



Livelihoods after Land Reform in Zimbabwe

Working Paper 5

Gender and Livelihoods in Nyabamba A1
Resettlement Area, Chimanimani District of
Manicaland Province in Zimbabwe

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The land reform that has unfolded in Zimbabwe since 2000 has resulted in a major reconfiguration of land use and economy. Over 7 million hectares of land has been transferred to both small-scale farm units (the A1 model) and larger scale farms (the A2 model). The land reform has had diverse consequences, and there is no single story of what happened and its implications.

The Institute of Development Studies (University of Sussex, UK), the Institute for Poverty, Land and Agrarian Studies (PLAAS, University of the Western Cape, South Africa), the African Institute for Agrarian Studies (AIAS, Harare), the Centre for Applied Social Sciences Trust (CASS Trust, Harare) and the Ruzivo Trust (Harare) came together to support a small grant competition aimed at generating new case study insights based on original and recent field research by young Zimbabwean scholars. The aim was to bring together solid, empirical evidence from recent research in the field. There were over 70 applicants, and 15 small grants were offered. The result is this Working Paper series. All papers have been reviewed and they have been lightly edited. In all cases however they remain work-in-progress.

Today policymakers are grappling with the question of ‘what next’? How can a new agrarian structure be supported, and a vibrant rural economy be developed? Yet such discussions are often taking place in a vacuum, with limited empirical data from the ground and overshadowed by misperceptions and inappropriate assumptions. We hope this series – together with the wider research work being undertaken by our organisations and partners – will help to enhance policy making through a solid evidence base.

As these papers clearly show, there have been highly varied impacts of the post-2000 land reform: on rural livelihoods, on agricultural production, on markets and the economy, on farm workers and employment, on the environment and on institutions and governance arrangements, for example. And these impacts have played out in very different ways in different places. These papers cover a range of themes and offer insights from across the country.

They add up to a complex picture, but one that offers key pointers for the way forward. They counter the excessively pessimistic picture often painted about Zimbabwe’s land reform, yet highlight important failings and future challenges. We very much hope that they are widely read and shared, with the insights made use of as Zimbabwe charts its way forward.

Professor Ian Scoones, Institute of Development Studies, UK

Professor Ben Cousins, Institute for Poverty Land and Agrarian Studies, South Africa

Professor Sam Moyo, African Institute for Agrarian Studies, Harare

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The small grant competition was coordinated through the Livelihoods after Land Reform research programme (www.larl.org.za).

Summary

Land reform has not benefited men and women the same way. About 30 percent (12 percent under A2 and 18 percent under A1) of women have benefited directly from the Fast Track Land Reform Programme (FTLRP) in Zimbabwe. Despite the fact that for the majority of households land has been registered in the name of men, women and men at household level negotiate on resource allocations, as well as production and management responses. Gender relations are therefore not static. There is need therefore to realise the negotiations, compromises and the shifts in power that take place at the household level. In Nyabamba resettlement area, men and women have benefited differently from the FTLRP in terms of access to land and have resorted to a range of often gender-specific livelihood strategies. Much livelihood activity in Nyabamba is focused on natural resource use. Where an activity such as fetching of firewood had been dominated by women, due to long distances travelled, more and more men were getting involved harvesting firewood on a larger scale to avoid regular visits to the far away forests. Furthermore, there has been increased demand for scarce resources resulting in theft and conflicts amongst community members. However, due to the unique nature of the population resettled - in terms of being original inhabitants of the area - sacred places are still largely respected. Developing gender-sensitive responses to livelihood development and natural resource management in the new resettlements must, this paper argues, be a top priority.

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Acronyms

AGRITEX	Department of Agricultural, Technical and Extension Services
DA	District Administrator
EMA	Environmental Management Agency
FTLRP	Fast Track Land Reform Programme
GMB	Grain Marketing Board
IDRC	International Development Research Centre
PLRC	Presidential Land Review Committee
SAFIRE	Southern Alliance for Indigenous Resources
ZRP	Zimbabwe Republic Police

Introduction

Land reform has not benefited men and women the same way. About 30 percent (12 percent under A2 and 18 percent under A1) of women have benefited from the Fast Track Land Reform Programme (FTLRP) in Zimbabwe. This has had a bearing on livelihood options for both men and women. Due to historical differences between men and women and differential access to critical resources such as land, the two categories have resorted to different livelihood strategies.

In Nyabamba resettlement area, men and women have benefited differently from the FTLRP in terms of access to land and have resorted to livelihood strategies that are agro based, forest based and otherwise. Livelihoods are determined by the resources available. This study establishes the livelihoods conditions of men and women in Nyabamba A1 resettlement area and their impacts on the environment. It also establishes constraints as well as opportunities for livelihoods with a special focus on the rules and regulations governing resource use. Little field-based research has been done on gender and livelihoods in resettlement areas and this paper contributes to filling the gap.

The issues discussed in the paper are from a larger project on land reform migrations and impacts on forest resources supported by IDRC which sought to test three major hypotheses, that: forest resources are important pull factors for migration into Chimanimani A1 resettlement areas; access to forest resources for different gender groupings is a poverty related factor among Chimanimani A1 migrants; and management of forest resources in Chimanimani A1 resettlement areas are enhanced through improved local institutions and improved local capacity for forest management.

