are found within their areas. Awarding CBOs exclusive usufruct rights over natural resources will bring sanity in the conservation not only of trees but many wild animal species which are often poached by syndicates from other parts of the country. The exclusive rights accorded to communities may halt the uncontrolled harvesting of wild fruits such as ***mazhanje*** which are harvested in bulk by people from urban areas who sell the fruits on roadsides. The current open access to harvesting fruit trees which typifies Hardin's theory of the tragedy of commons does not speak well about tenure policies that grant communities exclusive usufruct rights. The competition by urbanites to reap fruits for free in order to supply high demand in urban areas even before they are properly ripen tend to leave virtually nothing for collection by locals and wildlife species such as monkeys, squirrels, birds and reptiles that also thrive on wild fruits. Communities in Darwendale as captured in Chapter Four also attributed more poaching of game meat that wiped out populations of wild game animals at Shield farm to outside syndicates than to themselves. All this shows that communities lack exclusive rights over wildlife resources in their areas. This must be addressed.

At national level, there may also be need to facilitate meeting between the CAMPFIRE Association (CA), the Association of Rural District Councils (ARDC) and the Wildlife Producers Association (WPA) with the view to rationalising their areas of cooperation and membership and even facilitating possible amalgamation. This is because the separate existence of the CAMPFIRE Association and WPA is fast becoming hard to justify. Prior to the Land Reform, the WPA catered for mainly white commercial farmers and conservancies who managed wildlife on their land while the CA was a membership organisation of RDCs which had been granted Appropriate Authority status. The problem that arises is that the arrangement makes it difficult for newly resettled African farmers to start their own wildlife initiatives and to join the

WPA voluntarily since AA status links them to the RDC whose membership is with the CA. And another problem that may arise is territorial. As more and more RDCs receive the AA status, virtually all the RDCs will end up being members of two associations namely the Association of Rural District Councils (ARDC) and the CA that will be duplicating each other. This might cause friction between the two over both policy and implementation issues. The two can therefore be joined together so that RDCs do not have to belong to two different associations.

6.2.8 **Need to formalise and monitor trophy hunting as a true sport**

The findings of this study show that there is an urgent need to formalise and monitor trophy hunting as a true sport in light of controversy surrounding the activity. This may not be a Zimbabwean responsibility alone since formalisation has an international dimension. But Zimbabwe can initiate the process as well as improve its legislation so that a necessary civil body for that purpose can be put in place. As observed in Chapter Four, a universal problem with trophy sport hunting is that the sport does not impose restrictive qualifications on who can hunt or who cannot. The sportsmen are not stratified in leagues according to shooting acumen, sex, age, physical fitness or other determinants to ensure that one can stand his or her own grounds in fair chase and humane treatment of animals on which the whole sporting discipline is founded. As it is, everyone is welcome to come and shoot animals as long as he/she can pay.

Zimbabwe should however be cautious about it and appreciate that hunting has a three faced dimension to it. First it is generally conducted as a form of cultural sport which makes it largely a civic issue for its members who are largely white people of European descent. The important development is that concern has since been expressed by hunting groups to want a code of conduct for sport hunting to be put in place. This means Zimbabwe can help facilitate speedy formulation and implementation of reforms necessary. This is not easy, but is very necessary to ensure the second dimension which transforms the sport into a special commercial venture by land users for business and development. The third dimension affected by hunting for which Zimbabweans must be actively concerned with is the conservation of wildlife species. Here Zimbabwe must be exemplary to ensure that scientific studies to establish health populations of species are conducted while ensuring that hunters do not overhunt to diminish populations.

6.2.9 **Introducing curricula on wildlife management and safari operations**

The widespread ignorance people have about benefits enjoyed from wildlife management has manifested greatly through focus group interviews held with communities. There is therefore need to introduce curricula in schools and tertiary institutions that prepare students for a career or investment in wildlife management. Another option is to attach courses in wildlife management to Agricultural colleges so that

Agriculture extension officers will be able to also advise people on land use plans involving wildlife management.

6.3 **Areas for possible future research**

6.3.1 **Research to re-establish the correct spiritual and cultural history of the country**

There is need first and foremost for the current government of Zimbabwe and academics to re-establish the spiritual history of the country to bring about restorative justice to the Mwenemutapa and Nehanda spiritual dynasty which led people to fight Europeans since the 1500s when Europeans ventured into the country in search of gold and other precious resources. Such history is valuable to be properly taught to the people of Zimbabwe to show that their ancestors were far wiser in wanting to safeguard the country's resources so that they could only be utilized in a manner that facilitated fair trade and not create a chain of dependency which placed developing countries such as Zimbabwe at the peripheral level as appendages to the developed capitalist countries of the west which, according to the dependency theory, constitutes the centre.

The decolonization factor as highlighted in this objective or research question is very important. A lot happened since the attempt by Cecil John Rhodes to kill Mbuya Nehanda in 1898 which the Mwenemutapa family could not open up and inform both the liberation war guerrillas or the white colonial government who, for their selfish interests, continued to associate with traditional hereditary system of male primogeniture that always thought of Mwenemutapa spirit in the image of a male. A lot that happened at that time could only be explained during the post independent period when the the Mwenemutapa/Mbuya Nehanda family was no longer under threat of colonial powers which they knew wanted to destroy the spirit completely thus forcing the Mwenemutapa to operate underground. As Kasere (2022) noted, Mbuya Nehanda was the same spirit that was called Mwenemutapa. The harassment experienced by whoever became the custodian of the Mwenemutapa spirit since 1500s, whether it was Mupunzagutu who Europeans falsely blamed and harassed for having killed Fr Silveira, or Kapararidze who also suffered effects of having imposters created by white people to sign treaties and so on all seem to have contributed in making the spirit go to a female host (Nehanda) for the first time thus confusing not just white people who always looked out for a male successors of the Mhondoro spirit to bribe, press to sign treaties or kill since 1500s, but also local people who had only come to know of Mwenemutapa as a male host for many centuries. This is why out of ignorance, people and colonial government, during Mbuya Nehanda's time, assumed Mwenemutapa (or in their own mind forged confusion, Mutota) to be one of Mbuya Nehanda's biological uncle who lived next door to her because it never occurred to them that that regional mhondoro spirit could choose to go into being hosted by a woman as it did. They did not know that the regional Mwenemutapa spirit had also last gone to a woman around the 1400s when the then Negupo, daughter of Churuchamutapa succeeded her father as host of the Mwenemutapa spirit in just the same way the spirit went to Mbuya

Nehanda in mid 1800s when the family had been infiltrated by Portuguese who used most of the male family members to facilitate slave trade of fellow Africans who had always looked up to the Mwenemutapa household as symbol of spiritual protection (Kasere, 2022).

Thus, by choosing to be hosted in a woman, the spirit afforded Mbuya Nehanda ample time to transfer her grandson who she had raised since childhood and gave him both English and Shona names that referred to him as the eighth (Kasere) holder of supreme spirit of Mwenemutapa (Supreme) which were meant to be his identity mark. But it seems the black nationalist leaders, who because of the white factor syndrome relied on knowledge imparted by white people to interpret the spirit medium, also did not understand the kind of supreme spirit that Nehanda hosted at the time they took her to Mozambique. Despite bizarre manner Mbuya Nehanda was buried and how her remains never brought back to her family for burial, the post-independent government blundered in many ways that cost not just Zimbabweans, but also academics of the world who missed an opportunity to study what the Mwenemutapa spirit was for real, how it passes on from one person to another, and how it consistently disguise in poverty to fight for the utilitarian good of mankind and conservation of nature, which seems to genuinely link the spirit to Adam. There is a lot to study in Zimbabwe as the true place of origin of man which can only be done if the truth about the holy nature of Ubuntu and the Mwari deity is highlighted to show how wrong white imperialism was in downgrading African spirituality. As highlighted in this thesis, there is a very strong influence of supernaturality when one considers how primitive people of Africa could have evolved principles of human love for each other and conservation of wildlife. God's hand (through Adam) seems to have been behind the subdivision of people into totems; creation of sacred forests and many factors that we applaud today as ingredients for sustainable living.

There is also something unique about Zimbabwe and the Mwenemutapa/Nehanda spirit that may need to be studied because apart from being driven by love to want to share resources with mankind, the Mwenemutapas or those inspired by the spirit seem to get some kind of supernatural protection from people who want to kill them. It seems there is consistency in the behaviour of the true spiritual holders in fighting abusive behaviour of fellow human beings and perhaps wildlife observed from Mupunzagutu, Kapararidze, and all others up to Nehanda and beyond. If accounts by X are true, then humanity have a lot to study about God's ways because it just feels strange that a President and some white people arrange a very successful deal to raise tens of millions of dollars from donors, only to then invite a true biological great grandson of Mwenemutapa/Nehanda (even if he himself did not know about his Mwenemutapa family background) to just come to the organisation to cause them sleepless nights as efforts to eliminate or kill him failed. Is it not strange that while almost every human being will love money, some to the point of wanting to take

rituals or kill for it, someone who grew up without inheriting anything material in life is appointed into a rich organisation and passionately fight for the cause of the locals to also benefit meaningfully without worrying to also accumulate something for his family and future? And is it a coincidence that these people just emerge from one biological family line since time immemorial during different periods or epochs to all behave in similar manner without any knowledge that their ancestors were doing the same thing centuries before? Could it not be truly one spirit of Adam?

