

Introduction

As the Zambia Wildlife Authority places increasing importance on the role of communities as partners in the management of wildlife, the merits of this approach need careful evaluation in terms of financial and leadership sustainability. Zambia faces a growing epidemic of AIDS inflicting serious constraints on the Zambian workforce and a limited tax base to finance many of its Government services. Both constraints are taking their toll on the capacity of the Zambia Wildlife Authority (ZAWA) to effectively administer a wildlife management programme over an area that exceeds 220,000 km².

In two-thirds of this land area, communities reside with the wildlife resource and provide a readily available supply of manpower to help manage the resource on behalf of other stakeholders wishing to participate and benefit from its legal use. ADMADE provides a convenient model for testing the efficacy of communities as wildlife producers and resource managers who live around Zambia's national parks. The critical questions Government, private sector and other stakeholders supporting rural development and biodiversity conservation must ask is whether rural communities can be responsible for their wildlife resources, whether the approach is more cost-effective than more conventional forms of resource management, and what constraints threaten community capacity to successfully manage their wildlife resource.

The aim of this study, therefore, was to determine how well a particular community, representing different levels of influence and leadership, understands its roles in ADMADE and what contributions it is making toward the management and conservation of natural resources they live with. This study has particular importance because it was carried out at a time when Government support and supervision was minimal due to a severe cash flow problem, causing non-payment of salaries to Government wildlife officers for over two months. A well-funded and fully operational ZAWA might have obscured the significance of community involvement. Given that such external influences during this period were minimal, an important opportunity to evaluate the role of communities under ADMADE became available and was used as the basis for this study.

Study area and methods

The study was conducted in Lower Lumimba Game Management Area, located on the east bank of Luangwa River, opposite of South Luangwa National Park and adjacent to Luambe, Nsele and Lukusuzi National Parks. Lower Lumimba is 1587 km² in area and supports a human population of 1680 households with an average of 4.5 members in a household. Residents of this area are almost entirely subsistence farmers, growing largely maize, sorghum, groundnuts



and sweet potatoes and depend on poultry as well as fish and game meat for much of their nutrition protein. Their proximity to four different national parks illustrates the potential significance of rural communities as partners in conservation through the ADMADE program.

Under this program, rural communities are divided up into Village Area Groups (or VAGs), which are defined by the various village groupings that make up the entire population of the community. Boundaries define each VAG area and describe the area for which VAG leader is responsible in controlling land use disturbances and illegal use of wildlife resources. As part of VAG leadership in this responsibility are village scouts, who are local residents employed by the community to actively police and monitor their natural resources. Also under the ADMADE program, VAG leadership is responsible for engaging local participation in the selection and implementation of projects funded from wildlife revenues to help meet the development needs of VAG residents. Activities of each VAG are supervised by the Community Resource Boards which are legally instituted under the Wildlife Act of 1999 to receive wildlife revenues to support resource management needs of the area as well as meeting rural development needs of the VAGs.

Two teams, each comprising of two people trained in Participatory Appraisal Techniques (PAT) visited Mwanya area from 12 to 16, March. Community leaders were not told of this visit to reduce the influence by any advanced preparations. One team visited Chasela VAG for 3 days and made a cursory tour of part of Mukasanga VAG, and the other team visited Yakobe VAG for 3 days while also making a brief visit to Lukusuzi and Mukwela VAGs.

Both teams undertook group and individual PRA surveys to assess how well households understand their role in resource management and rural development as well as the impact of elected and traditional leaders are having on this understanding. The teams were also able to assess the progress ADMADE has had on specific initiatives begun by the African College for CBNRM, especially the introduction of family planning and food security. At the end of the respective visits, both teams convened a community meeting to review their results and to facilitate ideas and recommendations for ways problems could be best addressed through local leadership. The results of these findings are summarized under five broad topics: family planning, community development, financial management, resource management and food security.

Results

1) Family planning

A family planning program was initiated in Mwanya area through a social marketing approach introduced by the African College for CBNRM in 1998. Three community-based delivery agents were taught, though one subsequently died, leaving one agent in Chasela and another in Mukasanga VAG. Statistics for users of family planning products for Chasela VAG are as follows:



January 1999	29 clients
June 1999	36 clients
December 1999	47 clients

Breakdown of product use by clients from Chasela is as follows:

Prolact	13
Safeplan	18
Condom	23
Safeplan and Prolact	5

Mukusanga agent expressed growing interest for family planning in his area. Number of clients in his area has increased over the past year as well though exact numbers could not be obtained.