The objectives of this paper are threefold. They are to:

- a) Identify patterns of land ownership and forms of livelihoods in Nyabamba by gender and the sustainability of these livelihoods
- b) Establish the significance of natural resources to livelihoods (by gender) and their impacts on the environment
- c) Establish the strengths, opportunities and constraints to improved livelihoods in Nyabamba

Methodology

Both qualitative and quantitative research designs were adopted for this study. A household questionnaire was administered to 110 households with 65 respondents being female and 45 being male. Quantitative data then needed to be verified through use of a qualitative methodology. Participatory approaches were used to ensure that respondents identified with the study. Focus group discussions were therefore a major data collection tool since they helped in consensus building for issues under consideration. They allowed community/group ownership of views and perceptions on livelihoods and exploitation of natural resources by men and women. Eight focus group discussions were conducted with numbers ranging between eight and fifteen. Apart from groups that consisted of both men and women, there was a deliberate attempt to have female and male only groups for focus group discussions. Women could not be further divided into married, widowed, divorced and never married due to few numbers of the latter categories which made it impossible to constitute a focus group. Male only and female only groups were meant to establish the views of one group without influence from the other.

Focus group discussions were complemented by key informant interviews with key people that included representatives of the Rural District Council, the Environmental Management Agency, the Forestry Commission, the local councillor and the local traditional leadership. Another source of data was transect walks complimented by natural resource maps. Natural resource maps were drawn with the assistance of community members in order to establish the various places where people interacted with and collected natural resources as well as establish the distances travelled. These various tools gathered data relating to the land allocation process, issues of gender and land ownership, natural resource endowments in the area, number and names of forests from which men and women collect natural resources, distances travelled to nearest forests, changes to the forest cover, ways of combating environmental degradation, livelihood forms, crops grown and uses of the crops amongst other key issues.

Two teams responsible for data collection were the Institute of Environmental Studies team and the SAFIRE team. These worked hand in hand with representatives from the Chimanimani Rural District Council, Environmental Management Agency and Forestry Commission. It is these that, through local leadership structures, mobilized people for data collection.

Research setting

Nyabamba A1 resettlement scheme is located in Ward 16 of Chimanimani District in the Eastern Highlands of Zimbabwe. The area lies between 19°48' Latitude South and 32°52' Longitude East. It falls in present day agro-ecological region I which receives more than 1000 mm of rainfall per annum and experiences maximum daily temperatures of between 18-26 °C in summer and 12-15°C in winter. The area is mountainous with average altitude of about 750m above sea level. More than 80 percent of the homesteads and agricultural fields in Nyabamba are situated on steep terrain. Underlying geology in the area is the Precambrian Umkondo system which is less vulnerable to soil erosion and has high agricultural productivity enabling mountain agriculture. The hydrology of the area is characterised by numerous springs, perennial streams and rivers such as the Nyahode and Nyabamba which enable irrigation farming using gravitational water flow.

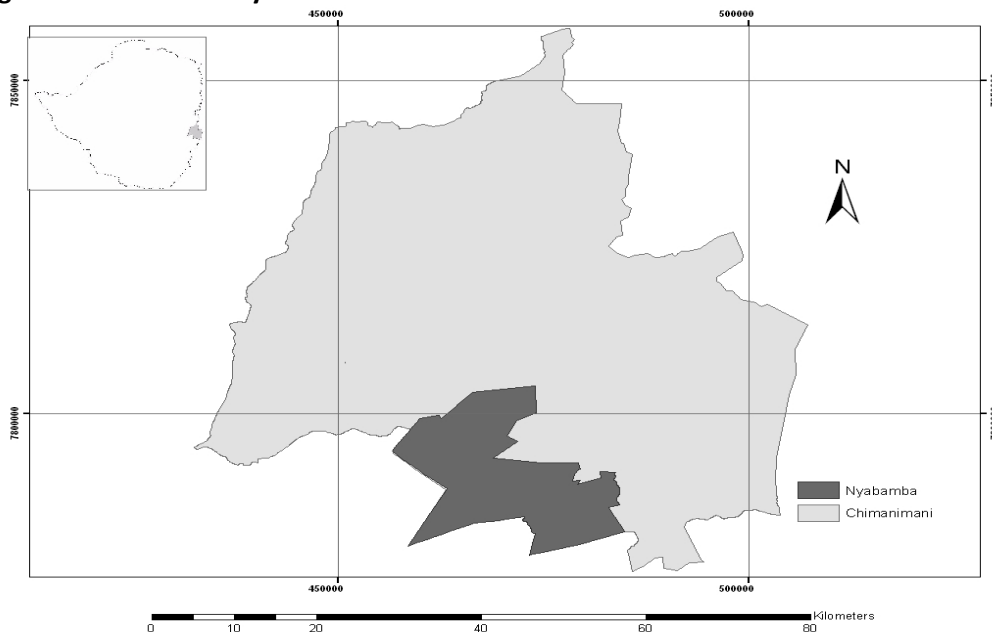
As Figure 1 shows, vegetation consists of pockets of Miombo woodlands dominated by *Brachystegia spiciformis* *Brachystegia tamarinoide* and *Uapaca kirkiana* tree species in a background of exotic vegetation. Before resettlement, most of the area was under commercial pine and wattle timber forest plantations.