There seems to be a lot to study about southern Africa and Zimbabwe in particular which requires strong intuitive skills to investigate. First there is the Zimbabwe ruins monument whose presence and construction has continued to defy human imagination. There is also the mystery of Ubuntu or humunhu, from which the English word human seem to derive. But one thing that has not been mentioned is also the alleged existence of an aquatic monster called the Leviathan in the Bible or Nyaminyami in Zimbabwe. Although the spiritual significance of the aquatic creature is not explicit among both the European and African belief systems, some research shows that the animal had devilish connotations in both the European and African belief systems and could also be the same Loch Ness monster mentioned in Scottish gnomes which lurked by the waterside waiting for human victims. In the Bible, the Leviathan cited in Job 41:1 and described by Hobbes (1651) in a book entitled 'Leviathan, is defined as a "monstrous sea creature" (Readers Digest Great Illustrated Dictionary, 1984: 976) or real or imaginary sea monster frequently mentioned in Hebrew poetry or Satan (The Oxford Universal Dictionary Illustrated, 1959: 1133). The description of these creatures attracts some academic interest as the Leviathan compares well to the mysterious and most dreaded aquatic creature called Nyaminyami that was known or believed to reside in Zimbabwe's Lake Kariba in the Zambezi valley. The description of the animal typically resembled the image of the Leviathan in being a Serpent-like creature that bore a human face. In their book entitled Zambezi: The River of Gods, writers Teede and Teede (1990: 42) stated that Nyaminyami, which people, including Chief Sampakaruma claim to have seen with their own eyes, "is about three meters wide, but nobody can guess at his length." The Nyaminyami creature also seems to resemble the Loch Ness monster mentioned in Scottish gnomes which lurked by the waterside waiting for human victims (Cassavetti, 1986). Descriptions of the loch varied with some claiming the monster had a head of a horse while some claimed the huge whale-like creature had a long neck, tiny reptilian head and a great thrashing tail (Cassavetti, 1986). Could it be the same animal that expanded its hood like a cobra which would roam Europe and then come home to roost in Zimbabwe? Could the creature be the spiritual representative of evil in contrast to the Mhondoro (lion) spirit which is God/Adam's representative of ubuntu love or Jesus's lion of Judah?

With all the mysterious and spiritual symbols be it the Zimbabwe Ruins, the Mhondoro (lion) spirit, the Leviathan (Nyaminyami), Victoria Falls being domiciled in Zimbabwe, could it not be possible that Sothern Africa in general and Zimbabwe in particular could truly be the place of origin of creation where Adam and Eve lived? A lot more focussed research in the spirituality of Africans is truly necessary.

6.3.2 **Studies in wildlife management and trophy hunting**

There is so much scope for future research in Wildlife Management in Africa and Zimbabwe considering that many researches written to date seem more focused on Community Based Natural Resource Management; Tourism and other such kind of studies. Very little of the researches seem to focus on Wildlife Management particularly trophy hunting. It is therefore envisaged that this study will develop further academic attention in clarifying what trophy hunting really is and what future it holds in the economics of development in Africa. It is essential to carry out more researches that show whether combining and converting former agriculturally prime areas such as Elinda, Woodrow, Shield and Zaranyika to serve as wildlife conservancies would not give better economic return than heavily subsidised agriculture. Meaningful results can be accomplished if real value for hunting species is sourced from the international market considering that safari operators have been under-declaring correct values of wildlife in the past which tended to make wildlife less viable than crop production for example. One has to imagine that a lion such as Cecil was often said to fetch only US$3000 yet Walter palmer paid US$55 000 for it. This shows that hunting of many species of wild animals were all along being under-declared to make wildlife seem less attractive yet safari operators were generating millions that agriculture cannot compete with. Besides, communities venturing on wildlife can market game meat, fruits, mushrooms, firewood and many other natural resources to add to consumptive and non-consumptive tourism that conservancies are renowned for. It also seems there is need for further studies to follow up on further changes made in the post-Mugabe era in Zimbabwe as there are suggestions that many farms were taken away from new settlers who were former President Mugabe's allies and family members and those not fully utilising the land which are being given back to white farmers. Further studies on market segmentation in trophy hunting may be an interesting theme for further study. It will be particularly interesting to study how Asian countries are doing in breeding African species of elephants as there have been indications that China has been importing baby elephants from Zimbabwe (Moyo, 2019).

6.4 **Conclusion**

The old adage that *when elephants fight the grass will suffer* probably best describes the horrific story of how wildlife management was negatively affected at the hand of man in the past twenty years or so in Zimbabwe. The badly planned fast track land reform programme coupled by natural disasters in the form

of a drought and floods and sanctions imposed by the West resulted in devastating consequences on wildlife. The multiplier effects of poverty and national economic hardships forced many farmers to unsustainably extract natural resources from the environment and wildlife was not spared. Greed and high levels of corruption among safari operators and top government ministers made it difficult for governments to safeguard wildlife from abuse as overhunting beyond sustainable quotas went undetected for many years due to lack of capacity on the part of government to monitor and enforce the much-needed discipline in the industry. The involvement of top government ministers in logging and operation of safari activities during the land reform even exacerbated the situation as no one could stand against these high-powered individuals from abusing the soft state of the safari industry for the worst.

It is with a sober sense of realism that this study, therefore, calls for seemingly harsher recommendation to halt safari hunting so that proper policies for checks and balances can be put in place. The recommendation is inspired by the understanding that wildlife management is a complex human activity of vital socio-economic and ecological significance. Humans depend on wildlife to satisfy their many needs, including food, medicine, clothing and even earth's ecological sustenance. As such, the management of natural resources requires a concerted action involving commitment by different stakeholders at national and global levels to ensure that wildlife resources and the vitality of earth's ecosystems are not adversely affected by greed and poor management as observed by the study in Zimbabwe. The important point to observe from this study is that while land reforms are vital turning points for governments to review imbalances in land ownership and distribution of benefits accruing from natural resources, such reforms must be guided by holistic plans for land use systems that also take serious accounts for needs to conserve wildlife. In other words, precautions must be taken to ensure that the earth's diversity of species and ecosystem are not adversely impacted upon by competitive human interests of wanting to maximise one's propensity to exploit (overharvest to the point of destruction). Thus, the most conspicuous perspective coming out from this study is the axiomatic reminder that if land reforms and other anthropogenic activities at global level cannot win by sustainable means, then future generations of humankind and millions of different species of flora and fauna that straddle the earth's ecosystems will also not win at all.

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APPENDICES

8.1 APPENDIX 1: HOUSEHOLD QUESTIONNAIRE: DARWENDALE FARMS

Please kindly answer the following questions by putting or ticking YES or NO where the question requires you to do so. You also have to pay special attention on scaling questions which require you to give a mark or percentage of weight on certain answers and statements relative to other answers or statements provided. If the scale is 1 – 5 for example, 1 may represent first or highest followed by 2 for second highest, 3 for third, 4 for fourth and 5 for fifth or lowest and so on as per instruction given on the question. You can also write your answer on spaces provided if the question requires you to do so.

SECTION 1: GENERAL QUESTIONS

1. Gender

Male	
Female	

2. In which age category do you belong?

18-24	25-35	36-45	46-55	56+

3. What is your highest level of education?

Never attended school	Primary Grade 7	Secondary Form 1 – 6	Diploma	Bachelor Degree	Masters/PhD

4. At which of the following farms do you stay?

Woodraw	Elinda	Shield	Zaranyika

5. How long have you been staying at this farm? (state the years)..... year(s)

6. How did you come to the farm?

Was born here to former farm employees	I am a former commercial farm worker of this farm	I migrated from somewhere & got land through the land Reform Program	I am a service provider to farmers resettled here

7. What is your ethnic or tribal origin? Indicate on the space provided whether its Shona, Ndebele, Nyanja or any other .....

SECTION 2: LAND USE PRACTICES AND LIVELIHOODS

8. Indicate the primary form of land use or career from which you earn your livelihood.

Crop Production	
Livestock Production	
Wildlife conservation & exploitation	
Off land career e.g teaching, nursing, etc	
Combination of 2 or more of listed activities (Specify)	
Any other activity not listed above (specify)	

9. If you are engaged in crop production, what food crops do you usually grow as a household?

Sorghum	Sugar cane	Millet	Maize	Soya Beans	Other (Specify)

10. What cash crops do you usually grow as a household?

Cotton	Tobacco	Millet	Soya Beans	Maize	Others (specify)

11. What do you produce the crops for? (Please indicate by ticking (x) the relevant use ahead of each crop mentioned – N.B: you can tick more than one).

	Domestic Use	**Commercial Use**	**Feeding livestock**
Cotton			
Tobacco			
Millet			
Maize			
Soya Beans			
Others (specify)			
Others (specify)			

12. On a percentage scale, rate the following factors according to your estimates of how they contributed in reducing vegetation cover and destroying other habitats for wildlife (including fish) in your ward during the first 10 years of the land reform?

Clearing prime land for cultivation	
Grazing of livestock	
Cutting trees and grass for firewood and home construction	
Road and dam construction	
Industrial and establishment of shops and growth points (Combined)	
Mining (both formal and illegal panning)	
Siltation and misuse of water in rivers and dams	

13. How much in terms of livestock did you keep as a household over the last ten years?

Number of animals owned over a ten year period										
Animal	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015
Cattle										
Goats										
Sheep										
Donkey										
Pigs										
Dogs										
Chicken										
Others										

14. What other non agricultural activities do you engage in to generate more income for your livelihood? .....

15. Were you as Head of Household or your spouse allocated another piece of land elsewhere in Zimbabwe for farming or other uses through the 2000 Land Reform Program?

Yes	
No	

16. If you had been allocated a large farm with many species of wildlife near a National Park, which one of the following land use option would you have freely embarked on? (Tick only one type of land use you would prefer).