A number of problems were identified that prevented people from taking part in family planning:

- 1) fear of becoming barren if they take safe plan
- 2) lack of money to buy contraceptives
- 3) supplier of contraceptives limited to the College
- 4) procurement of contraceptives too bureaucratic and erratic
- 5) delivery agents work in isolation of CRB and VAG leadership
- 6) some people believe contraceptives cause high bleeding during menstruation and high blood pressure.

Resolutions suggested as appropriate solutions to these problems were:

- 1) CRB should make family planning and family health a major issue with the VAGs and stimulate improved management of the program as well as improved public education on family planning
- 2) VAG Chairperson should be the appropriate person to assess the need for family planning in the VAG and develop an appropriate budget for approval at a community meeting
- 3) CRB should liaise with the nearest clinic on how to obtain free contraceptives for distribution by the delivery agents.
- 4) Clinic should be responsible to test people for possible side-effects from contraceptives.

The Hon. Chief of the area offered unsolicited views toward family planning. Because they were strongly supportive, this was interpreted as an important indication of growing cultural acceptance of family planning. After discussions with the chief on other issues, the Chief himself introduced the topic of family planning and identified this as one of the most important needs of his community and appealed to the College to help increase family planning activities in his area. This is in sharp contrast to views expressed by the Chief in earlier years. Time did not allow a more comprehensive understanding of the Chief's reasons for his support of family planning and this should be a subject of future dialogue with traditional leaders in ADMAD areas.



2) Community Development

There was little evidence that Community Development Committee (CDC) members are practicing the skills they were taught. Dataforms developed for community members to monitor their own projects were not in use in Yakobe or Chasela and members of the CDC have not convened a single meeting since January 2000. Training of these skills has been limited to classroom training at Nyamaluma with negligible extension support to facilitate their use, suggesting the critical need for extension training to reinforce skills taught in classroom environments.

The CRB has not made the CDC a priority in Mwanza area, and as a result, leadership in the committee itself is very weak. Its chairman, for instance, was suspended late last year and since then a new Chairman has not been elected. CDC members were interviewed to assess their understanding of their roles on how to improve household participation at public meetings and to identify projects that best meet the needs of resident households. Members showed very poor understanding on these responsibilities.

On the other hand, VAG leadership has demonstrated a much improved level of public meetings where such meetings have become important venues for discussing community development issues. Since January, the following VAGs have convened public meetings:

1) Chasela	7
2) Yakobe	2
3) Lukusuzi	1
4) Mukwera	2
5) Mukusanga	not known.

Furthermore, VAG committee members are convening meetings frequently and are demonstrating a genuine interest in facilitating ADMADE activities in their areas. In Mukwera for example, committee members convene meetings two to three times a month and all other VAGs are convening VAG Committee meetings at least once per month.

There is widespread understanding that VAGs are now established to allow more households to participate in ADMADE. There is, however, a high level of distrust toward the Community Resource Board for not respecting VAG decisions. In some cases, for example, the CRB imposed their decision on the VAG to distribute food security maize a certain way and also decided to purchase a community vehicle without consulting the VAGs on whether such a purchase would benefit the VAGs. The relationship between the CRB and VAG leadership is not very clear and is a source of potential conflict for ADMADE, which could be addressed through increased extension work to clarify their respective roles and develop the necessary skills to support these roles.



In addition, attendance at VAG public meetings is generally low as is female participation. A number of factors were sighted as possible reasons for these problems:

- 1) Call-out for meetings is given at short notice
- 2) Women are busy with work at home
- 3) Distances to meeting places are sometime far
- 4) Topics are not given in advance to encourage attendance
- 5) Meetings are too infrequent to sustain interest
- 6) Meetings do not produce satisfactory results.
- 7) Questions that the public have are not being answered

Solutions to these problems were proposed and VAG leadership responded with a promise to encourage better attendance by adopting some of these recommendations:

- 1) public VAG meetings be scheduled each month and on a fixed date, preferably Sunday afternoon, to allow more women to attend
- 2) relevant people should be present to explain issues and questions
- 3) if VAG areas is too large, public meetings may need to be zoned for different areas; otherwise, they should be held at central locations
- 4) if issues are controversial, a committee should be appointed to study the matter and report back to a VAG public meeting to avoid such issues creating disharmony in the community.

