

'Buried And Forgotten But Not Dead': Reflections on 'Ubuntu' in Environmental Conservation in Southeastern Zimbabwe

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Received: 7 June 2012 Accepted: 2 July 2012 Published: 15 July 2012

Abstract

The subject of ubuntu has taken a central stage in academic research on Africa in recent years. In Zimbabwe as in Africa in general, academics and researchers have tussled with various aspects of this subject, with most research emphasizing the contribution of ubuntu in business, education, healthy, philosophy and legal systems. Ramose (1999), Teffo (1995) and Shutte 2001, for example, explore the importance of ubuntu in African philosophy, especially in areas such as morality/ethics, epistemology, logic and metaphysics. Mbigi and Maree (1995), Goduka and Swadener (1999) and Prinsolo (1995) focus on the value of ubuntu in business, education and healthy fraternity respectively. Still other studies (Cornell ny; Sindane 1995) have exported the concept of ubuntu into legal systems and politics. Surprisingly, insignificant attention has been devoted to exploring the value of ubuntu in environmental conservation. This paper examines the extent to which since time immemorial, ubuntu helped to conserve the 'natural' environment and to save it from deterioration by human action. The piece marshals the concept of ubuntu and positions it against the southeastern Zimbabwe, in particular, Norumedzo and Mukanganwi landscapes. It argues for the revival and reinstitution of ubuntu to complement efforts by Science in biodiversity conservation. The argument finds its justification in ubuntu's profound respect for life (of both human and non-human beings) which makes it a potential drive for sustainable development and biodiversity conservation.

Index terms— Ubuntu, natural environment, conservation, southeastern Zimbabwe, Africa

1 Introduction

n Africa and beyond, especially in the turn of the new millennium, there has been concentrated debates [both oral and written] on the 'actual' causes of environmental problems we are facing today. Boggled by the same conundrum, Zimbabwean scientists/researchers like those of many other African countries have established over-population, deforestation, veld fires, farm invasions and other anthropogenic activities as the causes of environmental degradation and other environmentally related problems the country is suffering (Chaumba et al 2003). I admit Author : Associate Professor at Universidade Pedagógica in Mozambique. Philosophy lecturer at the University of Zimbabwe. PhD studies in Social Anthropology at the University of Cape Town, South Africa. E-mail : munyaradzi.mawere@uct.ac.za , munhamanuel@yahoo.com.br this position has enjoyed many disciples and audiences for years now, and while to some extent it is true of Africa and Zimbabwe in particular, I argue that it misses a crucial point underlying all these problems: no wonder the problems persist (even) with magnified severity. To be more specific, the researchers disregard ubuntu's undeserving loss of value in environment conservation and development projects since the advent of colonialism through the present time, in African societies. The insignificant attention to the philosophy of ubuntu in conservation is observable in literature where most scholars and researchers have only applied the concept of ubuntu in areas such as healthy, education, judiciary systems, religion and politics. Ramose (1999), Teffo (1995) and Shutte 2001, for example,

explore the importance of ubuntu in African philosophy especially in areas such as morality/ethics, epistemology, logic and metaphysics. Mbigi and Maree (1995), Goduka and Swadener (1999) and ??rinsolo (1995) focus on the value of ubuntu in business, education and healthy fraternity respectively. Still other studies (Cornell n.y; Sindane 1995; Bhengu 1996) have exported the concept of ubuntu into legal systems and politics. Surprisingly, scholars have devoted insignificant attention to explore the underlying value of ubuntu in environmental conservation. One, therefore, wonders if in the past the philosophy of ubuntu did not occupy the front seat in biodiversity or 'nature' conservation projects.

Against this background, this paper traces and examines the position of ubuntu in nature conservation in the past through the present. In this attempt, the paper marshals the concept of ubuntu and positions it against the southeastern Zimbabwe, in particular, Norumedzo and Mukanganwi landscapes. The salient features in environment conservation projects in these two landscapes help to unravel the extent to which ubuntu, though been subverted over the years, captures and informs 'sustainable' conservation of the environment. The paper thus challenges the given causes (by many scientists/researchers in Zimbabwe and beyond) of environment degradation in Africa for the major reason that they fail to recognize what I shall call 'the cause of causes' which lies in the devalorization and undermining of ubuntu's potential to help conserving the environment. It is worth noting that the philosophy of ubuntu is enshrined in taboos (zvierwa), avoidance rules (miko) and other such traditional systems as proverbial lores. Without necessarily dismissing to oblivion the 'secondary causes' of environmental degradation (those identified by most scientists/researchers i.e deforestation), the paper argues for the revival of ubuntu in environmental conservation projects; its full recognition, restoration and reinstitution along with science in national environmental conservation projects and policy planning.