Will clear land for crop production	
Will use land for livestock production	
Will join land with other farmers for wildlife management & exploitation	

Will embark on combination of crop and livestock production	
Will mix livestock and wildlife management	
Others (Specify)	

17. Did you get any support from Government or any other organisation on your agricultural activities in the past 18 years? Yes____ No_____

18. If your answer to question 17 is yes, please state the organisation and the role.

Organisation 1	
Role of organisation	
Organisation 2	
Role of organisation	

SECTION 3: WILDLIFE CONSERVATION AND COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION

19. What is your totem? (Answer N/A if you don't have).....

20. What or whose agenda do you think prevailed most in pushing for the Fast Track Land Reform Programme in Zimbabwe. Choose and tick only one answer selected from (A) to (E) as follows:

A) The agenda was a mass revolutionary agenda represented by war veterans to recover land that had been unfairly taken by white people during the colonial period

B) Agenda was for the political elite in the ruling party who wanted to appropriate large tracts of land for their economic ego

C) The agenda was for Presidential self-serving interests to attack white people who, together with the West were seen as garnering support for the newly established MDC party to oust the President and ZANU PF.

D) To prove that power politics would prevail over the democratic rights of people who had just voted NO to the 2000referendum which proposed to give the President powers of repossessing land from whites without compensation

E) None of the above/not sure

21. Do you agree or disagree with the statement that the 2000 land reform era worsened the plight of wildlife conservation because of government's prioritisation of agriculture over other land use forms such as wildlife management? Tick the box that represents your view.

Agree	
Strongly agree	
Disagree	
Strongly disagree	

22. What do you think about the statement that the government's ill-planned land reform program, which forced commercial farmers to vacate and abandon former commercial farm workers without income and food ration, spelled doom for wildlife which became the target for poaching by farm workers who needed to survive.

Strongly agree	
Agree	
Disagree	
Strongly disagree	

23. Do you think anti-poaching laws of the country were effective enough to protect wildlife species of game that roamed former white owned commercial farms at the time their farms were acquired for redistribution during the land reform program? YES____ NO ____

24. Have you been able to easily access wild game meat offered for sale on the black market around Woodrow, Shield, Elinda and Zaranyika since the beginning of the land reform? YES ____ NO ____

25. If your answer to Question 24 is YES, how do you compare the prices with beef as it sells in established sources?

Wild game meat cheaper than beef	
Wild game meat far cheaper than beef	
Wild game meat almost on same price with beef	
Wild game meat more expensive than beef	
Wild game meat far more expensive than beef	

26. Please rank the following factors on a scale of 0-10 according to your estimates of how you think they contribute in reducing vegetation cover and other habitats for fish. Rank all the factors. 10 means the factor contributes very highly while 0 means it does not contribute anything. Rank according to your experience of living in Darwendale

Siltation and misuse of water in rivers and dams	
Mining both formal and illegal panning	
Industrial and establishment of shops	
Road and dam construction	
Cutting of trees and grass for firewood and home building	
Grazing for livestock	
Clearing land for cultivation	

27. How do you value mega species of wild mammals (such as lions, zebras, impala, elephants and other) in comparison with livestock? Tick only one answer of your choice from the following boxes:

Wildlife not of value at all	
They are all equal in value	
Livestock is more valuable than wild species of mammals	
Wildlife is more valuable than livestock	

28. Tick the appropriate answer which explains how you feel about birds and mammals that you come across in your area:

I think of them mostly as pests	
I think of them mostly as meat	
I think of them mostly as tourist attractions	
I think of them mostly as totemic images	

29. Is it your view that the government should have put in place institutional arrangements such as CAMPFIRE to safeguard wildlife at the time new farmers had been allocated land in former white owned commercial farms which hosted many species of wildlife game? YES ____ NO ____

30. Do you as an individual share a sense of ownership of wildlife game that roam former white-owned farms such as Woodrow, Elinda, Shield and Zaranyika that have been relocated to African farmers? Yes ___ No ___

31. Were new settlers provided with enough food supply and utilities during the economic hardships and drought periods of early 2000s to stop them from scrambling over wildlife and other natural resources that existed in commercial farms? YES ____ NO ___

32. If your answer to 28 is yes, state the kind of support received.

.....

33. Should government set quotas on rushed harvests of premature wild fruits such as mazhanje, masawu and others which are being ferried in large quantities for sale in urban areas despite the ecological concern for wild animals such as baboons, monkeys, squirrels and others that subsist primarily on such wild fruits? YES ____ NO ____

34. Please rank the following factors that are hazardous to wildlife on a scale of 0 to 10 (0 being the least effect and 10 the highest). The ranking will be based on your experience relating to your activities working and staying on land you occupy in Darwendale.

Commercial logging for trees for timber	
Killing of animals that posed harm to people and livestock	
Loss of habitat to grazing	
Poaching for subsistence by your neighborhood during early days of land reform	
Poaching by outsiders to supply demand for wild meat trade	
Clearing new fields for crop production	

35. From your experience of working and staying here, rank the following human factors according to their percentage contribution in endangering the livelihood of wildlife since the land reform program began in 2000.

Loss of vegetation and wildlife habitats due to clearing of new fields for crop production	Poaching of wild game by locals for subsistence needs during early days of land reform	Poaching wild animals by outsiders to supply demand for meat trade	Commercial logging of trees to supply booming trade of timber in urban areas	Killing of animals that posed harm to people & predation on livestock	Loss of habitat because of high demand of grazing land for increasing herds of livestock

36. According to your estimates, what percentage of total land area that once served as woodlands or wildlife habitats have been converted for agricultural production since the land reform began in all four farms of Woodrow, Elinda, Shield and Zaranyika combined?

1 – 15%	16 – 30%	31 – 50%	51 – 75%	Over 76%

37. Were you previously engaged in some kind of wildlife conservation program before you came here or prior to being allocated the land you acquired through the land reform program? YES ____ NO ____

38. If your answer to question 36 is YES, what was the program's name and what role did you play? .....

39. Other than government, list the names of organisations that have been actively engaged in working with you on wildlife conservation since the land reform began.

.....

.....

.....

***Please try to answer all questions. If there are questions whose wording confuse you please ask the researcher or his assistant to explain to you on the day of collection of the questionnaire.**

The END of the questionnaire

Thank you for your co-operation

PLEASE RETURN THE COMPLETED QUESTIONNAIRE TO THE RESEARCHER

8.2 APPENDIX 2: INTERVIEW GUIDE QUESTIONS FOR RURAL DISTRICT COUNCILS

1. In which Province is your RDC located?

Explain: .....

2. Is your RDC a member of CAMPFIRE Association?

Explain: .....

3. If yes, explain how the termination of USAID funding affected you?

4. ***Explain***:

.....

5. What wildlife activities were you specifically involved in before the Land Reform Program began?

.....

.....

..

6. What or whose agenda do you think prevailed in pushing for the Fast Track Land Reform Programme in Zimbabwe? Tick only one answer selected from (a) to (e) as follows:

(c) The agenda was a mass revolutionary agenda represented by war veterans to recover land that had been unfairly taken by white people during the colonial period

(d) Agenda was for the political elite in the ruling party who wanted to appropriate large tracts of land for their economic ego

(e) The agenda was for Presidential self-serving interests to attack white people who, together with the West were seen as garnering support for the newly established MDC party to oust the President and ZANU PF.

(f) To prove that power politics would prevail over the democratic rights of people who had just voted NO to the 2000referendum which proposed to give the President powers of repossessing land from whites without compensation (g) None of the above/not sure

7. How far do you agree or disagree with the view that fast track land reform, by its nature of being fast did not provide a protective environment for wildlife that could have been possible if the process of land takeover was slower and better planned?

Strongly Agree	
Agree	
Not sure/undecided	
Disagree	
Strongly disagree	

8. Were you adequately funded as an organisation to carry out your key services in wildlife management during the first ten years of the land reform programme (2000 – 2010)?

.....

....

9. Considering the priority the Zimbabwe government accorded agrarian reforms, do you think there was sufficient protection of populations of wild game species and their habitats in former white-owned commercial farms at the time government took over the farms for redistribution?

Explain: .....

10. In consideration of the economic hardships Zimbabwe experienced in the first ten years of the agrarian reform what are your impressions of how the following organisations coped with their wildlife management services at that period?

Your Rural District Council

.....

.....

The Parks and Wildlife

Authority.....

.....

.....

CAMPFIRE Service

Providers.....

.....

.....

...

Conservancies.....

.....

.....

Government

Departments.....

....

Newly settled commercial

farms.....

....

Other wildlife organisations

.....

.....

.....

11. According to your expert assessments, rate the following human factors in percentage terms on how you think they contributed in threatening survival of wildlife in your district during the first ten years of the country's land reform period.

Habitat & vegetation loss (due to commercial logging, need for firewood, livestock grazing, clearing new fields for crop production, building of homes, pens etc)	Poaching of wild game by locals for subsistence needs & to supply game meat for trade on the black market	Commercial poaching of large pachyderms such as rhino and elephant for trade of their parts in global markets	Hunting of game for sport including undeclared kills by safari operators due to accidents, to bait big cats or over kill to cheat & maximise profits	Official sale of live wild animals of all types as well as unofficial pet trade of smuggled wild species	Eradicating wild animals for pest and problem animal control	Animals killed by pollution, road accidents and those killed because of superstitions held by locals (all three of them added together)

12. How far do you agree or disagree with the view that the agenda for establishing CAMPFIRE in Zimbabwe was to serve imperialist interests of the West?

Strongly Agree	
Agree	
Not sure/undecided	
Disagree	
Strongly disagree	

13. As you heard or dealt with Zimbabwe Trust as a CCG member, did you think of the organisation as a Zimbabwean or Foreign owned?