Except for Lukusuzi, VAG-level discussions strongly suggest the new ADMADE structure has brought about an improved appreciation of projects that benefit household needs. Furthermore there were frequent expressions of confidence that ADMADE will work if community members can continue to elect leaders of their choice while also continuing to put pressure on their performance. There is growing acceptance and awareness that VAGs now have the right to decide projects that resident households want and that such decisions require public debate to ensure all stakeholders participate fairly. Unfortunately, there was less agreement that this is actually being done.

As mentioned earlier, many respondents expressed suspicions that the CRB are controlling funds and in some cases, it was felt that the VAG leaders themselves are benefiting by not sharing benefits fairly to all members of the VAG. Part of this problem could be perception due to poor attendance at meetings or poorly administered meetings themselves. Additional factors point to poor dissemination of financial management information by the community bookkeepers and members of the Financial Management Committee. Comments were frequently expressed that the Bookkeeper and the Unit Leader is misusing community money because of their frequent trips to Chipata using the community vehicle. Regardless of whether the accusations are true, such attitudes revealed the level of ownership ADMADE has begun to reach and would suggest a positive development of peer review by the public of elected leaders and those employed on behalf of the community.



Discussions with VAG leaders revealed a commitment to a more participatory process in conducting needs assessment. Leaders conceded this was done poorly this past year and signified the adoption of the food security project as an example. Residents agreed that food security was an important need but that VAG members were not properly consulted on how the food security projects were planned and carried out. In Chasela, residents expressed great happiness over the way the rural health outpost and grinding mill purchase were planned and carried out. Both were identified as important needs that would assist all the households in the community. Similarly, the grinding mill in Yakobe was sighted as a positive sign that ADMADE was responding to household needs.

The Hon. Chief expressed his views on what should be regarded as a good development project for his area and he gave examples of only capital projects, such as the school dormitory and community courthouse in his own area. The team was impressed however by the Chief's open-mindedness to accept the lessons being learned in his area that are showing how projects that address food security and personal income may have a greater impact on improved wildlife production than capital projects.

The team did not sense any serious conflict with ADMADE by the Chief nor did the Chief voice any concern that would suggest the CRB or VAGs pose a threat to the Chieftaincy. There were cases, however, where the CRB, possibly guided by the Chief, instructed food security maize to be sold to generate money as a way to support capital projects. This was against the wishes of VAG members who wanted maize distribution to favor those most vulnerable to poverty and hunger. The question now remains whether the Chief and other leaders have learned from the results of 1999 that CRB interference to the needs of the VAGs was flawed because it left the poor worse off and did not reduce the threat to poaching. This underlines the critical need for the CRB to facilitate and strengthen VAG leadership, not weaken or diminish it.

3) Food security

There were two food security measures introduced in Mwanya area in 1999: purchase of 120 90kg bags of maize for each VAG and adopting conservation farming methods to community-managed maize fields. The team assessed the different approaches used by each VAG for its own management of the maize relief for reducing household hunger during the wet season months when food shortages are experienced. The approaches are as follows:

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|-----------------------|--|
| 1) Mukusanga | Maize shared among all households and given freely |
| 2) Yaboke & Muksanga | Maize mostly given as food for work to support community maize fields, small amount sold |
| 3) Lukusuzi & Mukwela | Maize mostly sold |

Only in Lukusuzi and Mukwela did the survey team find maize still in storage and because of poor storage, much of this maize was considered at risk of spoiling. From limited discussion with households and local leaders, it was clear that many people were unable to afford the maize in these VAGs and were left to find food in other ways. There seemed to be strong resentment



Lukusuzi VAG that the CRB used its powers to influence VAG leadership to insist that maize should be sold as opposed to other ways that might have reduced the burden of poverty for the people most vulnerable.

In Yakobe and Chasela, levels of household food shortages were greatly reduced from the previous year. Based on granary inspections, food shortages were less than 20% in Chasela in both VAGs households explained the importance that food relief had on their lives. The most common difference was that households could remain in their gardens to farm rather than be forced to travel long distances in search of food. In Yakobe, for example, the local school teacher explained the difference in different terms. Because there was sufficient food for most households, school children were able to go to school, unlike the previous year when they were forced to gather grass seeds for food or stay in the gardens to weed while parents searched for food. School attendance in the 1999 wet season was less than 20% whereas in 2000, the attendance was above 80%. Furthermore, children were healthier in 2000 with no cases of malnutrition noticed by the local teacher. The previous year malnutrition was common. Furthermore, children actively played sports and entertained themselves in the evening by singing and beating drums in 2000. In the previous year, when there was much hunger, some of children playing and singing were a rarity.

