

4. ADMADE policy variables

ADMADE was conceived as an alternative to a wildlife management approach that had become alien and too detached from the rural communities who shared their lands with wildlife. In stark contrast, ADMADE is based on transferring management responsibilities and wildlife benefits to local landowners. From ADMADE's beginning, there were few guidelines or lessons, either within Zambia or in the region, on how best to implement this community-based approach. Instead, the program adopted a rigorous monitoring of its efforts and results and used this information as basis to charter its own course.

Over the ensuing 10 years of ongoing program development, many lessons have in fact been learned and applied. One such lesson, which has become an underlying strength of the ADMADE program, is the importance of being culturally accepted as a basis for building national support for conservation, even at the highest political levels. Many Zambians in senior positions of Government have strong-felt pride and conviction in ADMADE as a Zambian approach to conservation. There have been numerous instances of senior Zambian politicians seeking advice on how ADMADE can be introduced to their constituency's area. Even traditional rulers from over six different areas have applied to NPWS in recent years to have their lands incorporated into the ADMADE program. With the belief that such applications will be considered, they have already begun encouraging their people to restore wildlife on their lands. In some cases as many as 30 local youths have been designated as unpaid village scouts to assist in these efforts. There are cultural reasons for this. Zambian traditions are rooted in village life and practices that once supported conservation values.

Unlike the past when conservation relied almost entirely on tactics of law enforcement, ADMADE has shown that community approaches are credible, less costly and far more culturally acceptable as a conservation approach. ADMADE is still very much an evolving program, or on-going experiment of ideas and methods, that represents a mixture of the new and the old, flowing together into a mix that attempts to merge the best of both into a more lasting solution for wildlife conservation in Zambia.

As new lessons are learned and methods for applying the community-based approach are improved, there is the need for policy frameworks to also evolve in order to reinforce these approaches with the assurances that Government is committed as a co-management partner with the community. This relationship between Government and local communities is manifested in the very laws, policies, and administrative oversights host institutions, particularly NPWS and the Ministry of Tourism, provide to the program.

ADMADE is now at a particularly important juncture in its history where the very promise for what this co-management relationship may hold for Zambia is being fully tested. On the horizon there does not appear to be a viable option for planning a long term economic future for wildlife without adopting some form of an ADMADE approach. Yet, there are still key questions unanswered that will likely be faced soon as the ADMADE experiment and its on-going results are embraced by the coming of ZAWA. Can Government divest enough control and authority to communities to

enable landowners to more fully protect the resources needed by the wildlife industry? Can communities adopt modern management practices and make their efforts more accountable to Government authorities? Can these two entities relate to each other as professional partners in the business of promoting conservation and increased revenues? What variables are there in the policy environment that threaten the fruition of this co-management relationship? Will Government be able to respond to these threats, given the political realities of conflicting needs and priorities?

All of these questions essentially revolve around how well Government policy supports the continued advancement of CBNRM in Zambia. Presented are some of the key variables that remain in the balance and require full attention by Government to make the most informed decisions that best serve the continued strengthening of ADMADE:

1. Procedures of banking and disbursing community revenues
2. Revenue shares entitled to communities
3. Special license abuse
4. Tendering procedures for leasing concession areas
5. Protecting land tenure for communities
6. Extending ADMADE policy to encompass other resource sectors

Each of the above variables has a significant influence on CBNRM in Zambia and in particular the level of custodianship local communities can have for their land. With consideration of the previous analyses presented in this paper, the following recommendations are made on each of the above:

1. Banking and disbursement:
 - a. Each Community Resource Board should have a Lusaka account for depositing all revenues collected by the licensing office for their concession. This will remove any question of misappropriation of community funds and will simplify audits of community accounts.
 - b. Disbursements in support of resource management costs should be quarterly and consistent with community approved wildlife management budgets.
 - c. Subsequent disbursements of resource management funds should be conditional on either an audit inspection report or a verifiable financial report for the previous quarter.
 - d. Monthly earnings by unit need to be public information and shared with community leaders and other interested parties concerned about ADMADE's future.
2. Revenue shares:
 - a. Government should not tax communities more than commercial businesses for the sale of wildlife they produce on their lands. This should not exceed 15% (as opposed to 50%).
 - b. WCRF should not tax communities but should charge them for services they render to support their licensing, financial management and banking needs.
 - c. The above arrangements are conditional on full compliance by the community in meeting the conditions of its co-management agreement with ZAWA and its private sector partner.