Your reply may be (a) I thought of it as local (b) I thought of it as foreign and (c) I did not think of it.

14. Do you think the heavy funding for CCG organisations in Harare was justified in line with services they provided to RDCs and communities?

15. Do you think the heavy funding for CAMPFIRE for its first 10 years would have been possible if the CCG was headed by blacks?

Your reply may be (a) Yes (b) No (c) Am not sure.

16. Are you bothered at all by the fact that CAMPFIRE promotes a foreign culture of sport hunting? Yes or No?

17. Do you think Zimbabwe's shoot to kill policy for poachers is appropriate to achieve wildlife conservation?

18. Choose only one of the answers below from (a) to (e) which in your opinion represent your view of financial ability of the Zimbabwe National Parks and Wildlife Authority to deal adequately with poaching during the 15 years of the land reform programme.

f. YES national parks had adequate resources which they effectively used for anti-poaching activities

g. Yes national parks had adequate resources but were mismanaged

h. No national parks did not have enough resources but the organisation worked hard to try and contain the poaching situation

i. No national parks did not have enough resources and so they allowed their anti-poaching system to collapse

j. I do not have an opinion

19. How far do you agree or disagree that the quotas that were issued to hunters during the land reform were based on sound scientific estimates of populations of respective animals that were put on quotas?

Strongly Agree	
Agree	
Not sure/undecided	
Disagree	
Strongly disagree	

20. How far do you agree or disagree with the view that involvement of politicians including to government ministers in operating their personal safari companies was based on policy directed indigenisation of the safari industry considering that most of institutions that awarded tenders fell under them? Your answer will be according to the choices below: Strongly agree

- Agree
- Strongly disagree
- Disagree
- Undecided

21. When considering that the US government always opposed Zimbabwe's policies to hunt and trade in ivory in international forums such as CITES, what do you think about the view that USAID's Phase Two funding for CAMPFIRE was a carefully designed strategy to disorient

Zimbabwe's lobby for sport hunting in order to appease the majority of American taxpayers who preferred photographic safari over killing of animals?

Strongly Agree	
Agree	
Not sure/undecided	
Disagree	
Strongly disagree	

22. Choose one of the options as your choice for the civil national institutional arrangement you prefer for representing people in communal and resettled land for wildlife production and lobbying at national level in the post-land reform era? The four options provided are as follows:

(e) Maintain CAMPFIRE Association and Wildlife Producers Associations to focus on their preland reform constituencies;

(f) Amalgamate CAMPFIRE Association and Wildlife Producers Associations into one body namely Wildlife Association for Land Users in Zimbabwe (WALUZ).

(g) Amalgamate the CAMPFIRE Association and The Association of Rural District Councils as a single body to represent different sectoral interests of RDCs while allowing communal and commercial farm enterprises on wildlife to join the Wildlife Producers Association (h) Undecided

23. In your work with communities and rural district councils, have you been able to push or lobby for better contractual deals that empower communities so that they are not shortchanged either by Rural District Councils or Safari Operators when sharing benefits earned from wildlife projects?

.....

....

24. Please rank the following factors on a scale of 0-10 according to your estimates of how you think they contributed in reducing vegetation cover and other habitats for fish and other animals. Rank all the factors. 10 means the factor contributes very highly while 0 means it does not contribute anything. Rank according to your experience of activities of people in your district.

Siltation and misuse of water in rivers and dams	
Mining both formal and illegal panning	
Industrial and establishment of shops	
Road and dam construction	
Cutting of trees and grass for firewood and home building	
Grazing for livestock	
Clearing land for cultivation	

25. Do you think Zimbabwe's law enforcement is effective enough to contain or reduce high levels of subsistence and commercial poaching of wildlife that have been widely reported in the media in recent years?

26. Do you think Zimbabwean authorities had sufficiently planned for wildlife conservation in carrying out the 2000 Land Reform Exercise?

27. In consideration of your experience in wildlife management in Zimbabwe, which one of the following institutional arrangements do you think is best suited to be granted Appropriate Authority Status by government to allow effective community participation in wildlife management in communal areas that have populations of wild game species?

Government's National Parks Offices	Chiefs/ Traditional leaders	Rural District Councils	Village Development Committee	Ward Development Committee	Other (specify)

Explain

Why.....

The END of the questionnaire

Thank you for your co-operation

PLEASE RETURN THE COMPLETED QUESTIONNAIRE TO THE RESEARCHER

8.3 APPENDIX 3: INTERVIEW GUIDE QUESTIONS FOR THE SAFARI INDUSTRY

1. What is your organisation's mandate in the Safari Industry? Indicate if you are in Hunting or Non-hunting safari.

Explain: .....

2. When and how did your organisation begin to be involved in safari operations in Zimbabwe?

Explain: .....

3. What or whose agenda do you think prevailed in pushing for the Fast Track Land Reform Programme in Zimbabwe? Tick only one answer selected from (a) to (e) as follows:

(e) The agenda was a mass revolutionary agenda represented by war veterans to recover land that had been unfairly taken by white people during the colonial period

(f) Agenda was for the political elite in the ruling party who wanted to appropriate large tracts of land for their economic ego

(h) The agenda was for Presidential self-serving interests to attack white people who, together with the West were seen as garnering support for the newly established MDC party to oust the President and ZANU PF.

(i) To prove that power politics would prevail over the democratic rights of people who had just voted NO to the 2000referendum which proposed to give the President powers of repossessing land from whites without compensation (j) None of the above/not sure

4. How far do you agree or disagree with the view that fast track land reform, by its nature of being fast did not provide a protective environment for wildlife that could have been possible if the process of land takeover was slower and better planned?

Strongly Agree	
Agree	
Not sure/undecided	
Disagree	
Strongly disagree	

5. Do you think Zimbabwe's shoot to kill policy for poachers is appropriate to achieve wildlife conservation?

6. Please rank the following factors on a scale of 0-10 according to your estimates of how you think they contributed in reducing vegetation cover and other habitats for fish and other species in your district. Rank all the factors. 10 means the factor contributed very highly while 0 means it did not contribute.

Siltation and misuse of water in rivers and dams	
Mining both formal and illegal panning	
Industrial and establishment of shops	
Road and dam construction	
Cutting of trees and grass for firewood and home building	
Grazing for livestock	
Clearing land for cultivation	

7. On a point of 1 – 10 (1 being the least and 10 the highest) evaluate the extent to which the different listed categories of sporting ethics, principles and procedures are enforceable to qualify trophy hunting as a true sport.

Fair chase principle	
Effective and appropriate use of weapons	
Humane treatment of quarry	
Shot placement skills	
Extent to which safari operators and hunters observe national rules	
Expertise by clients to observe sex, age of quarry	
Due consideration of health and capacity of clients to hunt	

8. How far do you agree or disagree that the quotas that were issued to hunters during the land reform were based on sound scientific estimates of populations of respective animals that were put on quotas?

Strongly Agree	
Agree	
Not sure/undecided	
Disagree	
Strongly disagree	

9. How far do you agree or disagree with the view that involvement of politicians including to government ministers in operating their personal safari companies was based on policy directed indigenisation of the safari industry considering that most of institutions that awarded tenders fell under them? Your answer will be according to the choices below:

- Strongly agree
- Agree
- Strongly disagree
- Disagree
- Undecided

10. When considering that the US government always opposed Zimbabwe's policies to hunt and trade in ivory in international forums such as CITES, what do you think about the view that USAID's Phase Two funding for CAMPFIRE was a carefully designed strategy to disorient Zimbabwe's lobby for sport hunting in order to appease the majority of American taxpayers who preferred photographic safari over killing of animals?

Strongly Agree	

Agree	
Not sure/undecided	
Disagree	
Strongly disagree	

11. In what form do you think votes that decide placement of species on CITES appendices should be? Choose between (a) Open show of hands (b) Secret ballot or (c) Not decided.

12. Choose one of the options as your choice for the civil national institutional arrangement you prefer for representing people in communal and resettled land for wildlife production and lobbying at national level in the post-land reform era? The four options provided are as follows:

(i) Maintain CAMPFIRE Association and Wildlife Producers Associations to focus on their preland reform constituencies;
(j) Amalgamate CAMPFIRE Association and Wildlife Producers Associations into one body namely Wildlife Association for Land Users in Zimbabwe (WALUZ).
(k) Amalgamate the CAMPFIRE Association and The Association of Rural District Councils as a single body to represent different sectoral interests of RDCs while allowing communal and commercial farm enterprises on wildlife to join the Wildlife Producers Association (l) Undecided

13. Considering the priority the Zimbabwe government accorded agrarian reforms, do you think there was sufficient protection of populations of wild game species and their habitats in former white-owned commercial farms at the time government took over the farms for redistribution?

14. Choose only one of the answers below from (a) to (e) which in your opinion represent your view of financial ability of the Zimbabwe National Parks and Wildlife Authority to deal adequately with poaching during the 15 years of the land reform programme.

k. YES national parks had adequate resources which they effectively used for anti-poaching activities

l. Yes national parks had adequate resources but were mismanaged

m. No national parks did not have enough resources but the organisation worked hard to try and contain the poaching situation

n. No national parks did not have enough resources and so they allowed their anti-poaching system to collapse

o. I do not have an opinion

15. In consideration of the economic hardships Zimbabwe experienced in the first ten years of the agrarian reform what are your impressions of how the following organisations coped with their wildlife management services at that period? **The Parks and Wildlife Authority**

.....

.....

Rural District Councils in charge of CAMPFIRE projects

.....

....