Correlated with these changes was a striking difference in levels of poaching or illegal wild animal hunting for both areas as well as for Mukusanga. The latter was based on interviews with a person hired by Tafiko Lodge to find snares used to impale and kill wild animals. He explained there had been a sharp reduction in use of snares since the distribution of free maize. In Yakobe the local school teacher, resident village scouts and other household members expressed the common view that Yakobe residents were not killing wild animals in 2000, unlike the previous year. No one expressed contrary views. The school teacher, for example, said it is now uncommon to see people bring game meat into the village during daylight hours, as it was so common practice. In the wet season of 2000, he never witnessed game meat carried into the village. Similar views were shared with residents from Chasela. In contrast, people from Lukusuzi and Yakobe as well as village scouts in the area informed the team that certain people from Lukusuzi were continuing to kill wild animals in 2000. While reasons for this could not be established, household food shortage was likely to be a factor. First, most of the maize relief did not reach Lukusuzi and the amount that did was not well distributed because most households could not afford to buy it. Second, numerous people the team interviewed explained that many households were without food in Lukusuzi VAG.

Such indicators as given above strongly suggest that the improved food security introduced through VAG-level maize purchases did have a significant reduction on wildlife losses where maize was available to all households in need. However, the actual exercise of purchasing, transporting and distributing maize has given Mwanza a valuable lesson in food security. First, maize purchase from outside is expensive, approximately three to four times the cost to grow same quantity of maize using fertilizer and hired labour. Second, transport of maize is very problematic due to poor roads, high cost of transport and poor communications to arrange



transport. Third, storage of large amounts of maize for community maize distribution require adequate facilities which are generally lacking in most of the VAGs.

A more sustainable solution is to improve household capacity to grow sufficient maize to meet their family requirements. Discussions on this topic earlier in 1999 revealed a general reluctance to use fertilizer or different techniques to improve crop yields. For this reason, the African College for CBNRM introduced a training course in conservation farming and influenced the leadership in two VAGs to undertake community gardens to use as demonstration sites for increased maize production through conservation farming techniques. While some people expressed the view that the project was imposed on them by the College, it was generally agreed that conservation farming was a much better way to farm and that many households wanted to adopt it themselves next year. It was also generally expressed in Chasela that the community garden was poorly managed because VAG leaders themselves exploited the opportunity to benefit themselves by having greater access to food relief on the pretext that they worked for. Members of the public argued that their VAG leaders were being dishonest and benefited unfairly because of their positions. Because of this, most people in Chasela, are against community gardens but favor farming with conservation farming techniques on a household level. In Yakobe, it was estimated that between 40 and 80 households out of a total of 160 would adopt conservation farming next year.

Group discussion revealed an interesting cycle of food shortages for people of Mwanya area. During the wet season months, households are more likely to suffer from shortages of bulk staple foods whereas vegetables and fish protein are relatively plentiful. During the dry season from July to October, households begin to experience protein shortages as fish supplies are declining and appear inadequate to meet household demand. Hence, in the wet season, wildlife is used as an exchangeable commodity for bulk food whereas in the dry season, it is obtained mostly for consumption.

In addition to fish, poultry is another non-wildlife source of protein. In recent years Mwanya residents have experienced serious chicken losses due to outbreaks from New Castle's disease. Most households interviewed complained of the problem and have lost over 95% of their chickens. In addition to protein, chickens also represent an important source of household income. Many household heads average two trips a year to town markets where they will sell from 15 to 20 chickens per trip made by bicycle to purchase household essentials. It is also estimated that families will consume between 10 and 20% of their chickens and will sell the remaining.

4) Financial management

Throughout the teams' discussions and PRA exercises, it was clear that financial issues are contentious and are often the source for much conflict and misunderstanding in the community. A major reason for this is the relatively poor dissemination of financial information by the community bookkeeper and members of the Financial Management Committee (FMC). For example, from discussions with VAG members in Yakobe and Chasela, few people were aware



of how much revenue was generated from their wildlife resources in 1999. From interviews with FMC members, none demonstrated very good understanding of their roles. In addition, FMC members at the VAG level have not conducted any meetings to plan their work or carry out their work plan in support of their duties. Furthermore, visits to the VAGs by the unit bookkeepers are infrequent or none at all. Such lack of visitation is contributing to widespread suspicion about how VAG shares are accounted and this represents a potential source of distrust of CRB leadership by VAG-level leaders in the community.