2 Understanding Ubuntu

The concept of ubuntu though, has gained tremendous prominence in intellectual discourse over the years in Africa and beyond, is peculiarly difficult to define with precision. This is because the concept is elastic and pragmatic as it is employed to inform almost all spheres of the Bantu world-views; it is used in numerous contexts and situations. In linguistic terms, however, the concept is traceable to the so-called Nguni Bantu languages, particularly Ndebele and Zulu. In many other Bantu languages, the concept has equivalent terms. For example, in the Shona of Zimbabwe, ubuntu is equivalent to the concept 'hunhu'. Yet, the central question remains: 'What is it that is referred to as ubuntu?'

According to Ramose (1999), ubuntu is a multifaceted philosophical system that involves logic, metaphysics, epistemology and ethics; it is a philosophy of life that is concerned with the reinforcement of unity, oneness and solidarity among the Bantu people -the so-called humanness. It is the distinctive elasticity and practical nature of ubuntu that makes it applicable in almost all facets of human life. As such, the concept has been wisely exported as an underlying philosophy or code of conduct into business, legal system, education, theology/religion, healthy and academic disciplines such as African philosophy and ethics.

Historically, the concept of ubuntu ('unhu' in Shona and 'humanness' in English) or rather the philosophy of ubuntu is intergenerational, that is, it has been spontaneously passed on from one generation to the other mainly through oral tradition and practices. This is aptly echoed by Ramose (1999) who notes that African philosophy based on 'Ubuntu' is a living philosophy, based on their recognition of the continuous oneness and wholeness of the living, the living-dead and the unborn. For Ramose, and rightly so, it is commonly believed that in pre-colonial African societies, the concept of ubuntu was instrumental in maintaining social cohesion, administering peace and order for the good life of everyone in the society and even strangers. This connotes that the social praxis of ubuntu has always been wholesome and all encompassing though insignificantly studied in relation to nature conservation in African societies.

3 Alleged Causes of Environment Degradation in Zimbabwe

While there is adequate evidence that, Zimbabwe, like many other countries in Africa, is experiencing environment conservation problems, there are disagreements on the 'real' causes of the problems. Some scholars ??Moyo etal 1991; ??asaka 2011) argue that environmental problems in Zimbabwe, like in some parts of Africa, have been aggravated by the twin projects of colonialism and science. ??oyo etal (1991), for instance, argue that during pre-colonial times and the earlier part of the colonial period, land was neither a scarce resource, nor was it under threat of permanent environmental degradation, but with increasing colonial settlement and control, inequality of access to the natural resources was dictated. Moyo etal (ibid) give example of the Land Apportionment Act of 1930 that took away most of the fertile communal land from the majority and converted it into commercial farms for the minority. With an annual population growth rate in excess of 3.5% (IUCN, 1988) and a shrinking access to land, traditional conservation methods including fallow and extensive grazing became impractical in these communal areas, and land degradation set in. For Masaka (2011:331):

The colonization of Zimbabwe and the rest of the African continent was predicated on a treacherous basis of trying to improve the lives of the people of Africa when in fact it spelt doom to the personhood of Africans and the resource dispossession that impoverished people that had managed to survive within their means prior to the advent of colonialism.

Masaka furthers to argue that colonialism in Zimbabwe was predicated on the myth that the locals were not able to sustainably use the natural resources at their disposal.