CAMPFIRE Service

Providers.....

.....

.....

Conservancies.....

.....

.....

Government

Departments.....

....

Newly settled commercial

farms.....

.....

Other wildlife organisations including

yours.....

.....

.....

16. According to your expert assessments, rate the following human factors in percentage terms on how you think they contributed in threatening survival of wildlife at national level during the first ten years of the country's land reform period.

Habitat & vegetation loss (due to commercial logging, need for firewood, livestock grazing, clearing new fields for crop production, building of homes,	Poaching of wild game by locals for subsistence needs & to supply game meat for trade on the black market	Commercial poaching of large pachyderms such as rhino and elephant for trade of their parts in global markets	Hunting of game for sport including undeclared kills by safari operators due to accidents, to bait big cats or over kill to cheat &	Official sale of live wild animals of all types as well as unofficial pet trade of smuggled wild species	Eradicating wild animals for pest and problem animal control	Animals killed by pollution, road accidents and those killed because of superstitions held by locals (all three of them added together)

pens etc)			maximise profits			

17. Please rank the following factors on a scale of 0-10 according to your estimates of how you think they contributed in reducing vegetation cover and other habitats for fish and other animals. Rank all the factors. 10 means the factor contributes very highly while 0 means it does not contribute anything. Rank according to your experience of living in Darwendale

Siltation and misuse of water in rivers and dams	
Mining both formal and illegal panning	
Industrial and establishment of shops	
Road and dam construction	
Cutting of trees and grass for firewood and home building	
Grazing for livestock	
Clearing land for cultivation	

18. Do you think Zimbabwe's law enforcement is effective enough to contain or reduce high levels of subsistence and commercial poaching of wildlife that have been widely reported in the media in recent years?

19. In consideration of your experience in wildlife management in Zimbabwe, which one of the following institutional arrangements do you think is best suited to be granted Appropriate Authority Status by government to allow effective community participation in wildlife management in communal areas that have populations of wild game species?

Government's National Parks Offices	Chiefs/ Traditional leaders	Rural District Councils	Village Development Committee	Ward Development Committee	Other (specify)

Explain

Why.....

The END of the questionnaire

Thank you for your co-operation

PLEASE RETURN THE COMPLETED QUESTIONNAIRE TO THE RESEARCHER

8.4 QUESTIONNAIRE FOR WILDLIFE CONSERVATION ORGANISATIONS WORKING IN ZIMBABWE

- **Interview Guide Questions for Focus Group Discussions with communities in Darwendale Farms**

Greetings: Makadiyi mose vana baba nana Mai

(How are you all participants to this friendly academic research to hear your views about your opinions about your interest and capacity to conserve wildlife species in your newly acquired plots. Please note that my name is Stephen Kasere and I am a researcher with the University of Witwatersrand in South Africa which requires me to observe certain ethics in doing my studies. One of the requirements is that you should voluntarily participate in this study and not be forced against your wish. I will therefore not take your names down to assure you that your identification will remain anonymous and that no one will victimise you for giving your honest opinions in this discussion. But there will be a few questions I need you to answer about your background so that they will help me in my analysis of findings as I compute them for academic purposes.

1. What is your your sex, age and religion?
2. When did you take up the land you were offered by government (just the year)
3. From where did you live when you were offered land under the FTLRP?
4. Were you engaged in some projects such as CAMPFIRE at the area where you came from?
5. Do you think it will be viable for you to use your land for wildlife conservation and not agriculture if you were offered an opportunity to join your land into a medium sized conservancy while you earn revenue from the project as shareholders living at only one side of the farms with only a hectare of plots for your subsistence?
6. Do you believe in cultural significance of your totems as imposing a duty to you to conserve wildlife species first because of their spiritual significance and second because of their value to improve your food security and commercial interests?
7. Do you still conduct traditional ceremonies such as *Bira* to appease spirit mediums as families as our forefathers used to do?
8. Did you participate in poaching of wildlife in the area to help you secure food during the drought years?
9. Do you think wildlife can offer you better value for land use than agriculture?
10. Would you say you were given enough education and training about environmental management and value of wildlife before you took over land that was previously owned by white farmers?
11. Do you think the agenda to take over land was inspired by government wish to help landless people or for top politicians to achieve their own socio-economic goals for their own enrichment and hold on power? Discuss freely.
12. Do you believe that the Mhondoro spirit of Mwenemutapa and Nehanda will still be watching over your behaviour to cause natural disasters if you defy the African tradition to conserve and sustainably utilise wildlife species in your area?

13. In consideration of your experience in wildlife management in Zimbabwe, which one of the following institutional arrangements do you think is best suited to be granted Appropriate Authority Status by government to allow effective community participation in wildlife management in communal areas that have populations of wild game species?

Government's	Chiefs/	Rural	Village	Ward	Other (specify)

National Parks Offices	Traditional leaders	District Councils	Development Committee	Development Committee	

Explain Why.....

The END of the questionnaire
Thank you for your co-operation

8.5 APPENDIX 4: HUMAN RESOURCES ETHICS COMMITTEE CLEARANCE

Research Office

HUMAN RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE (NON-MEDICAL)
R14/49 Kasere

CLEARANCE CERTIFICATE	**PROTOCOL NUMBER: H18/11/15**
PROJECT TITLE	Perspectives on the impacts of the land reform programme on wildlife conservation and management in Zimbabwe
INVESTIGATOR(S)	Mr S Kasere
SCHOOL/DEPARTMENT	GAES/
DATE CONSIDERED	16 November 2018
DECISION OF THE COMMITTEE	Approved
EXPIRY DATE	08 May 2022

DATE 09 May 2019 **CHAIRPERSON** J. Knight

(Professor J Knight)

cc: Supervisor : Professor M Simatele

DECLARATION OF INVESTIGATOR(S)

To be completed in duplicate and **ONE COPY** returned to the Secretary at Room 10004, 10th Floor, Senate House, University. Unreported changes to the application may invalidate the clearance given by the HREC (Non-Medical)

I/We fully understand the conditions under which I am/we are authorized to carry out the abovementioned research and I/we guarantee to ensure compliance with these conditions. Should any departure to be contemplated from the research procedure as approved I/we undertake to resubmit the protocol to the Committee. **I agree to completion of a yearly progress report.**

_____ _____/_____/_____

Signature **Date**

PLEASE QUOTE THE PROTOCOL NUMBER ON ALL ENQUIRIES

8.6 APPENDIX 5: ARTICLE BY GEORGE MONBIOT

Hidden extras

As the ivory ban is lifted, **George Monbiot** says Zimbabwe's praised wildlife project is already making white farmers rich

Campfire colonialism

Mischief makers . . . who gets the benefit? PHOTO: CRAIG LOVELL

After 10 years, the ban on the international trade in ivory has been lifted. This week, the convention on international trade in endangered species decided that trading in elephant tusks would, paradoxically, help to conserve the elephants.

The negotiators were swayed, above all, by the arguments of the Zimbabwean delegation. It claimed that its own peculiar means of protecting elephants — allowing foreign hunters to shoot some, then ploughing the revenues into conservation — has been spectacularly successful. In truth, the convention, and the world in general, have been deceived. the "Campfire" programme run by the Zimbabwean government is a disaster.

According to its main sponsor, the American government aid agency, USAID, Campfire is "the most successful community-based programme in Africa". It is a means by which impoverished local people can share the benefits of tourism while protecting their wildlife. It has been enthusiastically endorsed by many of the world's biggest conservation groups, including the Worldwide Fund for Nature (WWF), and the International Union for the Conservation of Nature.

Campfire's concept is simple: communities living in wildlife-rich areas protect the game that uses their land in return for a share of the money generated when white hunters come to shoot some of the "trophy" animals. The hunters take the heads away to hang on their walls, and the people keep both the meat and some of the money the hunter pays to the safari company which introduces him to his quarry. The people get rich, the wildlife prospers.

In reality, as a report by Heena Patel of the Indigenous Environmental Policy Centre shows, Campfire is being used by Zimbabwe's white minority to increase its influence over the land and make an enormous amount of money. Far from protecting elephants, it has compromised their survival, while enabling the Zimbabwean government to re-open an international market that's ripe for exploitation by illegal traders.

Black Zimbabweans have already been evicted from many of their remaining lands by the establishment of national parks and reserves; now the Campfire programme has evicted hundreds more families, without consultation or proper compensation. "The message we are getting," says one of the people Patel quotes, "is that animals are now more important than people."

The programme is making some people tremendously rich, but not the locals. When an elephant is killed, for example, US$20,950 is allocated to the safari company, and just $1,275 to local people, much of which disappears en route. As a result, the programme which, we have been constantly assured, has transformed the local people's livelihoods, instead accounts for a mere 2–4 per cent of their income. Most of the meat from the hunted animals is appropriated by corrupt officials.

Far from helping to protect wildlife, the resentment that Campfire has generated appears to have increased the amount of poaching in some areas. In the Zambezi valley, the number of elephants poached doubled after the introduction of the Campfire programme. Hunting licences are grossly mismanaged, with the result that far more elephants are killed by foreign hunters than the quotas allow.

Perhaps the biggest deception is the claim that Campfire is run by local people.

Devised by white Zimbabweans, implemented by British and American agencies, Campfire's engagement of villagers is at best a passive one, gaining grudging acceptance of some of its practices, while ignoring people's pleas and criticisms. Far from liberating local people, as Campfire's literature suggests, it has left them dependent on remote, unaccountable agencies whose needs and demands are utterly at variance with their own.