Figure 1: Vegetation in Nyabamba



Statistics at the Chimanimani Rural District Council indicate that there are 243 official households in the Nyabamba resettlement scheme. These are the households which were officially allocated about 2.5 hectares of land per household under the FTLRP. It is not clear how many unofficial households there are in this area but some households interviewed were open about the illegality of their occupations. Unofficial households are settlers who did not go through the official Rural District Council and government procedures for land allocation. Below is Figure 2 which is a map of Chimanimani showing the location of Nyabamba Resettlement Scheme.

Figure 2: Location of Nyabamba



Gender, land access and title in Nyabamba

Nyabamba is a product of the Fast Track Land Reform Programme. The people now resettled in Nyabamba were originally from this area and were evicted during the colonial era. They indicated they were evicted in 1975 to make way for a wattle plantation. Thus, to them, Nyabamba is their home and they therefore took advantage of the farm invasions as well as the Fast Track Land Reform Programme to go back to their original land. Nyabamba area, formerly part of the Wattle Company was occupied by groups of people mainly from neighbouring Dzingire, Hode, Ndima and Ndakopa communal areas and Roscommon Estate. It is important to give a brief description of what transpired during the Fast Track period in Nyabamba as respondents narrated it.

When farm occupations started in early 2000, word was spread by war veterans that people who were evicted during the colonial era could now go back to their original places. We decided to utilise the opportunity to get land for ourselves. The nearest area invaded by the war veterans was Nyabamba. The war veterans allocated the land to the people they were leading. Most of the people who invaded the Nyabamba area were women whose husbands were at work. There was an order for immediate occupation and clearance of the land by the war veterans. In compliance with the order, most of those who were allocated land, moved on to their plots the following day since any delays would result in losing the land to other people who were eyeing the same area. Wattle Company which owned Nyabamba was not happy about the invasion which took place. It called the police who would come several times to tell us to vacate the area. We would vacate the area but quickly go back as soon as the police were gone. Wattle Company later on gave in and the area was finally designated as a resettlement scheme in 2002. This meant that we had to be resettled properly. Our names had been submitted to the District Administrator (DA) through the councilor. Officials from the Ministry of Lands came and pegged the fields for proper allocation and those whose names had been lodged with the DA's office were then resettled officially. *(FGD, Nyabamba)*

Despite the fact that women had invaded the land when their husbands were at work, most of the names submitted to the District Administrator (DA) for formal land allocation were those of men whose wives had participated actively in the invasion process. When the offer letters came, the names that appeared on these were those of men. Women indicated that this happened because their husbands processed all the paper work that was needed so that made them have their names written on the documents. Official statistics produced by the Presidential Land Review Committee (PLRC, 2003) indicate that in the whole province of Manicaland under the A1 resettlement model, 9,572 men (82 percent) compared to 2,190 women (18 percent) benefited from the Fast Track Land Reform Programme.

Although these statistics indicate less numbers of female beneficiaries of the FTLRP due to the fact that other women also benefited through joint registration, the number of female beneficiaries could be even higher considering the numbers that went for land acquisition. A study by Marongwe (2002) established that the gender balance at the occupied farms varied from place to place. Some farms, particularly those close to communal and resettlement areas, showed balanced numbers of male and female occupiers. In other cases, occupiers were young couples where both the wife and husband participated in the farm occupations. There were very few cases where there were no women occupiers at all.

Women expressed disgruntlement over how they were left out on land documents arguing that they acquired the land and developed it for farming in the absence of their husbands. They missed out due to poor education and not being able to fill in the various forms required. The area in Nyabamba was under wattle production and women had to clear land for farming. Due to the labour required in developing and clearing the land, women felt their names should have appeared on the offer letter, permit or lease. They indicated that they would also like to have their names written on the records because this would give them a sense of security but due to the fact that their husbands were responsible for the paper work, they were left out.

Gendered processes around registration show how there is a strong battle with patriarchy that is still very much entrenched even in institutions such as the Rural District Council which respected men's views to have land registered in their own names. The concept of patriarchy (the socially sanctioned sexual division of labour which systematically privileges men) is used to explain men's assumed predominance in decision making about productive resources, about control and ownership of land, the sale of produce and the use of the proceeds (Clever 2000).

The Rural District Council is supposed to issue a settlement permit to the head of each household in the village. According to Section 24(4) of the Rural District Councils Act, each settlement permit shall bear names of all spouses. In terms of Section 24(4), unmarried women who are heads of households can have permits in their names as can widows and girls or child headed households. However, while these provisions would seem to be sufficient to protect women's rights, other provisions requiring the permit holder to have consent of adult members of the household and the Rural District Council seem to compromise gender rights. Chirozva (2009) observed the same skewed gender registration of land in Chizvirizvi resettlement in Chiredzi where 79 percent of the land registrations were in the names of males.

Women also expressed concern at the way they were treated in the event of divorce, citing various experiences they had witnessed in communal areas. Since the land was in the husband's name, they were required to go back to their natal families leaving behind the land they helped develop over the years. They said if their names appeared on the records, they would also have a voice meaning that they would also get a portion of that particular land in the event of divorce.

Only married female war veterans had their names on offer letters since land allocation was done on their behalf by their association and for this they needed the name of their member. This meant that for ordinary women who were not war veterans, despite their active participation in acquiring land through land invasions, in the final instance land was registered in the names of their husbands. Contrary to 'ordinary' women's views that they wanted their names on land registration documents, one woman war veteran argued that she did not want the idea of having her name on the offer letter. Although she got the land on her own right as a war veteran she argued that complications would arise in the event that she dies when as usually happens, her natal family would come and repossess their daughters' property leaving her children landless. This therefore raises controversy as to what should happen concerning title to land; that is whether land needs to be registered jointly or separately in the names of the spouses.