Since January 2000 VAG public meetings in Yakobe were disturbed by strong public dissatisfaction over the way financial records on maize sells were reported to the community. This might suggest mismanagement of funds and a reluctance by VAG leaders to expose the information or else an insensitivity to provide such information when demanded by the public. As a result, distrust of VAG leaders was high and this affected their effectiveness to convene meetings and discuss other ADMADE issues of importance.

In the Mwanya area there is growing interest to develop revenue generating activities in the different VAGs. This is evidenced by the presence of grinding mills for each VAG, although the one in Lukusuzi has not been delivered and the one in Yakobe was under repair. The survey team identified a source of conflict between the CRB and VAG leadership on this issue of general revenues. Because of VAG distrust of CRB management of VAG funds, some VAGs prefer to open their own bank account to deposit earnings from the operations of their grinding mills. CRB has refused the VAGs to have this power and again this has fueled resentment and distrust of the CRB.

Despite the conflict over establishing VAG-level bank accounts to administer their own funds and to deposit earnings from revenue-earning projects initiated by the VAG, the grinding mills have made a very positive impact on helping to overcome household needs. Women carry the burden of pounding maize and the management and efficient running of grinding mills is an important issue for women. Furthermore, keeping grinding mills running will definitely free up time for women to participate in other activities and hopefully this will lead to increased women's attendance at VAG meetings.

Some general recommendations proposed by the community during PRA discussions and public meetings were as follows:

- 1) CRB leadership should encourage small business ventures as a way of reducing rural poverty and increasing cash flow in the community. Restricting VAGs from opening bank accounts will be detrimental to this objective.
- 2) FMC leadership needs to convene VAG-level meetings to discuss FMC roles, responsibilities and current accounts of the unit as well as ways to improve dissemination of financial information.
- 3) The African College for CBNRM is requested to design a grinding mill operations' monitoring form for use by the different VAGs in Mwanya.



- 4) VAG leadership should set up rules and regulations for the management of grinding and should include a limit on the amount of money that can be used as a cash payment use other than managing and supporting the costs of the grinding mill itself. In other words, how to run a grinding mill as a profitable but sustainable business for the VAG.

5) Resource management

Resource management through community involvement and leadership is a primary objective of ADMADE. The survey teams assessed the various roles performed by members of the community in achieving this objective.

Safari liaison officer.

A local resident is recruited by the safari operator in Mwanza to help improve public awareness and support for the safari hunting industry in their area. The position is called a safari liaison officer, who is resident in Chasela VAG. The general impression given to the survey team is that the safari operator does not value the services of this person and provides minimal support because the lease agreement requires the operator to do so. Communication is very poor between the resident professional hunter and the liaison officer and as a result the liaison officer is not highly motivated to perform his duties. A programme of meat distribution to the community by the safari hunter was one area of help and influence the liaison officer could have contributed to. Unfortunately this was not the case and the safari operator failed to effectively distribute meat to the community.

These problems suggest a lost opportunity by the safari operator to be more engaged with the community as a pro-active way of building trust and support with the community. Such trust would open-up opportunities for greater partnership between the operator and the community. Recommendations to the CRB is that it insist on a meeting with the safari hunter prior to any hunting to discuss the following issues:

- 1) Staff salaries
- 2) Number of local residents employed and their conditions
- 3) Programme for meat distribution
- 4) Professional hunter participation in community meetings
- 5) Problems the operator may face with the community the CRB / Liaison Officer should help solve

Another recommendation is that the Liaison Officer should be a non-voting member of the Resource Management Committee (RMC) and should also be invited to the CRB meeting occasionally to report on his work with the professional hunter.

Village scouts



Responsibilities for village scouts are understood and gaining acceptance. This is based on a decision by Yakobe, Mukasanga, Lukusuzi and Mukwera VAGs to establish community gardens to support scout patrol rations. An alternative to this is improve household production and buy surplus maize from local farmers to support patrol needs.

Members of the community are now monitoring the work of village scouts more frequently; this is helping to improve their performance. One example was an incident involving a village scout who was seen by a local resident allowing a non-resident hunter to wound an animal without reporting it on his dataform. This was reported to the CRB and the scout is under investigation by the local leaders. In another VAG, Lukusuzi, local residents reported to the RMC Chairman how a village scout from his area was involving himself in poaching which led to investigations by members of the RMC.