Other scholars (Aylen 1941; Bowyer-Bower 1996) argue that overpopulation and indigenous practices triggered and fueled environmental degradation and other such environmental conservation problems in Zimbabwe and beyond. Aylen (1941), for example, claims that during pre-colonial times and the earlier part of the colonial period, there was little detrimental impact on the environment by human land use in Zimbabwe because of the extensive, nomadic and fallow land-use practices that provided well for the relatively low population densities, as well as the practice of indigenous soil conservation measures. For Bowyer-Bower (1996), the western awareness, through science, of the causes and effects of land degradation from inappropriate land use and management, and the need for and use of appropriate monitoring techniques and conservation measures, has been well established in Zimbabwe since the 20th century when land-use guidelines for environmental protection have long been The Fast Track Land Reform Program saw the movement of a number of people into land that was formally occupied by commercial farmers. New areas were cleared to enable cultivation of crops and other associated activities such as hunting, gold panning, and settlements. These activities certainly have had implications on environment management and climate change. For example, there was a great decline in crop between 2001 and 2002 and reports show that nearly one million Zimbabweans faced acute hunger. Maize came down from 800,000 tons to 80,000 tons, wheat from 225,000 tons to 100,000 tones, tobacco 230 mil kg to 70 mil kg.

There is no doubt that when confronted with arguments surrounding environment conservation contestations in Zimbabwe, it is somehow difficult to identify the exact root cause responsible for the conservation crisis in the country. Yet, it is important to understand the 'root cause' of conservation crisis in Zimbabwe, before understanding what this research considers as secondary causes that many scholars in environment conservation have identified as the causes. Identifying the root cause is important in order to avoid secondary causes and to suggest possible solutions to the crisis. Trying to look for solutions to the secondary problems would miss the point as it is akin to attempting to cure a disease before understanding its real cause. In what follows, I give a general critique of arguments raised by those in conservation contestations before suggesting what I think is the root cause of the causes of environment conservation crisis in Zimbabwe.

The Root Cause(s) for the Failure of Zimbabwe's Environment Conservation Project

As highlighted in the introduction of this paper, Zimbabwe, like many other countries in Africa and beyond, is experiencing an environmental crisis, in addition to economic and political turmoil the country is experiencing especially since the turn of the new millennium. In the present study, I am not concerned with the latter, but with the former, especially the question: "What is the real root cause of the failure in Zimbabwe's environmental conservation project?" This, though not an easy task, is the question I will grapple with in this section.

As has been seen in the previous section, contestations on environment conservation in Zimbabwe also reveal a trajectory of land contestations in the country since the colonial period through the present. They also put to light the tension between knowledge forms, particularly Science and Indigenous knowledge systems (IKSs). Though scholars sketched in the previous section might be correct in their own right in terms of what they think are the causes of environment conservation crisis in Zimbabwe, I do not buy their arguments. Instead, I proffer the argument that both the colonial and post-independence governments have failed the environment conservation project of Zimbabwe. I will not show where both the colonial government and post-independence deserve merit (as I have done this elsewhere) (see Mawere 2011b), except to point out how both governments have failed Zimbabwe's environment conservation project.

To start with the colonial government, the latter instead of seeking ways to merge the local people's ubuntu embedded in their IKSs with expert science in the national conservation project, it despised and castigated to the dustbin of oblivion all conservation practices that were considered traditional or 'indigenous'. By default or otherwise, it failed to realize that, ubuntu, as a philosophy of life of the local people the Shona, was a rich system that the bearers had used successfully for centuries now in conserving their 'natural' environment. It is clear, therefore, that the colonialists and some anthropologists' description of Africa as a 'dark' and 'virgin land' that required civilization was a total failure to understand and interpret the locals' philosophy of life, in this case, their 'philosophy' of the environment. Seeing 'nature' in its beautiful state, they were made to believe that the locals were unable to exploit nature as they were not 'real' people like themselves, but part of nature: nature therefore cannot exploit itself. It was far from their conviction to think that the 'nature' was good looking and Zimbabwe in particular, nature/culture dichotomies were created for the first time in Zimbabwe's conservation history. This disrupted the harmonious relations that were prevailing between the locals and their 'natural' environment. The ubuntu and other such indigenous knowledge systems (IKSs) that regulated the people's way of life and perpetuated the harmonious relationships of humans with all other entities (nonhumans included) in the natural environment were pejoratively labeled speculations and unscientific. Because of this devalorization of the African knowledge systems and traditions, ubuntu could not flourish. In the 'new' set-up, the flourishing of ubuntu could only be possible under the provisions of Customary Law, for as long as it did not clash with Western Civil Law under the secular processes of modernization and commercialization, a framework of a policy of separate development that ultimately led to the destruction of the locals' ties with their natural environment. In fact, the locals were forced to abandon or leave ubuntu to lie dormant and learn the colonial's science and philosophy as the only reality and appropriate way to conserve the environment. This way, ubuntu as with other

IKSs, was indeed 'buried' and forgotten; since then perhaps until recently, ubuntu has never been accorded any priority in the nature conservation agenda of Zimbabwe.