Campfire has little to do with the welfare of poor Zimbabweans. It has little to do with conserving wildlife. It has everything to do with servicing the perve e and lucrative fantasies of a bunch of American gun fanatics who have something missing in the trousers department. It is, USAID should have said, one of the most successful colonisation-based programmes in Africa.'

8.7 ADDENDUM : TESTIMONIES FROM THE NEHANDA/KASERE FAMILY

ADDITIONAL TESTIMONIAL DATA OBTAINED FROM THE KASERE/NEHANDA FAMILY REGARDING THE POWERS OF THE MHONDORO SPIRIT IN ZIMBABWE AND THEIR EXPERIENCE

SECTION A: Strange things happened in CAMPFIRE: Coincidence or evidence of supernatural intervention?

One subject that will always intrigue the minds of people is on how, after having connived with the President family to create Zimbabwe Trust in 1981, white people ended up employing the son of Supreme Kasere, Mbuya Nehanda's great grandson X, who not only did not know about the existence of Zimbabwe Trust before, but also did not know then that he was Mbuya Nehanda's biological great grand grandson. Without going into detail to show how X was invited to apply for a post and be one of the first candidates of the group of Africans that went for training in Switzerland; and how the white people then tried to stop his nomination by the US embassy to also go for training in the U.S. on environment awareness, what was strange about X that needs discussion was his determination to want millions of dollars held by Zimbabwe Trust as well as income generated by white safari operators to also be meaningfully shared with rural communities while showing no inclination to want to share the money as he felt his salary was enough to live on.

Drama started when both the President's office and the white people who had appointed X wanted him out of the programme as Deputy Director for fear that he was not accepting to share the millions and would therefore divulge to the outside world if he had lived long enough to see people sharing. His black boss Y, who had been tasked to eliminate X, suffered mysterious accidents right on each day the Board would have been secretly gathered by Y tete a tete with white officials for Y to officiate on X's removal. On the first day on a Saturday at George hotel, members of Board, without sharing the agenda of the meeting with X, people waited for hours for Y to arrive, only to learn that Y was involved in a fatal head-on accident, and he had been taken to Parirenyatwa Hospital with broken limb. X was then surprised to hear that the meeting was about his dismissal when the Board chair asked whether they could go on with the dismissal of X.

While recovering in hospital, Y was worried that X had been asked to act as Director and demanded to be released from hospital. At his release, without even going home, Y rushed to remove X from acting as Director, and then on his way to Namibia on the same day, his plane is alleged to have crashed in the desert. There is a school of thought which argues that there was no real air crash, the scene was stage managed by some external intelligence to give Y reasons that convinced RDCs to accept to dismiss X because about a year later Y, appeared on ZBC T.V main news talking of how God saved him from an air crash because he had to clear CAMPFIRE of an individual who frustrated donors who, because of him, withheld millions they intended to release to RDCs until the programme manager (X) had been removed from the programme.

Wreckage of plane which crashed while ferrying Mr 'Y' and colleagues: Picture and narration taken from CAMPFIRE News No, 15, May 1997, page 5. Note that Mr 'Y' is not a real name

And again, when Y arranged for the final removal of X on grounds of downsizing which was to be followed by X's assassination almost immediately, Y was involved in a road accident that first killed his nephew who was driving and then himself the next day. The question is how could all these accident occur immediately on days 'X' was supposed to be removed from work or be killed?
There was pandemonium in government and among CA Board members, staff and even and 'Y's family as everyone insisted that X had to take over as the leader because God seemed to be defending him from dying. One official, who X knew as a friend of Y, approached X while attending a conference at ESKOM and warned X never to talk about the death of Y to both white and black people how Y died. He said he was a Director of an NGO only as disguise. He called himself a 'satanist' who was part of the elimination wing of Zimbabwe's intelligence organisation that was working to assassinate X. "God wants you, my friend. It has never happened that on a day we planned to kill someone, our own head of the killing machinery dies instead. So do not argue with me, we have been instructed to stop trying to kill you, but we will kill you if you continue talking about Y's death". Strangely, everyone throughout the CAMPFIRE Board, Y's family and many staff members were all saying similar things. Even other directors of different wings of Zimbabwe's security gave similar accounts.

There are very interesting things about Mbuya Nehanda and her grandson Supreme Kasere that may be of interest to talk about. What is most interesting is how it was the white people and Prime Minister, Ian Douglas Smith who had become protectors of Mbuya Nehanda at the time she was abducted by guerrillas to go to Mozambique where the leaders seem to have scrambled for her body parts for rituals. Was it not interesting how white people used to consult Mbuya Nehanda for rains during drought years without realising she was the same Nehanda Cecil Rhodes intended to kill in 1898 who then transferred her grandson for safe-keeping in Zvimba. It is ironic that when she was eventually abducted by liberation war guerrillas, Ian Smith, even though with an element of propaganda, called guerrillas good for nothing terrorists. Public speeches and radio announcements were backed up by thousands of leaflets scattered over hundreds of miles in the Zambezi valley calling for the return of Nehanda (Raeburn, 1978). Thus for whatever reason, the white government seemed more caring than guerrillas who then let Mbuya

Nehanda die without affectionate care only bury her two feet underground leaving her head dangling out above the ground. It would also be interesting to observe how Mbuya Nehanda's grandson Supreme Kasere worked as a cook for white people throughout his life. Something just shows that the Mwenemutapa/Nehanda spirit was truly Adam's spirit of love which never hated any race, but fought anybody, black or white who used evil or cruel means to want to secure wealth.

But a far more interesting story perhaps surrounds Supreme Kasere's sixth child and fourth son X, whom the post-independence President together with his underground white colleagues tried to remove from CAMPFIRE but ended up as the programme's tough Director who could not compromise principles for rural development by accepting to share millions of dollars. Something just sounded spiritual about this young man who had lived an unusual life of denying easy reaches. Unknown to white directors who invited him to join CAMPFIRE, X had hurt his family at the age of 8. As he walked 15 or so metres behind his mother going to catch the nearest bus stop to go to Banket for treatment, an unknown white farmer stopped over to relieve himself near X. A reserve Bank canvass bag full of pound notes he had withdrawn from a bank to pay wages for workers at three farms he owned fell off when he opened his door. When he sped away in his jeep, X picked the huge canvass bag and chased after the farmer for over 2 kilometres shouting at people to stop the farmer. When he met up with the farmer, he opened his canvass bag and gave X's mother only ten shillings as thank you. There was so much pain back home as the mother told her children the bizarre story of a child who had been given so much riches by God and chose to give back the wealth to a rich white man. As he grew to work as a bank teller at Barclays Bank, X continued to return huge and small amounts to rich people mainly white who used to over-pay in their huge deposits. So the culture of not wanting to get overly rich at the expense of anyone seemed to have been ingrained in him before joining CAMPFIRE.

It is interesting how mainly white people helped X throughout his life. But far more interesting is how X earned his name Bigboy. When he was a baby about 6 months old, her mother when sweeping a yard placed the child on a tree shade so that she could comfortably sweep the yard. Some 20 or so minutes later, he turned back only to find the child playing with a large black snake which had rolled its body around the child's stomach and neck. The child was picking the snake trying to eat it and the snake smoothly and perhaps happily flowed down and the child would pick it up like that. The snake had to be killed by villagers even though it had not bitten the child. But the story of the snake continued 18 years later when X, reading his book 'Othello' by the evening in Chitungwiza, a snake entered through the bottom of X's trouser and crawled slowly by his right leg. X froze in fear as he felt the snake moving by the side of his leg. He could not move his body because he reasoned that the snake perhaps did not realise it was on the body of a human being. But when he called for help, people gathered, mainly demobilised war veterans in Zengeza, who strategized a way to remove the snake by fire. In the end no one saw the snake. X's valued book 'Othello' was burnt only on middle pages and then he fell sick and never wrote his AEB 'A' level examination. That was the only time he saw his father Supreme Kasere crying as X refused to visit any 'sangoma' or traditional healers as he claimed he would heal on his own. It is also important to observe that when a second invisible snake entered through the trousers of 'X' as he was studying for his 'A' Levels, it could not be found. Interestingly, the snake seemed to have found shelter on top of his head (brains) where it occasionally wriggles softly on his head especially when he is annoyed or worried. 'X' never told people about this strange artificial thing which started to wriggle on top of his brains right on the day the snake entered his trouser as he lay reading his book more than 40

years ago. He only told his parents at the time when he fell sick after the snake incident, but never mentioned it to anyone again, not even his wife. It is funny how he would run away whenever anybody tried to come closer to him with medication. Even though it embarrassed and worried him, he always refused to visit traditional healers arguing that if God was the one who put it there, then it would be him who would remove it. It is not known if this artificial thing was the one that made him decide to refuse even to accept a very big offer of a huge salary by the government of Zimbabwe to join the directorate of the Central Intelligence Organisation (CIO) or whether it had a role to play in inspiring his conservation career or to protect him from the dangerous encounters he experienced in life. But he has carried this humiliating thing inside his head which worried him in the early years as he thought he was bewitched but not anymore. It is funny how he has lived with it up to now (Interview with Kasere family, 2021). There is a lot more about this Mwenemutapa/Nehanda spirit that 'X' wishes to share with academics, no matter how weird, embarrassing and stigmatized the subject is. What makes it even harder to discuss is the fact that many people associate snakes with evil (not holiness) and bad omens which makes 'X' even more determined not to mention it. But if it adds value to knowledge about a spiritual phenomenon that has been misunderstood for centuries, then it must be mentioned.