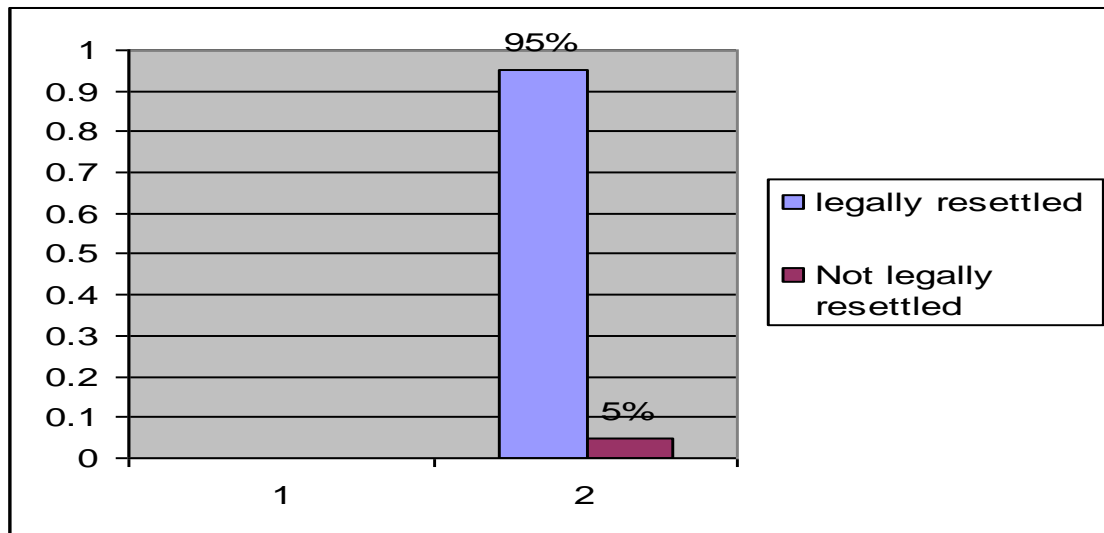
In Nyabamba as elsewhere, in line with government policy, it was illegal for one person to have title to two or more pieces of land. As a way of evading this policy, parents ended up registering land in the names of their sons. This again points to the fact that more land was registered in male names than females. As one respondent argued, '*Vanakomana vane minda kukunda vana mai nokuti vanhu*

vairambidzwa kuva nema pegi maviri saka vazhinji vaibva vanyoresa vanakomana. (More sons have land registered in their names compared to women because people were not allowed to have title to two or more pieces of land so the majority registered their sons).

A majority of people in Nyabamba acquired land through the Fast Track Land Reform programme, followed by those (sons upon marriage) who got it through sub-division from parents, then those who are utilising the land under leases and finally those who got land as an inheritance from deceased parents. In their own right, women got land as war veterans and as widows. Married women who accessed land through their husbands also inherited that same land upon the death of the husband. Some single women (divorced, returnees) got land through leases as well as through sub-divisions from parents. The majority of men who got land were not available to utilise the land because they are employed and stay outside the area. It is these people who leased out land, not just to women but to other people that needed extra land to use in return for keeping the household resources of the owner. This was just an insignificant proportion of the population.

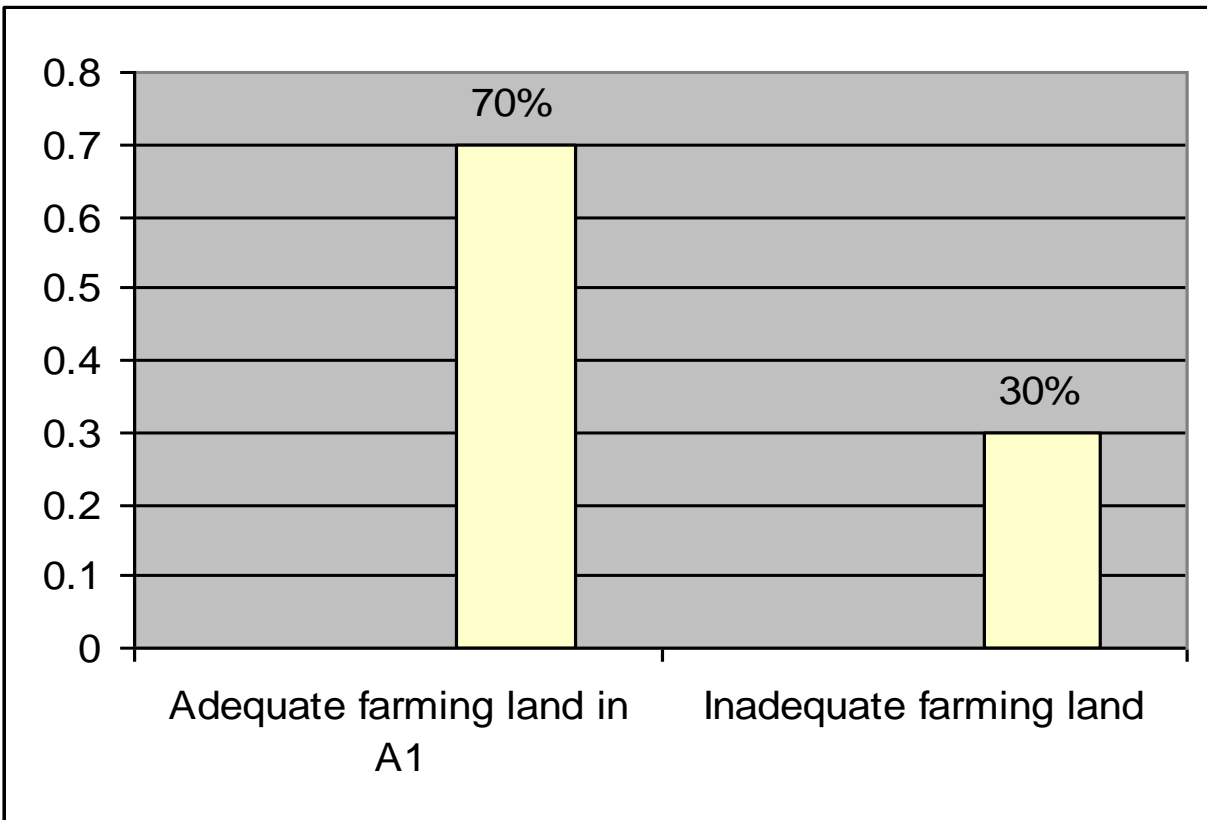
A very insignificant proportion of women who were in polygamous unions got land allocated to them by their husbands for production of their own food just as what happens to those in monogamous unions. Generally, the majority of those in Nyabamba claimed that they had legal title to the land they were occupying as figure 3 shows evidenced by possession of offer letters.