As part of its promise to the long subjugated people, at independence, the Zimbabwean government vowed to commit itself to rectify all the problems that the colonial government created, that of relegating ubuntu included. The post-independence government pledged to reverse the ongoing land degradation and promote sustainable land management by publishing Zimbabwe's National Conservation Strategy through the Natural Resource Board, now the Environmental Management Agency (EMA) in 1980 as requested for all nations by the World Conservation Strategy report of (IUCN-UNEP-WWF, 1980). This was indeed a positive gesture towards sustainable conservation as it appeared to resuscitate both threatened species and those (species) that the colonial government did not consider important enough for inclusion in the national conservation project.

Yet, the post-colonial government's national conservation project, like its predecessor's conservation model, was heading towards a dismal failure. The major reason for the failure was that the post-colonial Zimbabwean government, just like the colonial government, adopted formal science as its sole tool for environmental conservation. By so doing, Zimbabwe was perpetuating the colonial legacy of despising and relegating ubuntu and other environmentally related IKSs to the backseat of national conservation projects. As such, the strained relations between humans and nonhumans and the nature/culture, Science/IK dichotomies that the colonial government created remained unchallenged. Yet, this was the number one enemy of sustainable environment conservation. It resulted in some species such as forest insets whose value and rights were never pronounced in the colonial government's environmental conservation project to remain alienated. Zimbabwe's most recent National Environmental Policy and Strategies (ZNEPS) of 2009 clearly shows this perpetuation of the colonial government's conservation model with its silence on the moral value and rights of other fauna and flora species in the 'natural' environment. The policy is largely discriminatory and exclusionary of other entities in the 'natural' environment and scientifically informed. As a way of elucidating the point I make here, I cite the ZNEPS (2009: 7) which says: At species level, the country supports an estimated 4,440 vascular plant species, 196 mammal species, 672 bird species, 156 reptile species, 57 species of amphibians, 132 fish species and uncounted numbers of species in other groups. The diversity of microorganisms in particular is extremely poorly known?.. As can be seen in the quotation above, one can see that insect species and many other small species are not fully recognized in Zimbabwe's current environmental policy despite the contribution that most of these insects make to human livelihood and the ecosystem as a whole. We can only assume that insects, together with other small organisms are those being referred to as "uncounted species in other groups" (Ibid). The truth remains that Zimbabwe's current environment policy (2009) has no specific clause that provides for the protection of forest insects and many other small organisms. It is clear, therefore, that some fauna and flora species are made by the ZNEPS to be more equal than others. This is contrary to the philosophy of ubuntu, which seek peace and harmony with everyone in the society and with the 'natural' environment. Though might have its own flaws, ubuntu as embedded in environmentally related traditional knowledge systems, since time immemorial, acknowledged the moral value and rights of all entities in the 'natural' environment. Thus, while traditional management of the environment by the local Bantus was informed by ubuntu, the experience that Zimbabweans went through since the colonial period have led them to despise their own traditional knowledge systems. Thus, the post-independence Zimbabwe through its national environment policy is not an exception to the unsustainable conservation in the country.

4 Ubuntu in Environment Conservation in Southeastern

Zimbabwe: What has Gone Wrong with Ubuntu over the Years in some Parts of Southeastern Zimbabwe?

There are no comprehensive and systematic researches on ubuntu in conservation in southeastern Zimbabwe. However, my preliminary ethnographic studies in this part of the country have shown that in some parts of southeastern Zimbabwe the philosophy of ubuntu is still used in small-scale environment conservation projects and with visible consequences to the environment. Where the philosophy of ubuntu still prevails, the consequences are positive and otherwise in those areas where the philosophy has lost its grip. In what follows I present two communal areas in southeastern Zimbabwe -Mukanganwi and Norumedzothelatter of which is still using ubuntu in its environment conservation project.

Starting with the latter, Norumedzo is a mountainous communal area found in southeastern Zimbabwe, particularly the Bikita district in Masvingo province. It is about 100km from Masvingo urban. The area is occupied by various Bantu groups, mainly the VaDuma of moyo (heart) totem, who share the same culture generally referred to as the Shona. Though the traditional way of life of these people has been affected in a number of ways by the Western contacts, it is still largely regulated by their long lasting ubuntu philosophy. This philosophy is still visible in the way the VaNorumedzo conserve their 'natural' environment which is also their major source of livelihood.