Despite severe shortages of patrol rations and the fact that volunteer village scouts have not paid their monthly allowance for three months, due to non-transfer of funds to the community patrols are being conducted and almost entirely by resident village scouts. For Ngongomwa Camp in Chasela VAG, a total of 10 patrols were conducted from November to February and Chakolwa Camp in Yakobe VAG, a total of 6 patrols were reported from December to February. Patrol length varied from 1 to 15, averaging about 4 days in length. From a total of 9 scouts occupying these camps, only one was a non-resident civil servant scout.

Scouts expressed frustrations about not having uniforms, field equipment, non-payment of incentives for arresting poachers, insufficient ammunition, and non-payment of voluntary village scouts for over three months.

There was general acceptance and understanding that village scouts are employees of the community through its CRBs but there is less understanding of how the VAG/CRB leadership should demonstrate its responsibilities to their employees. In general, it seems that the community leadership under ADMADE has not learned how to promote hard work by village scouts with encouragements or with recognition of hard work.

There was also concern that the unit leader is frequently off the station and the RMC feels reluctant to address resource management problems without the approval of the unit leader. This issue was well discussed with members of the RMC, who did not fully appreciate the legal powers invested in the RMC through their CRB to take on greater responsibility for their wildlife. Part of the problem with the unit leader being off the station is the expensive use of a community vehicle to travel back and forth to town and members of the community expressed concern about the amount of money being used to support such trips as opposed to supporting village scouts to carry out field operations.

Given the large size of Mwanza area and the difficulty to visit all camps from the unit headquarters, increased responsibility for camp supervision by RMC members is both practical and cost-effective. The long absence of the unit leader demonstrated the critical role the RMC is capable of playing. For example, when the survey team arrived in Yakobe area, it found two



RMC members patrolling VAG gardens with resident village scouts to assess crop damage to hippos. RMC members of this same VAG also traveled to the wildlife camp in their VAG on separate occasions since November to inspect the work of their village scouts as have RMC members from Chasela on at least several occasions. When the RMC members of Yakobe were asked what their roles and responsibilities are, a listing of all their terms of reference was correctly given.

Resource Management Committee (RMC)

The RMC is by far the most active of the three technical sub-committees. The Chairman demonstrated a high level of interest and commitment to his responsibilities. He has traveled on numerous occasions to visit the unit leader, the Patron and the CRB Chairman to discuss his work. As chairman of the committee, however, he has convened only one meeting since December. Not convening meetings more regularly may lower the level of commitment by committee members. There is also need for the RMC chairperson to periodically visit the different VAGs to meet with their chairperson and with RMC members for that VAG. Based on impressions by the survey team, the RMC leadership needs more experience and skills in facilitating meetings and encouraging public interest in resource management issues. Despite this shortfall, RMC members showed strong interest and commitment to their duties. One RMC member complained that the work was too much for the little money they received. It may be an appropriate idea to pay monthly allowances out of the share that goes toward resource management.

A potential problem identified by the chairperson is management of the resource management account. The RMC chairperson is one of its signatories, but to date Mwanya RMC chairperson has never been asked to sign a cheque. He expressed the concern that the changes in signatories were not acted on by the bookkeeper and as a result accountability of resource management funds may not be well controlled. He felt that RMC funds were not being well spent with the numerous trips to the town by the unit vehicle. If true, the CRB may be somewhat negligent in monitoring the use of the funds and responding to the concerns of the RMC chairperson. This was the impression given by most VAG level leaders interviewed that the unit bookkeeper plays a very active role in CRB meetings and is perhaps over-playing his role as a non-elected participant. It is recommended that the bookkeeper restrict his contributions to financial issues and that he responds to requests or information as requested by CRB members.