Figure 3: Legal Status of Land Occupants in Nyabamba



Despite the fact that people had offer letters they continued to be double-footed; meaning that they continued to have land and activities in areas they were originally settled. Figure 4 shows the percentage of people that believed that the land they got was inadequate and therefore had to complement with land in the areas they migrated from. More men than women indicated that the farming land was inadequate citing the future need to subdivide to sons when they marry.

Figure 4: Adequacy of farming land



65 percent of those that migrated from Dzingire indicated that they continue with farming activities there. This they argued was instigated by the fact that for some the 2.5 hectares of land they got was not adequate considering the sizes of their families, while for some the nature of the Fast Track Land Reform Programme itself which was surrounded by insecurity made them to hold on to their original land while waiting to see what would happen to issues of title. For yet others Nyabamba has no grazing land so they left their livestock in their original areas due to this reason so because of this they will continue to have ties with their original homes. It was generally agreed that migration decisions are also shaped by foresight pertaining to the size of the family and the number of sons who will eventually need land subdivisions from parents. Maintaining ties with original homes would therefore mean there is somewhere to fall back on when such need arises. Homes in Dzingire are let out to school children during school terms and during school holidays the owners have to be visiting frequently because there will not be people to oversee activities there. Most people in Nyabamba therefore did not take their livestock with them to Nyabamba due to shortage of grazing land.

Agriculture related livelihoods

People in Nyabamba engage in a diversity of livelihoods. However, farming is the most common livelihood form. The range of crops grown include staple maize, fruits, sunflower, rapoko, sugar beans, wheat, groundnuts, roundnuts, cowpeas, sweet potatoes and rice. Upon the inception of a farming season, the husband and wife in a household negotiate and agree on what to plant on which piece of land depending on household needs. It was agreed that there are women's and men's crops which were

also classified as household crops because such crops and the cash raised there from is for the household. Groundnuts, roundnuts, sweet potatoes and sugar beans were regarded as female crops. Cash crops were regarded as household/men's crops. These included sunflower, maize, fruits, (mostly bananas although people also grow pineapples and avocados) and rice. This definition and differentiation was not a permanent one but fluid because as some respondents in a focus group discussion argued the crops that attract big money are regarded as household's/men's, so depending on the market for a specific crop that season, the definition varies. As one respondent in a focus group discussion stated, *'zvinenge zvangoita mari zhinji ndezvababa nokuti ndizvo zvinozoshanda kubatsira mhuri.'* Furthermore, the scale of production determines whether the crop is regarded as men or women's. Women actually felt empowered to have their own crops for which they make independent decisions. They even boasted that they issue out money to their husbands at times they did not have money. Women in female headed households managed all crops (cash and subsistence) and made the decisions on such crops in consultation with their mature children (whether male or female).

Although crops are regarded as men's or female's, respondents generally agreed that the one who keeps the keys to the granary is the woman because they are 'always' at home. This gives women opportunities to make decisions on those crops in the absence of the men (husband). At the household level, any decisions to sell male's crops are done after both the husband and wife agree on the purpose of such a sale and how much of the crop is to be sold and the needs of the household up to the next harvesting season. With female crops, there is no consultation and negotiations before selling. Respondents said this practice was common in their area although there were cases of men and women who did not negotiate on crops as well as cases of men who kept granary keys. This points to the fact that indicators that are used to measure gender oppression are fluid rather than static because neither gendered roles nor gendered domination are fixed but are shaped both by individual and domestic circumstances and by wider societal contracts (Cleaver 2000).