Norumedzo communal area comprises 24 villages and is ruled by Chief Norumedzo. The area is rich in edible stinkbugs (encosternum delegorguei Spinola) locally named harurwa [in Shona language] and loquats (mazhanje) which exist in the thicket forest/grove (jiri) that was set aside for its natural resources -harurwa and mazhanje -to flourish. The jiri, which is about some hundred square kilometers, is the 'natural' environment being sustainably conserved by the locals, and is believed to be sacred. Both the locals and strangers are constantly advised by the chief through headmen and village 'policemen' not to tamper with it as tampering with the jiri is believed to anger ancestors who in return might cause harurwa's extinction and the mizhanje trees not to produce fruit. It

is during the exploitation of resources from the jiri that the exploiters should demonstrate their highest level of ubuntu to the environment, locally known as 'hunhu' (humanness). As such, to ensure sustainable exploitation of resources from the jiri, anyone who wants to exploit resources from the jiri would have to first of all seek permission from the village authorities. Villains (those who tamper with the jiri) are tried and convicted by Chief Norumedzo's traditional court. Norumedzo communal area comprises 24 villages and is ruled by Chief Norumedzo. The area is rich in edible stinkbugs (*encosternum delegorguei* Spinola) locally named harurwa [in Shona language] and loquats (mazhanje) which exist in the thicket forest/grove (jiri) that was set aside for its natural resources -harurwa and mazhanje to flourish. The jiri, which is about some hundred square kilometers, is the 'natural' environment being sustainably conserved by the locals, and is believed to be sacred. Both the locals and strangers are constantly advised by the chief through headmen and village 'policemen' not to tamper with it as tampering with the jiri is believed to anger ancestors who in return might cause harurwa's extinction and the mizhanje trees not to produce fruit. It is during the exploitation of resources from the jiri that the exploiters should demonstrate their highest level of ubuntu to the environment, locally known as 'hunhu' (humanness). As such, to ensure sustainable exploitation of resources from the jiri, anyone who wants to exploit resources from the jiri would have to first of all seek permission from the village authorities. Villains (those who tamper with the jiri) are tried and convicted by Chief Norumedzo's traditional court.

To ensure that beliefs associated with the jiri are not put to test, the Chief has organized the villages in such a way that they take turns to safeguard the jiri from overexploitation, especially during the season of harurwa and mazhanje. The Chief is well connected to the surrounding Chiefs and the District Police Chief (Member-In-Charge) who, in a way, help him fostering and perpetuating the philosophy of ubuntu in the jiri. Once the season for harurwa and mazhanje comes, the Chief pays tribute to both the Police Chief and the surrounding Chiefs. This way of doing is possibly drawn on the deep-seated philosophy of ubuntu which through the Shona (like other traditional Bantu groups) philosophy of neighborhood (*chigarisano*) and friendship (*usahwira*) emphasizes practices of respect, sharing and mutuality. The philosophy bridges the divides and tensions amongst the people as it encourages neighbors to help each other and share the resources they have in their respective communities. As the philosophy of ubuntu is wisely applied to foster social cohesion, sharing with outsiders is not only an expression of love, but discourages potential thieves and invaders from stealing the neighbors' belongings. Through ubuntu, even outsiders are made to feel that the neighbor's property is also theirs. Thus, using the philosophy of ubuntu embedded in all the above explained mechanisms, chief Norumedzo and his people are managing to conserve the 'natural' environment while at the same time maintain good relations with those outside their community. And, given that the jiri is a source of livelihood for the Norumedzo and outside communities, the philosophy of natural conservation-ubuntu-they are using have managed to survive for centuries now. Even the 2008 Zimbabwean politico-economical crises have left the philosophy intact and the jiri flourishing (Mawere forthcoming).