There however seemed to be a spiritual message about snakes that was said by Mbuya Nehanda as she was quoted by Raeburn (1978). According to Raeburn, Mbuya Nehanda said: "Snakes are soft sticks among thick trees" and then repeated several times to say: "Blood of the lion…burn soft sticks. Black Fire" (Note Black Fire became the title of Raeburn's book, which was fore-worded by former Vice President of Zimbabwe, Cde Simon Muzenda. The coincidences to X about the mysterious snakes, which Mbuya Nehanda emphasised in a book that X only read for the first time in 2019 seem to confirm something spiritual about X who suffered a lot of emotional stress as he worked to promote principles of sustainable development both as a writer (who became the first Zimbabwean or perhaps African to win the Environmental Writer of the Year) and as CAMPFIRE activist who did a lot including going to address both houses of the US Congress; spread the gospel of natural resource management all over the world; manage the USAID NRMP while his government, which seemed to have disappeared with his great grandmother Mbuya Nehanda's remains, tried to kill him and failed (Kasere, 2022). It is also interesting how the President's office in Zimbabwe later offered X a top lucrative post that would pay thousands of US dollars per month. He was to be posted abroad to lead CIO operations. But X politely declined in a 3-page letter saying, it was not for him to work under cover as a CIO agent.

SECTION B: How x's refusal of money offers might have been linked to spiritual protest against compromising spiritual duty to expose the macabre practices of Zimbabwean government

It should not be assumed that X in life refused money because he did not need it. He always lived a very painful life from childhood. It is funny though that even when his mother made his elder sister Crance and him to walk 48 km to and from school to attend primary education at Kutama, the experience was horrible. Help however came from one white farmer who saw them trying to cross through his farm who was touched upon hearing how far the small children were going. The farmer made it a routine to give them a lift in the chilly early morning to cover at least 9 km for almost 2 years. Funny, at the end of the year, X would prevail as best student for three classes combined at Kutama. Hard life continued even at secondary, when his mission school was closed due to war after form 1. X had to combine three years to write his 'O' level in one year and Mr Ken Mew gave him a bursary to do his 'A' level again in 1 year. He always struggled to obtain money and never would win even in gambling. But one incident is worth

recalling. While at University, in 1984, X had gathered a small amount of money to go and pay lobola for his wife scheduled for a Sunday in Rusape, and his brother promised to give him 60% of the remainder. When the Saturday arrived, his brother found his bank closed and could not give him. X was shattered because people would be gathered to receive lobola on Sunday. He and his girl decided they would travel all the same. When the bus they travelled in stopped to give people a break, X found a small wet envelope with money in it. He was the only one in the bus who had strayed a distance to the bush for cover and noticed the package had not been dropped by anyone in the bus. He went to show his girlfriend their fortune and the money covered almost 55% of his lobola needs. The point is that X found it strange that God intervened to help him at some very critical moments when he least expected it. How could such coincidences happen almost immediately to help him? X always wondered how it happened that someone would have accidents right on the days he would be dismissed from work and then the boss dying on the day X was supposed to be killed, only for X to find himself as Director with everyone including staff, Board, the donor, CCG members and the President's office clamouring in shock and telling him that the Board had authorized his dismissal on the previous day Y died in a car crash as he was rushing to kill X and get rid of him completely. Many people, including family members of Y all came forward to explain how Y died while rushing to kill X as had been planned for weeks. But as X protested that he did not want the post, many people, including the Minister of Environment, called him to ask him to accept to become the Director of the controversial programme. Please note X by that time did not know he was the great grandson of Mbuya Nehanda. His father had died without telling his family the secret. The point here is to show that X never had an easy life hence his favourite songs were always "El Lute" by Bonie M and "It only rains on me" by Don Williams. (Please note that there are a lot of details of how 'X' survived heavy doses of poisoning from siblings not to be mentioned in this thesis). It is also important to mention that unlike many people, 'X' never believed in spirit mediums or Sangomas, hence never touched magic throughout his life. But he now thinks God's Mwenemutapa spirit is far too powerful and far too problematic to a host family than many people may realise. Considering how God could place money on his way when going to marry, 'X' has come to doubt if any real people ever built the Zimbabwe Monument (Ruins) which a white man just found to be there covered with creepers.

The monument could have been spiritually placed to reflect God's powers and choice of southern Africa as the land of Ophir where Adam (made from spirit) lived in the Victoria Falls which served as capital of the garden of Eden. The kind of brick stone used at the monument seem just too complicated to have been produced by virtually undressed primitive Africans as far back as 10th to 13th centuries. There just seems to be something peculiar about Zimbabwe's Mhondoro spirit, Victoria Falls, Zimbabwe Ruins, the Leviathan (Nyaminyami creature) and Ubuntu principles of brotherhood and conservation which suggest that southern Africa might indeed have been Adam's place of creation. The mysteries 'X' experienced (being Mbuya Nehanda's true biological great grandson are real and cannot just be dismissed as coincidence.

SECTION C: Is a Mwenemutapa born with biological endowments not commonly found in many people?

There is need to be cautious not to read too much into the alleged co-relationship between endowment of the unique physical traits in a baby and being a Mwenemutapa who becomes a symbol of spiritual holiness that will fight evil practices to uphold sustainable conservation and ubuntu principles. The

reason for caution being that the theory is derived mainly on observations made only on Supreme Kasere and his son 'X' or Bigboy who were both never been traditionally installed as Mwenemutapas after Mbuya Nehanda had transferred her grandson to live far away from Mt Darwin for safety. In other words, to be a confirmed theory would have required to demonstrate that all the other Mwenemutapas before were also born, like Bigboy, with the same physical structures. This however does not suggest that the hypothesis is premised on weak grounds to render the relationship spurious. Having grown his first two teeth on upper gums unlike most babies, it is highly possible that the black snake that coiled around Bigboy's 6-month-old body was attracted by the small organ that flashed under the tongue of 'X' as a baby.

But this again does not explain why only one snake, not many other snakes that roamed the wild, came to him. It is also possible that Bigboy's protective behavior of the bigger population of underprivileged people that first manifested when he, as a child, rushed to hand over a bag full of money to a white farmer might have been triggered by a hormone for caring for the welfare of farm workers. This is because in his response when being questioned by his mother and elder siblings why he decided to give back money to a rich white farmer he stated that he did so because he felt keeping the money would have negatively affected livelihoods of a bigger number of people at three farms who would have gone without wages. It is assumed here that it was perhaps the same hormone that triggered concern for wanting communities in CAMPFIRE to enjoy meaningful benefits which made him extremely unpopular with CCG, safari operators and top politicians who saw nothing wrong in keeping the money for themselves. It also needs mentioning that even though 'X' was never a paragon of virtue and could do almost all offensive things that any normal person or child did, his major weakness from childhood was that he did not like to see people or animals suffering and would cry unusually too long sometimes for months when someone he knew died. He in particular did/does not want to see a domestic animal killed in his presence for him to feel good to eat it.

Could these characteristics be suggestive of endowment of extra-caring hormones in would be Mwenemutapas/Nehandas that were genetically passed on from Adam which have not yet been fully studied by scientists? Could it be hormones or other supernatural forces that made almost all known genuine Mwenemutapas since the 1500s and perhaps since the death of Adam feel over-protective of people in just the same way a hen may have hormones that make it behave more aggressively when incubating eggs or rearing its chicks? Could it be perhaps because of hormones triggered by gums or the small organ that seemed to be an extension of a tongue that flashed in the first nine or so months of 'X's babyhood, which, when exposed to the environment or people, triggered extra caring hormones which characterized 'X''s livelihood? Could they be the function of hormones which explain why 'X', without prior knowledge that he belonged to the Mwenemutapa family or blood line, and without having ever read about the Mwenemutapa/Nehanda spiritual dynasty, behaved the same way in defending rights of impoverished rural communities in CAMPFIRE in just the same way Mupunzagutu, Kapararidze, Mukombwe and other genuine Mwenemutapas behaved centuries back in preventing Europeans from expropriating minerals in Zimbabwe? It may be worth observing that unlike the fake Portuguese puppets Rusere and Mavhura, none of all the genuine Mwenemutapas ever agreed to sign treaties that made them vassals of the Portuguese King by acknowledging "the Portuguese ownership of the gold and silver mines" in Zimbabwe (Main, 1990: 191). On a similar note, scientists seem also not to have sufficiently studied to prove or refute the long held African civilization about shave in Shona which

shows that different people might have been endowed through special creation with hormones that are triggered by yet to be understood stimuli that influences them to do different things including evil acts such as murder and witchcraft called shave rehuroyi in Shona (Kasere, 2023). Studies of how the Mwenemutapa behaves consistently to protect people and fight evil must also lead scientists into opening up studies to show why some people in contrast to Mwenemutapa or 'X', seem to inherit behavioral traits that make them continue to steal for the fun of it even after being arrested and released from jail several times. Could it be a result of hormones or supernatural forces that some people are described in English as people who have 'a calling' which can be for hunting (shave rekuvhima); to heal the sick (Shave rekurapa) and so on, which should be distinguished from Mudzimu we Mhondoro (Mwenemutapa spirit) which upholds ubuntu principles. These may need to be carefully studied by both social and biological scientists and is important especially for criminologists throughout all societies albeit African, Asian, Aborigine, European, Latino or otherwise so that society can be more effectively protected from those who commit offences out of inborn inertia as opposed to voluntary well-orchestrated offences that should call for more severe punishment (Kasere, 2023). I think there is a lot more than described in this thesis about 'X' or Bigboy's behaviour that can be linked to the behavior of Mwenemutapas of yester centuries to suggest hormonal and divine inheritance of traits traceable to an African Adam who, as speculated by the Zambezia school of thought (Kasere, 2023), must have lived in the Zambezi Valley where he created an ubuntu regime for the protection of both people and wildlife that roamed the Garden of Eden. (See section that hypothesizes how the system of ubuntu and wildlife conservation in Africa might have been created by an Adam which makes the whole discussion of Mwenemutapa relevant to the thematic topic of this study on wildlife management).