Respondents argued that most of the crops are grown because they go well with their soils. The availability of the market, availability of seed upon the inception of the season, easiness to grow, maturity time as well as the rainfall pattern in the area also determines the crops grown. Crops are grown for both household consumption and for sale. There is a ready market for the crops. Maize, sunflower and sugar beans are sold to the Grain Marketing Board as well as to fellow villagers. Sunflower is also sold to Olivine Industries. A majority of people said they harvest about a tone of maize in a normal rainfall season. People in focus group discussions agreed that the husband and wife consult each other before selling the crops although the final say is placed upon the 'owner' of the crop. The owner of the crop also has control over the income raised there from.

Women and men are also involved in gardening. 54.5 percent of the respondents indicated that they had gardens. In Nyabamba, the gardens are regarded as belonging to men. Women only provide the needed labour. They argued that gardens were acquired at the same time people acquired the main field so a majority of the respondents with gardens (61.7 percent) indicated that the gardens are in their plots. 25 percent of the respondents indicated that their gardens are located near streams for all year round farming activities. The gardens are however apportioned such that there is land for women's crops and also for men's crops. The crops that are grown in these gardens include covo, beans, bananas, sugarcane and avocado pears. Of these crops grown in gardens, all fruits belong to the men while with beans ownership varies with the scale of production and market whereas covo belongs to women. Women pointed out that gardens helped in enhancing food security at the household level. With a garden one would have access to relish that would enable the family to have something to eat. Those who do not have gardens end up exchanging 2kg maize for a bundle of vegetables. Such exchanges are

handled by women (wife) without consulting the men (husband). 68.3 percent of respondents indicated that they sell garden produce to raise cash for household needs.

In terms of land conservation methods used in Nyabamba, it was established through interviews and verified through observation that the methods used include making contour ridges, intercropping, crop rotation, planting bananas and pine apples, making stone contours and growing sugarcane. Although both men and women used all these methods of land conservation, some methods such as making stone contours and making contour ridges were more common to men than women. Women indicated that these methods were labour intensive than other methods that was the reason why men dominated in using such methods.

The challenges faced by men and women in terms of farming as a livelihood strategy in Nyabamba is lack of farm implements as well as lack of draught power. Most female headed households indicated they had hoes and axes but no other implements that include tractors, yokes, harrows, scotch carts, wheelbarrows, ploughs, planters, cultivates. Few male headed households were in this same situation of lack of implements. Furthermore, almost half of the respondents (both male and female) indicated that their fields were located on steep slopes which resulted in less yields due to soil erosion. Over the past three years, men and women indicated that they had problems with accessing inputs on time as well as the exorbitant prices of pesticides so this affected the amounts they produced.

These people however, have not been passive recipients of circumstances. They have strategised in various ways to deal with the challenges and constraints that they encountered. A majority of women without farm implements said they resorted to zero tillage although this affected the size of land under cropping and ultimately the harvests realised. In other cases they had to team up with neighbours for purposes of labour provision. Men in the same situation said they borrowed implements from their neighbours and friends. Regarding the problem of seed, both men and women argued they made their own seed from previous years' harvests. In relation to pests, women said they resorted to ashes, *chinyai* and surf while men said they used the bitter apple.

Livelihoods and natural resources

It is generally accepted that trees and woodlands are important and highly valued in Zimbabwe's rural areas (Mukamuri 2009). People indicated that upon settlement, of the 2.5 hectares of land they were allocated, they left part of that land uncleared for purposes of easy access to firewood and other forest products. With time however, as a result of continued use and no replenishment, they were forced to go to nearest forests for all the forest products including firewood. Table 1, indicates the places where people in Nyabamba collect firewood.

Table 1: Places where firewood is collected

Place where firewood is collected	Percentage
In plot	26.4
In surrounding forests	59.1
In nearby estates	4.5
In own exotic woodlot	10
	100

Nyabamba area is surrounded by Nyabamba and Nyahode forests. The furthest from these forests travel about 3km, while the majority (73.1 percent) said they travel less than a kilometre to the nearest forest. There are a number of natural resources found in these forests. These include trees, grass, stones, water and sand. Trees which are found in the forests include *Misasa*, *Mitondo*, *Mipfuti* and these are the sources of energy. *Murowamhuru*, *Mundwide* and *Migodi* are used for building purposes as poles. A majority of the houses are made of pole, dagga and grass thatch. Men extract sand for brick moulding as well as general building.

A number of livelihood activities were cited as having led to resource degradation in Nyabamba. A major factor cited was cutting down of trees to make way for farming activities. As highlighted above, farming is a major livelihood activity in Nyabamba. The demand for land as families grow is also an explanation for resource degradation.

People in the Nyabamba pointed out that they extract a number of resources from the nearby forests and process the natural resources for livelihoods. This extraction is gendered depending on the use of the resource. Table 2 below shows the various resources that people collected from the forests, the collector, use of the resource and the frequency of collection.