Contrary to the Norumedzo scenario is the mountainous Mukanganwi communal area, also in the southeastern Zimbabwe. It is about 85km from Masvingo urban and about 20km before Norumedzo. My contact with the locals in Mukanganwi during my preliminary ethnographic studies revealed that, in this area, harurwa and mazhanje used to exist in abundance as in Norumedzo today. This was indeed evident from the look of mizhanje trees I observed in the area most of which had been debarked and others at the verge of falling. I was curious to know the possible cause of the increasing deterioration of mazhanje and harurwa harvests in the area. I was told by one of the old headman, Gore, that the cause was nothing, but abandonment of ubuntu. This was echoed by another headman, Mushinyi. It was from this response that I became curious and sought to examine the influence of ubuntu in environment conservation.

On examining why ubuntu was fast losing its grip in Mukanganwi, unlike in Norumedzo, I was informed that Chief Mukanganwi rules from a distant as he is a full time lecturer at the University of Zimbabwe. And because the Chief is away most of the time and is believed to have been seriously affected by Western tradition, the philosophy of ubuntu has been badly eroded in his chiefdom, and with negative consequences. It was further revealed by headman Gore that traditional practices such as the philosophy of ubuntu function well when the chief is always available to support his headmen in upholding it by punishing perpetrators. In the next section, I examine the negative consequences of abandoning ubuntu in environment conservation projects in Mukanganwi communal area.

5 Consequences of Abandoning Ubuntu in Environmental Conservation

As previously highlighted, the abandonment of ubuntu in conservation projects in Mukanganwi communal area has its negative consequences on the locals' livelihood. The consequences are many and lacking the space to explore them all in depth, I will simply focus on those that the locals revealed during the present research. First, harurwa and mazhanje which used to exist in abundance during the old days have drastically diminished. Many people now travel to Norumedzo, about 20km away for harurwa and mazhanje-once ubiquitous resources. This means suffering to the Mukanganwi people as they now travel longer distance in order obtain resources that used to be ubiquitous in their area. More so, their livelihood has been greatly compromised as it was from harurwa and mazhanje that they sustained their families and now that the resource is further from their locality there are inconveniences in obtaining the resources.

Second, the rainfall pattern in Mukanganwi area has dramatically changed in the recent past. Unfortunately, there are no systematic researches, prior to the present research, carried out so far in this area to establish the real cause of the diminishing amounts of rainfall in this mountainous area. The present research, however, noted that while natural phenomena is partly blamed for the erratic rainfall in Mukanganwi over the past few decades, human causes like deforestation and veld fires seem to be significantly contributing to the climatic changes in the area. In fact, it can be inferred using the logic of comparison (with Norumedzo jiri) that reluctance on the deployment of ubuntu in people's relations with the 'natural' environment has compromised the rainfall pattern over the years. This is quite visible in Mukanganwi communal area which is now characterized by loss of forests that is going on annually. This indiscriminate cutting down of trees, for settlements, extension of farmlands and during harurwa and mazhanje harvesting, is a good reason to explain why rainfall is now erratic in the area. So are diminished harvests of mazhanje and harurwa. This is because forest clearance poses the greatest threat to insect diversity and negatively influences climate change. As echoed by FAO (2001), loss of tropical forests is the greatest threat to insect diversity globally, as tropical forests harbor the majority of all insect species and the destruction of tropical forests continues at the high annual rate of 0.5-1%. In line with climate change, UNFCCC (2006) and Bambaige (2008) noted that the main sectors likely to be impacted by climate change include: Agriculture and food security, water resources, coastal resources, biodiversity, human health and infrastructure, loss of life, erosion, land degradation, sea level rise, natural disasters, salt intrusion, crops, ecosystems, property, human and animal habitats, outbreaks of pests and diseases, displacement of people, and destruction of infrastructure (communication network, schools, hospitals and houses). And, as reported by locals in the area, the impact of drought which was a rare phenomenon in Third, veld fires have become more frequent in the past few decades, especially during the absence of the chief. As previously highlighted, one of the functions of a chief is to enforce and promote the use of traditional practices and to administer peace among his people and their relations with the 'natural' environment. Veld fires are "blazes that get out of control and devastate extensive tracts of forest, grassland, wildlife and other natural resources as well as injure and kill people and destroy their properties" (Natural Resources, Agricultural