Land use plans and role of community

ADMADE has instituted a land use planning process in the community that involves RMC leadership conducting VAG-level meetings to review the major resource use disturbances in the area and to identify the human needs that contribute to the actual causes of these disturbances. From this process a relationship is made between specific needs that VAG projects should try to address if land use disturbances are to be effectively reconciled. Throughout the VAGs visited by the survey team where community meetings were convened, households expressed strong



support for food security as well as improving opportunities for residents to earn income. In Yakobe, for example, many young adult men said that fishing was their main source of income and many said that fish numbers were declining and most all conceded that intensive fishing pressures along the Luangwa was a source of conflict to both wildlife and to the safari hunting industry. With the introduction of VAG leadership under the new ADMADE structure and of the positive demonstrations of VAG-level benefits now reaching more households like grinding mills and maize relief, there was strong evidence from PRA discussions that residents want to solve their land use conflicts to ultimately earn more revenue from wildlife. One discussion group in Yakobe totaling about 30 people identified a number of ways that households can increase income without disturbing their wildlife industry. If investments could be made in developing skills for households to diversify their sources of personal income, it was felt that wildlife numbers would increase because of reduced pressures to snare and disturb wildlife habitats. The ideas the group identified were as follows:

- 1) conservation farming, allowing a surplus of food to be sold
- 2) solar fencing with vegetable gardening and fruit tree rearing, would also allow a safe area for producing tree seedlings for soil enrichment
- 3) reduction of New Castle's disease and improved husbandry of poultry (marketing of chickens is the second most important source of household income)
- 4) bee-keeping and honey marketing
- 5) construction of tourist standard structures using local materials
- 6) biltong making through small-scale community cull of hippos
- 7) basic business skills to manage money for small group businesses (running a shop, grinding mill, yenga press, etc.)

There was much positive support for ADMADE because people now believe it will impact favorably on households under the new VAG leadership structure than the previous structure. Households also expressed the view that they will be more cooperative in helping solve land use conflicts when household benefits are more evident. There are a number of achievements in reducing land use conflicts that VAG committee members felt had already been made since the new ADMADE structure was introduced:

- 1) two villages where poachers were often harbored along the southern boundary of Chitima VAG have shifted back into the main village to eliminate an important entry point for poachers into the area
- 2) number of fishing camps along the Luangwa River were reduced four-fold in 1999 for Mukusanga and Yakobe VAGs
- 3) a growing number of households in Mukusanga VAG have accepted to move away from the floodplain and to return to their traditional areas for farming
- 4) more residents are providing members of the CRB and RMC information on illegal hunting activities in the area.



Despite these achievements, results are generally poor in the way local leaders have disseminated the contents of the land use plan itself. Most ordinary villagers in the area were not familiar with the plan and VAG committee members admitted that they have not made much effort in presenting the plan at public meetings to review its progress. A major constraint to increasing public awareness of the plan is the limited number of copies (5) that were produced and that are all in English.

Given the importance of the RMC and its critical role in strengthening the level of local participation and support for resource management, the survey team made the following observations to highlight their findings:

- 1) The powers and responsibilities of the RMC are clear in the constitution but the CRE does not fully support the RMC in carrying out its duties. This has led to some hesitancy in implementing duties and may suggest a difficulty on the part of CRB to delegate responsibility.
- 2) RMC has begun to assume responsibilities, such as inspecting dataforms, visiting scout camps, educating households in the community and so forth. What is weak is greater recognition of their responsibilities to ensure their village scouts are adequately equipped and provided with rations to carry out patrols. There is still too much dependence on the unit leader and RMC members seemed to quickly blame the unit leader for failure to support village scouts when in fact the village scouts are employees of the CRB.
- 3) RMC chairperson needs to visit VAGs more regularly to get reports from his members and to meet with the VAG chairperson to discuss resource management issues for the VAG.
- 4) Some of the regular scouts who serve as camps-in-charge are not oriented toward ADMADE and contribute to poor public relations in the area and lowered support of ADMADE activities.
- 5) There is need for continued civic education on resource management issues in the VAGs.
- 6) There were too many reports that the community bookkeeper is using most of the 40 million on travel allowance and is leaving very little to support the needs of the scout camps. This problem is hurting scout morale and should be rectified by the bookkeeper verifying that the charge is false and making more regular visits to the VAGs to present financial statements in a more transparent way.
- 7) Village scout morale is low because their grievances are not being adequately addressed by the CRB and village scouts believe funds meant to support them are misused by selected CRB members. Again, the CRB needs to dispel this view if it is false by increasing the transparency on how these funds are used.