Table 2: Resources Collected from Forests

Resource	Collector	User	Use	Frequency of collection
Firewood	Women	Women	Energy	Daily
Poles	Men	Men	Building	Annually
Herbs	Anyone who has knowledge	The sick	Curing ailments	When need arises
Grass	Women	Men	Building and brooms	Seasonally
Honey	Men	Household	Consumption and sale	Seasonally
Meat (birds and wild animals)	Men and boys	Household	Consumption	Rarely
Mushroom	Women	Household	Consumption	Seasonally
Fruits	Household	Household	Consumption	Seasonally
<i>Makavi</i>	Men	Men	Building	Seasonally
Soil for floors	Women	Women	Home making	Seasonally

63.6 percent of respondents argued that women form the bulk of the people that collect dry wood from the forests for household use. Men believed that women's activities degraded the environment more than their activities because women interact with the forests on a daily basis (collecting dry firewood) compared to men who do so mainly in winter on a large scale collecting fresh wood. Women believed that although they interacted with the forests on a daily basis, their interaction was on a smaller scale compared to men who do so occasionally but on a larger scale.

After collecting forest resources, some people process some of the resources for use as well as for sale. 27.1 percent of the respondents indicated that they process forest resources both for use and sale. Of these 12 percent were female. Respondents said they sold honey, firewood, mushroom, fruits and herbs. Honey is sold by men to fellow villagers and people from outside the village. Both males and

females sell firewood to teachers at schools as well as to the elderly who cannot fetch firewood for themselves anymore. Mushroom, fruits and herbs are sold to fellow villagers as well as people from outside the village. These resources are sold to get cash for household needs.

Women dominated in the making of clay pots, hats, mats and bags, while men dominated in carpentry which including making furniture, yokes, door frames and beehives. These are made either for sale or household use. Some women indicated that they could make cooking utensils but for home use not for sale. Those who sold these products sold them to fellow villagers who could not make these products on their own. The price for the product was determined by the amount of labour invested as well as by the demand for the product. Cash was for household use and was controlled by the head of the household. Even when women were involved in selling the product, they surrendered the cash to the husband. As one respondent in a focus group discussion highlighted, '*Vana mai vano surrender mari saka havatongi mari.*' (women surrender money from sales so they do not have control over it.) However, some women indicated that they did not surrender all the money to their husbands, and yet others said they negotiated with their husbands on their cash needs. Negotiation therefore needs to be acknowledged as shaping gender relations at the household and local levels. Furthermore, people's gendered positions and priorities are not fixed but change with circumstance.

Due to the need for survival and the growing depletion of natural resources, women said they have a very tight schedule to accomplish their daily tasks throughout the year. In Nyabamba, women used to collect firewood from their fields but most of them have exhausted the firewood and now have to go into the forests meaning that there has been an increase in distances travelled to collect firewood which eats into the time that was allocated to other activities. They indicated that forest deforestation is taking place at an alarming rate. They argued that this depletion was exacerbated by the fact that people upon arriving in the area, cleared land for farming and also cut down trees for construction purposes. Clearing land was also meant to scare away wild animals. Women also said that one of the challenges they face in collecting firewood from the forests is carrying head loads of firewood going uphill due to the nature of the terrain in the area. 92.9 percent of the respondents agreed that women use heads to ferry firewood home.

Firewood harvesting is becoming common due to the distances travelled as well as the general shortage of dry wood. 12.7 percent of the respondents testified to firewood harvesting. More could be harvesting firewood but because of the knowledge that it is an offence they might have decided not to tell the truth. Most of the respondents believed that men harvested firewood in winter using scotch carts bringing wet wood, normally big logs which would take long to dry at home. Women said because they fetched dry wood and usually small sticks, they were forced to fetch firewood on a daily basis.

Governance structures in natural resources management

There are a number of institutions that have been cited as playing key roles in the management of natural resources in Nyabamba. Both men and women had knowledge of the various institutions in their area and the roles that they played in the management of natural resources. It is important to first of all highlight that when the original inhabitants of Nyabamba came back to Nyabamba as result of the Fast Track Land Reform Programme, the original chieftainship was installed. In relation to management of natural resources, people generally believed that traditional leaders played a key role especially in

enforcing traditional undocumented rules on natural resources management. They mainly make male offenders pay fines. However it was generally agreed that the fines are not deterrent enough.

The District Administrator works with traditional leaders while the Rural District Council as a body promotes sustainable management of natural resources through gulley reclamation, prohibiting indiscriminate cutting down of trees, maintenance of roads, formulating natural resource management laws and issuing tickets to offenders. Councillors also play a role in prohibiting people from indiscriminate cutting down of trees as well as promoting afforestation projects. Furthermore, the Forestry Commission trains people on afforestation, promotes afforestation projects through provision of seedlings and reports cases that need enforcement of fines.

The Environmental Management Agency (EMA) was also cited as another stakeholder in natural resources management responsible for enforcing natural resources management by-laws on indiscriminate cutting down of trees and stream bank cultivation. In addition, the Agricultural Research and Extension's (AGRITEX) role was noted as critical for sustainable agriculture in the area considering the terrain. This institution trains farmers on sustainable agriculture as well as assists in pegging of contour ridges. Respondents were quick to point out that AGRITEX is failing to perform its duties fully due to limited resources and sometimes individuals end up pegging contours for themselves. In Nyabamba the other organisations involved in natural resources management include the Zimbabwe Republic Police (ZRP) who work with the traditional leaders in arresting offenders, the Department of National Parks and Wildlife Management as well as Forestry and Tea Companies that encourage community members to conserve trees along boundaries with companies. Of all the institutions involved in natural resources management, through ranking people concluded that that the most effective governance structure/institution is the traditional leadership. People revere more this institution than any other and furthermore, respect emanates from the fact that they live in the community.