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Development and Food Security, 2009; Mawere, 2010:92). When I asked headman Mushinyi whether veld fires were common in the past, he conceded, but emphasized that people had to seek permission first from village authorities. It was not a 'willy-nilly' exercise as nowadays. He added that perpetrators were tried and convicted by the headmen or chief's court and the fine varied depending on the size of land or kind of species destroyed. This confirms Mkwanzizi's (2007) observation that human beings are responsible for 95% of forest and veld fires, as natural fires (not influenced directly by human beings) have become rare. Mukanganwi like many other Zimbabwe's communal areas is suffering constant veld fires. While in Mukanganwi, this has aggravated in the recent times due to constant absence of the chief, in many other parts of the country, land degradation has been enormously worsened by the chaotic Fast Track Agrarian Reform since the turn of the new millennium. The Agrarian Reform has had serious negative impact on the physical environment -both fauna and flora -as most of the new farmers in the newly resettled areas lack implements and so resort to fires as means to clear their land. This is echoed by Mawere (2011a: 880) who argues:

Veld fires contribute to a significant proportion of land degradation and the release of green house gases to the atmosphere and destroy property and resources needed for immediate use over the dry season, crops, firewood, biological diversity, water sources and grazing land.

Finally, I consider deforestation. Deforestation in Mukanganwi communal area has dramatically increased over the years. In passing through a small path down the Hozvi Mountain in Mukanganwi's chiefdom, I was perplexed when I suddenly entered a vast cleared area down slope. It was in June and the trunks of the cleared trees were still lying on land. Down slope is where the homestead of my aunt, Mrs Gambe is found. It was here where it was confirmed that people in Mukanganwi no longer respect the 'natural' environment as they did in the past when the philosophy of ubuntu still flourished in that chiefdom. When I suggested that perhaps the cause was increase in the number of people who are now in need of firewood and land for farming, she strongly objected. Like headmen Gore and Mushinyi, she cited the abandonment of ubuntu philosophy as the root cause for the deforestation they are suffering today. In her words: 'Pose paunoona pangova makoronga apa raiva sango remizhanje nemimwewo michero yesango yaingoberekana pamadiro. Hapana chawaishaiwa kwete. Asi nhasi ndirori rangova gwenga nepamusaka pekurasa tsika nehunhu hwavakuru vedu.

Vakuru vedu vairemekedza chose chawaniwa mumasango sekuremekedza kwavaii vanhu' (All this land you see now full of dongas was a grove of wild loquats and other fruit trees which grew naturally. It was a land of plenty where everything existed in abundance. But, today the same land has been turned into a desert due to disregard of our forefathers' traditions and ubuntu. Our ancestors respected all biodiversity in much the same way they did to fellow humans). She indeed longed for the old 'golden' days when people used to cut down only branches of trees they would use, and when fruit trees like mizhanje received the same respect as that accorded to elderly people.

7 Righting the Wrong: the Way Forward

In light of the foregoing, it is clear that if we are to go by the two models explained above-Norumedzo and Mukanganwi-we easily agree that the philosophy of ubuntu is a worthwhile traditional strategy that has proven beyond doubt its utility in some societies. It is one of the IKSs that if reinstituted has the potential to complement science in national environment conservation projects. Yet there are asymmetrical relations between Science and traditional practices like ubuntu and other such IKSs and, between humans and other entities in the 'natural' environment. The problem, however, remains: 'How can we move beyond these asymmetrical relations? Or does breaking the boundaries and dichotomies between nature/culture, Science/IKS entails reframing debates in environment conservation?' Such critical questions are akin to those that Mignolo (n.y) raises around modernity when he asks: "how can 'critical theory' be subsumed into the project of modernity/coloniality and decolonization? Or would this assumption perhaps suggest the need to abandon the twentieth century formulations of a critical theory project? Or, would it suggest the exhaustion of the project of modernity?"

In view of the preceding questions, I submit that debates in conservation require careful reframing. Yet, the problem on how the debates should be reframed persists as reframing necessitates a deconstruction process and possibly a reconstruction one. This is because that reframing implies a thoroughgoing reevaluation of the existing approaches in environment conservation and challenging them (where necessary) by suggesting new ones to respond to the problems in conservation. I have already argued for the revival of some traditional practices such as ubuntu in areas where the philosophy has lost its grip in conservation. But to do so would require a 'holistic' comprehensive approach-an approach that reconciles understandings of contending approaches in the Science/IK, Scientist/traditionalist debate ??Mawere, forthcoming). This is to say that in this paper a post-humanities approach is suggested as a possibility to constructively Fairhead and Leach thus argue for a 'sustainable' dialogue between Science (and the state) and IK in designing and implementing national environment conservation projects. 2. Seeks to reconsider and revive some traditional practices of environment conservation that at one point or another were despised and relegated to the periphery as speculations and unscientific as long as these have proven their utility or social praxis.