In terms of 'X's observable behaviour that may be attributed to succession of hormones, a good starting point is perhaps to observe that though 'X' since childhood was a very avid believer of the Christian gospel and sang passionately in Church choirs in mission schools where he was educated (Catholic and Anglican), the boy had a natural phobia for drinking and eating Jesus's blood and flesh as symbolized by the holy communion. To avoid the ritual, he then persistently hid in bushes on days scheduled for baptism at church so that he would not be baptized. He just could not understand why people revelled by drinking and eating imagined blood and flesh respectively of someone they loved so dearly. One can imagine how astonished 'X' was when researches about Mwenemutapa as recent as 2020s revealed that Mwenemutapa (Mupunzagutu) who, 500 years ago found Fr Gonzalo Silveira guilty of sorcery and spying (Main, 1990), was 'X's biological great ancestry grandfather considering the fact that 'X'' father Supreme Kasere was part of the Mwenemutapa bloodline who was transferred from the Mwenemutapa/Nehanda family to save him from being killed by white people. Sorcery charges on Silveira arose from spreading a religion that conducted rituals that drank wine (human blood) and ate bread (human flesh) as symbols of human blood and flesh. This practice seemed sacrilegious to the Mwari religion as it appeared to condone satanic practices by witches who violated the 'thou shalt not kill principle of ubuntu' by visiting graves at night to dig up bodies of their dead victims to drink their blood and eat their flesh (Kasere, 2021). (Please note that the objective here is not to judge and condemn Christians as unholy because of the Holy Communion, but to show how the unconscious behaviour of 'X', who in his late 50s had spent his whole life diving and ducking to avoid drinking what symbolised human blood of Jesus.

This behaviour seemed controlled and consistent with past Mwenemutapas so much that one can even think 'X' was the same Mupunzagutu being re-born many centuries later). Could it be the work of hormones, divine powers or mere coincidence at play? This also seems to imply that many accomplishments that seemed to acquit 'X' for leadership roles, which 'X' thought were products of hard work and personal intelligence for having done so well at school and University, might have been influenced by the same forces that made him behave like his ancestors centuries back. It may be worth to highlight some of the accomplishments made by 'X' which are far too numerous to mention here. Apart from having prevailed at schools and University under harsh and hostile conditions as partly highlighted in Box Two, Chapter Five below, 'X' was the only one known to have been shortlisted by Cambridge University for post-graduate studies at U.Z during his time. 'X' also came out first in his in-house banking exams making him the first among graduate trainees in his group to be appointed to a managerial post. He (without prior training in respective areas) became the first Zimbabwean to win the environmental writer of the year award; the first among Africans to receive wildlife related training for communicators at WWF, Gland, Switzerland; the first among Africans to be selected for intensive Environmental training by the U.S government involving visits to many U.S. states. In addition to accomplishments listed in Chapter Five, 'X' also became the first appointee of the World Bank in Zimbabwe to serve as contact point for specialized research in 'Wildlife and habitat conservation' as listed in the World Bank Directory of Agricultural Research Institutions in Africa (SPAAR, 1994: 112). In breaking the monopoly of white domination on conservation matters, he within a short period addressed over 50 conferences, conventions, workshops and meetings held throughout the world and appeared in many print and electronic media as he spread principles for sustainable utilization of local resources. At Harvard University he together with Nils Christoffersen helped introduce modules on CAMPFIRE for post-graduate Business students (Kennedy, 1999) while in 2007 Cambridge University used his paper based on the spiritual powers of the Mwenemutapa mhondoro spirit on conservation as set question for an optional examination paper for 'A' level students studying Eco-tourism (Gateway High, 2006).

Outside the conservation field, 'X' was also the first black person to be appointed Executive Director of a Hospice organization in Zimbabwe (the spiritual significance of this appointment and his departure upon the insistence of a powerful foreign embassy cannot be discussed here for ethical reasons). Also, as if to observe how top black government officials preferred to deal only with white people to process sensitive information about Mbuya Nehanda (perhaps for fear that blacks may gossip through socialization about the strangeness of it and end up alerting the Kasere family who were not supposed to know), 'X' was surprisingly invited by Phylis Johnson to head studies on socio-economic impacts on the Limpopo River basin which were to be modelled along studies made on the Zambezi Basin. It is worth noting that the same Johnson together with David Martin were co-authors of 'The struggle for Zimbabwe' which was fore-worded by Robert Mugabe. It is the only book which contained information of how Mbuya Nehanda was abducted in 1972, then died and buried in a shallow grave in Mozambique in 1973 (Martin and Johnson, 1981).

Even though the three-month contract awarded to 'X' by Johnson in the early 2000s cushioned 'X' financially after having left CAMPFIRE under hostile and extreme unfair labour practices which offered him no terminal benefits despite having done so much for the programme both at home and abroad in a decade, working under Johnson was an eye opener for 'X' to notice how top government officials

especially Minister of Information Dr Nathan Shamhuyarira, related and bonded tete-a-tete with the 1981 authors of The struggle for Zimbabwe. Thus 'X' understood how ZANU PF expressed interest to confer David Martin some kind of hero status upon his death in mid-2000s. I think it is also important to mention in this footnote how 'X' had access to books and other closed sources of information on the unwritten history of Mwenemutapa, some of which he only dreamt about at night and then found waiting to be bought on the next day at one usual source that he purchased used books in Harare. The most memorable event concerning books happened while 'X' attended a conservation conference in San Franscisco, USA, in the late 1990s when an association of hunters in the U.S. sent a delegate specifically to warn 'X' that he had been placed on the red list for elimination by the U.S. Intelligence. Although the listing did not make sense to 'X' who thought he had played his international role accordingly then as Deputy Director to lobby for sustainable use of wildlife in U.S. Congress and down-listing of the elephant at global level, the hunter's warning somehow explained how foreign representatives seemed to have teamed up with the post-independence black government of Zimbabwe to work to eliminate or kill him apparently for no known reason but because of his anti-corruption stance and determination to see local communities effectively participating in natural resource management and benefit accordingly from income generated (See Box Two in Chapter Five). It also explains the mysterious ban for him on employment with NGOs or government sponsored organisations which though painful and extremely unfair, seemed a blessing in disguise spiritually because without the ban, 'X' would have remained far too active and not had time to research about his Mwenemutapa background which neither his parents nor researchers ever talked or wrote about.

What is however intriguing about the San Francisco visit by the good Samaritan-hunter was not the realization that he, a nonentity in either Zimbabwean or world politics, had emerged to the point of being pursued for elimination by the intelligence of the world's leading super power, but the gift the hunter handed him at his departure. It was an unread book sealed in its outer protective plastic cover entitled 'The Imperial Lion' by Stuart Mark. The book cited as Mark (1984), was never opened by 'X' until 20 or so years later when he, because of the need to do something having been blocked from employment, started to engage fellow siblings to gather their views about cultural practices for conservation. That is when he discovered that the tittle of the book he had been given by the hunter, referred to the supreme 'Mudzimu we Mhondoro' in Shona – the leadership spirit that incarnated in the Zambezi Valley as Mwene We Mutapa/Nehanda to which 'X' did not know his father Supreme Kasere or perhaps himself so-named 'Bigboy' at childhood, were heirs. [Read this footnote in conjunction with Box Two in Chapter Five to observe how local and international forces converged to fight an unsuspecting loner who simply felt local communities throughout the world must be empowered to benefit from their natural resources be it oil (Middle East) wildlife and minerals (Africa and many other developing countries) to ensure sustainable development.

SECTION D: How President Mugabe kept the Kasere family under surveillance since the war days

There is a lot of information concerning intensive surveillance of the Nehanda/Kasere family that cannot be published in this thesis because of ethical reasons as most of it involved family members who were used by both the colonial government (to spy on Mbuya Nehanda) and the post independent government (to spy on Supreme Kasere and his own children most especially 'X'. It may be worth noting that Supreme Kasere was visited at night in Zvimba during the peak of the guerrilla war in 1977 by two fully armed ZANLA guerrillas who sought to verify his relationship to Mbuya Nehanda who died in

Mozambique. Although the guerrillas were very polite, the extremely frightened Kasere who thought he was about to be killed because one of his sons was a policeman, never made any sense of the peaceful visit. The reason being that Kasere was not at all aware that his grandmother Mbuya Nehanda had been taken to Mozambique since he had stopped visiting her in the 1930s. A lot of details of how Kasere's son 'X' was subjected to surveillance cannot be published here because of the need to protect top intelligence directors who revealed how 'X' mysteriously survived the surveillance and attempts by government agents to kill him. It was then that 'X', who then was not aware that he was the biological great grandson of Mbuya Nehanda, wrote a 17-page letter to President Mugabe asking why the government wanted to kill him when he, throughout his life, without having joined the party or government, had supported the President for his revolutionary stance. The letter which was never responded to, was personally delivered in 2007 through the President's own nephew who was a Deputy Minister. The letter also contained information of how shocked 'X' was in seeing fatal accidents occurring to his superiors on days he was meant to be removed from his post in CAMPFIRE. 'X' opened up because he thought the President was not aware. The letter also advised the President to be careful of seemingly loyal people that surrounded him who seemed to have penetrated his party and government as agents of foreign intelligence to remove him from power. It also needs noting that there are also sensitive details that cannot be published in this study on how the body of Supreme Kasere was buried in his rural home in Chirau, Zvimba without certain body parts upon his death in 1991.