Conclusions and lessons learned

The new ADMADE structure is well received in Mwanya area and there is much evidence to show a dramatic increase in household participation and understanding about the ADMADE program. The CRB Patron, or Hon. Chief of the area, has demonstrated his support for VAG leadership and his willingness to give his subjects an opportunity to exercise their rights to p



their own projects, convene meetings, and discuss local issues. The team was also impressed by the level of communication between CRB/VAG leaders and the Chief as a basis for cooperation to help ensure ADMADE's success. In addition, the survey found a surprisingly high level of commitment to resource management by community leaders despite the chronic problem of inadequate funds and low morale among the village scouts. This was based on the level of activity by the Resource Management Committee, initiatives by the VAG committees to resolve land use conflicts, and the level of village scout patrolling.

The new structure is still new in its implementation and not surprising weaknesses were identified. In order for the ADMADE structure to be fully effective in conserving wildlife and providing material needs for households supporting the programme, there is need for the CRB leadership to recognize these weaknesses and find appropriate measures for dealing with them. They are as follows:

- 1) **Public meetings** promote household understanding and provide a forum for information and ideas to be shared. While VAG committee meetings are convening regularly, public meetings are too infrequent. This is contributing to growing friction and misunderstanding between VAG residents and their elected leaders on a number of issues, such as results of maize distribution, use of community funds, decisions that affect VAG-level interests, and so forth. This is largely because information to answer questions are not provided and this raises suspicions and mistrust. More frequent meetings will bring leaders and the public closer together for improved cooperation. There is also need to find ways to increase participation by women and it is suggested that women-only meetings be held to give VAG leaders a chance to hear their views and to incorporate their needs into project identification.
- 2) **Good leadership** requires elected leaders to involve more people in decision-making and consensus-building. Some leaders still have the tendency to make too many decisions on their own without involving the views of others and this is creating resentment and is contributing to low attendance at public meetings. Traits of good leadership are those that help people understand new ideas and learn new skills so the entire community can grow and become more self-reliant. Good leadership by ADMADE elected leaders also requires an ability to listen to the people who voted them in office and who expect them to promote their interests. It is recommended that CRB members review their own style of leadership, be open to criticism to overcome any weaknesses they may have, and work hard to develop VAG-level confidence in ADMADE.
- 3) **Food security** is accepted as a primary household need that must be met if ADMADE is to succeed. There was considerable variation in the way food security was administered over the past year. From this experience, CRB and VAG leaders should review these efforts of the past year to learn what works best and what should be the approach for the coming year. Given the high cost of buying maize from outside the area and the relatively low returns from the high level of inputs to sustain community gardens, there is strong evidence to support greater dependence on household skills to produce sufficient food using improved farming methods. These methods were effectively demonstrated using the community gardens.



- 4) **Concept of 'what is a community project'** is often viewed in narrow terms as a fixed structure like a school or clinic. While this perception is not wrong, it has tended to exclude other types of community projects that may impact more directly on household needs and thereby reduce potential resource use conflicts. While this understanding improved greatly with the introduction of food security and the procurement of grinding mills, there is still need to further develop such projects to improve rural incomes. Poverty levels are still very high in Mwanya and is a contributing factor to excessive fishing pressure in the Luangwa, high levels of wildlife snaring, and even outbreaks of theft and damage to public property.
- 5) **Needs assessment** to identify community projects is a process that is now much better understood in Mwanya's VAGs, though it was not well carried out in 1999. There were genuine reasons for this due to the late formation of the ADMADE structure. It will be very important for CRB/VAG leaders to carry out the needs assessment process correctly to build public confidence that ADMADE is for them in order for leaders to ask their support of land use plans and regulations governing the use of wildlife resources.
- 6) **Responsibility for village scouts** is not well understood by the CRB and its RMC, although there is a much improved involvement and supervision of their work. The primary problem is the misperception that they are employees of the unit leader, who has the sole responsibility for providing village scouts with the necessary requirements for them to work effectively. Under ADMADE, the CRB is the employer of village scouts and it is their own money that pays salaries and provides support.

There is considerable evidence that funds that could have been used to support village scouts over the past 6 months were directed to other purposes and as a result, village scouts did not receive bonuses, rations and other forms of support. VAG leadership could have shown more concern for village scouts since they are close to them and so can identify the problems they face. Ideally, when problems arise that restrict the work of village scouts, VAG RMC members will be among the first to learn about them and will communicate the problems directly to the RMC Chair and to the CRB Chair for action. The results this wet season indicated that patrols were carried out but that patrols were too infrequent and too short. The unit leader was off the station for much of the period and many problems were left unsolved. The CRB now has the legal basis under the Wildlife Act to be more engaged as employers of their village scouts and to use what means are available to support their work.

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