The reconsideration of ubuntu and other forms of knowledge as complements to science could be cases in points. This is what Lien and Law (2010: 5) allude to when they argue that "through attention to practices and performativity, we may contribute to an anthropology which is more sensitive to relations between humans and other living beings than is possible in a more anthropocentric approach". 3. Is practically responsive of humans' changing understanding of themselves and the world in terms of their relations with other entities in the 'natural' environment. Such an approach is critical as it moves beyond dualisms by considering humans, non-humans and the state as a collective and as interdependent members of the universe they share. The creation of dichotomies/dualisms is undesirable as "this anthropocentric approach emphasizes particular qualities of the human-animal phenomena on the basis of relations of asymmetry marked by animal subordination. In other words, it separates 'culture' (human) and 'nature' (non-human) on the basis of unequal distribution of agency" (Lien and Law 2010 ??10).

8 Conclusion

This study has shown that some parts of Zimbabwe are facing mounting environment conservation mismanagement related phenomena and others which result from climate change. The paper has argued that while it is partially true that the natural phenomena and secondary causes cited by some researchers on Zimbabwe are worth blaming for environmental degradation in the country, research on Mukanganwi and Norumedzo communal areas revealed that causes such as veld fires and deforestation are only among the secondary causes. They have their own root cause (s) -underlying cause-which researchers on Zimbabwe and beyond, by default or otherwise, leave undocumented. I have argued that this cause is the subversion and relegation of the philosophy of 'ubuntu' (which is at the core of African thought and practice) in environment conservation projects. Thus due to the effects of colonialism and modernity's preoccupation with scientism, 'ubuntu' and other such IKSs that were used to conserve the environment have suffered relegation as speculations and unscientific (Mawere 2011b) to the extent that they were buried and forgotten, but indeed not dead.

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10 VIII.

More importantly, the paper has argued that the problems and challenges encountered in Mukanganwi communal area are not new or unique to the area, but are resonant of those encountered in other projects elsewhere, in Zimbabwe and beyond. Yet to overcome such environment conservation there is need for a posthumanities approach that encourages scholars to rethink conservation projects, particularly the possibility of moving beyond the nature/culture, Science/IK dualisms and considering the revival of 'buried' philosophies such as 'ubuntu' and other such knowledge forms as IKSs. This is what scholars such as Abrams (1996) protested for when he argued that in community-based projects the community should control the project and make important decisions, although professionals such as engineers may provide expertise and financial support provided by

405 external financial sources. In this sense, I have argued for 'productive' rethinking of conservation projects at all
levels -from grassroots to national level.^{1 2 3 4 5 6}



Figure 1:

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⁶'Buried And Forgotten But Not Dead': Reflections on 'Ubuntu' in Environmental Conservation in Southeastern Zimbabwe 2 8

.1 Year

. VII address and reconcile the asymmetrical relations in conservations and anthropology of knowledge in general. However, one among the most complex concepts to define with precision in the humanities today concerns post-humanities. The complexity of the concept derives from its different interpretations by different scholars. It is worth noting, however, that what most scholars do not dispute about post-humanities is that:

It situates itself at a crossroads: the intersection of the disciplinary formation we call 'the humanities' in its current configuration, and the challenges posed to it by work (much of it interdisciplinary) in a range of fields that is associated with the emergent orientation known as 'post-humanism,' work that in some fundamental sense challenges the humanities as we now know it to move beyond its current parameters and practices. (<http://www.cary.wolfe.com/online.html>).

From this understanding and for purposes of this work, the post-humanities approach I advocate herein seeks to move beyond Science/IK and nature/culture dualisms: to establish forms and methods of interdisciplinary knowledge by way of rethinking 'productively' how changes in societies challenge scholars to reconsider their understanding of 'reality' and relations between different entities in the society. My post-humanities approach is therefore one that: 1. Seeks to promote a 'sustainable' dialogue between Science and other knowledge forms (such as IKS) that are involved in environment conservation practices and projects. Such an approach is worth considering as there are some traditional conservation strategies that have proven beyond doubt that they are efficient in conserving the 'natural' environment.

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