In Nyabamba, all the representatives of the various mentioned institutions at the local level are men except for the councilor. Bearing in mind the need to understand the life worlds of men and women in relation to natural resources and associated interventions, there is need for engendering such institutions. Interventions therefore that aim at addressing natural resources depletion without understanding the life worlds and lived experiences of the people that exploit such resources at various levels become problematic. Apart from gender training of the various institutions working in communities, ensuring more female involvement in local level local institutions can be another way of tapping into such experiences and addressing their real problems.

Rules and regulations governing natural resources management

There were rules that exist for the management of natural resources. There are traditional rules that exist though they are not documented. Such traditional rules relate to how people behave in sacred places. There are a number of sacred places in Nyabamba which include Gomoremanzou, Nyanhende, Kachinyukwa and Nyabamba Falls. These sacred places are either rivers or mountains where in the former people are not supposed to use soap on its source or fetch water using modern utensils. The majority of those prohibited from the mentioned activities were women because they dominated such activities. Women were encouraged to use calabashes. People are not allowed to settle, relieve

themselves, cut down trees and start fire in sacred mountains. This has helped keep the mountains intact although there are some few people who violate the norms surrounding these sacred places. As Mukamuri (2009) observed, most of the so-called sacred groves have vanished due to increasing pressure on forests for firewood and other local needs. However, the extent of encroachment into these areas in Nyabamba is still insignificant. This can be explained by the large numbers of people who had been the original inhabitants of the land compared to an insignificant number that came from other places. The majority of the men and women interviewed said they strongly identified with their area as well as their traditional leadership. Mukamuri et al (2003) observed that people who had no strong rural backgrounds and who rarely adhere to African traditional values questioned and sometimes openly challenged the legitimacy of some leaders as well as the sacredness of some areas making it difficult to enforce rules based on the sacredness of certain places.

Some natural resources management rules being enforced by village heads are not documented. Table 3 has examples of the rules being used in the area and their origin.

Table 3: Operating Rules

	Rule	Source / origin	Comment
Protection of sacred places, days	No one is allowed to cut down trees in sacred forests.	Chief (culture)	
	No one is allowed to cut down wet wood Commercialisation of natural resources not allowed without license	RDC	RDC gives license to community members who would want to commercialize natural resource products Forestry Commission gives permits to individuals who export natural resources products
Resettling new farmers	Village heads no longer allowed to resettle people in the resettlement areas	DA's office	

There are also by-laws which the local leadership help enforce. Such by-laws include those that prohibit cutting down wet wood, prohibition of veld fires as well as those prohibiting stream bank cultivation. In relation to stream bank cultivation, men and women indicated that they find it hard to leave the gardens that are along streams because they are important for their livelihoods since they ensure all year round production of vegetables and the location of the garden is such that drawing water from the stream is not laborious because there is a small distance between the stream and the garden. However, the short term benefits of less labour in terms of irrigating the crops would be followed by long periods of more labour and hunger if observance of stream bank cultivation regulations is ignored. There is need for a striking a balance between sustaining livelihoods and sustaining the environment.

People's perceptions concerning enforcement of the various by-laws are highlighted in Table 4 below.

Table 4: Effectiveness of the rules and regulations

Rules/By law/norms	Status	Reasons
Veld fires	Effective	Heavy penalty- goat
Protecting sacred areas	Effective	Heavy punishment–brew beer
Chisi	Effective	Traditional leaders police and offenders can be punished by spirit mediums
Indiscriminate cutting down of wet wood	Ineffective	High demand for wet wood- construction and burning of bricks Village heads reluctant to enforce the law because they also use the wood
Stream bank cultivation	Ineffective	Very severe during dry years– gardens is one of the major livelihoods option

Where the offence attracts a harsh and deterrent penalty, people tend to observe the rule or by-law. However, enforcement of some rules was a problem due to the high demand for the resource. For example, due to the high demand for wet wood for construction as well as for burning bricks which is a livelihood strategy for some, adhering to rules and regulations on cutting of wet wood become problematic. The same applies to stream bank cultivation which people resort to as a result of relying on rain fed agriculture. A problem also arises when people who are supposed to be policing and enforcing the law are found breaking the laws. This makes the enforcement of the laws ineffective.

As a result of livelihoods attached to natural resources, conflicts have been witnessed. The major causes of such conflicts include theft of firewood from other people's plots, poles, grass and *makavi* for building. Conflicts are resolved by the village head at the village level and if not solved passed to the headman. If the headman fails to resolve issues they are either passed to the Zimbabwe Republic Police or chief or District Administrator depending on the nature of the issue conflict at hand.

Conclusion

People in Nyabamba were resettled under the FTLRP. Despite the fact that for the majority of households land has been registered in the name of men, women and men at household level negotiate on crops to plant on which pieces of land and upon harvesting the negotiations go on. Gender relations are therefore not static. There is need therefore to realise the negotiations, compromises and the shifts in power that take place at the household level.

Livelihoods are gendered just as access to resources, like land, is gendered. In addition, depletion of natural resources has differential impacts on men and women. Where an activity such as fetching of firewood had been dominated by women, due to long distances travelled, more and more men were getting involved harvesting firewood on a larger scale to avoid regular visits to the far away forests. Furthermore, there has been increased demand for the scarce resources resulting in theft and conflicts amongst community members. However, due to the unique nature of the population resettled (in terms of being original inhabitants of the area), sacred places are still largely respected.

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