3. Special licenses
 - a. Special licenses should be based on a mutually agreed quota between Community Resource Boards and the Ministry of Tourism.
 - b. Accountability of these licenses should be encouraged to protect against allegations of abuse by Government, thus weakening community resolve to protect their wildlife resources. Such records should be made public.

4. Tendering procedures for leasing concession areas
 - a. Operators seeking to tender for a given concession should be required to meet with the CRB and develop a co-management agreement.
 - b. This co-management agreement with the operator should be incorporated into the final tender application.
 - c. Before tender documents are submitted to the final selection committee for review, initial applications should be first submitted to the Community Resource Board for review with the right of rejecting any applicant to ensure those selected will be welcomed and supported by the community.
 - d. Conditions for how a sub-contract will be identified should be explicitly stated for purposes of monitoring this problem in all future leases.

5. Protecting land tenure for communities
 - a. Communal land should be owned as a 'community trust' with overall executive authority retained by traditional rulers. This would enable communities to legally lease land and negotiate more directly with private investors without having to lose land through the use of title deeds.
 - b. Traditional rulers in the past have been accused of selling communal land and thus denying their subjects of any future use of these lands. Such powers need to be questioned if community-based resource management is to involve community decisions through the Community Resource Boards. Approval of title deed applications should therefore require approval by the Community Resource Boards.
 - c. To preserve the powers of Chiefs as traditional land owners, all decisions involving lease agreement on trust land or title deeds must require his/her approval.

6. Extending ADMADE policy to encompass other resource sectors
 - a. Community Resource Boards should assume legal responsibility for the issuing of all licenses for all residents of the District on behalf of the District Council and these funds should be shared between the Community Resource Boards and the District Council.
 - b. The Community Resource Boards should assume the legal responsibility for enforcing laws to protect natural resources in their CRB designated area.

5. Donor relationship to CBNRM development and support

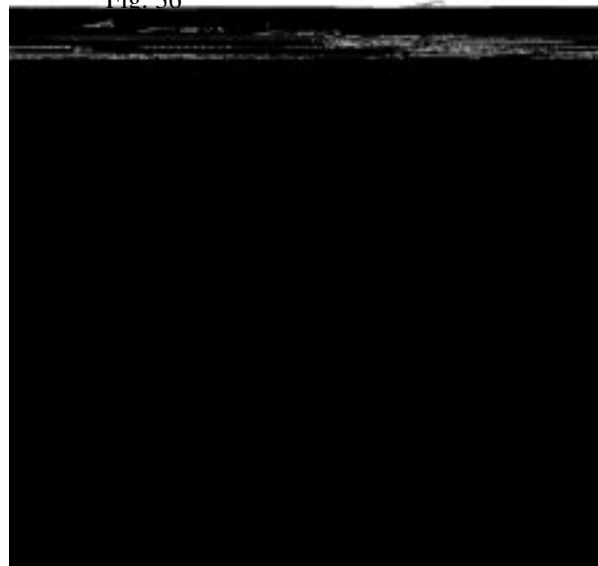
A key requirement for CBNRM success is for communities to recognize wildlife and related natural resources as valuable enough to encourage community-based protection of these resources. Over-reliance on donor funds may diminish the perceived value of the resource and may also detract from local stewardship of the CBNRM process if donor funds necessitate external personnel to administer the initiative as opposed to local leadership. Yet, donor funds are critical for start-up

costs for a GMA to establish a successful CBNRM program. This section examines what the right balance should be and the appropriate targets for donor funds to support CBNRM efforts.

The maps below review the past history of donor support for CBNRM in specific GMAs. Exact levels of funding by different donors could only be estimated for this presentation but relative figures are believed to be accurate. USAID has provided direct support to GMAs in support of ADMADE in the range of \$2 million, most of which was in the form of wildlife management field equipment and community training. This support targeted 10 ADMADE units. WWF provided four years of support to wetland GMAs at a funding level of about \$250,000 and EDF contributed a smaller amount, approximately \$150,000 to Lower Zambezi GMAs. NORAD has pumped in over \$5 million to support an integrated rural development project in Upper and Lower Lupande GMAs. In total, these donor assisted GMAs account for 18 CBNRM units, leaving a balance of 23 non-funded ones (see Fig. 35). Of these 23 non-funded areas, 12 were supporting viable safari hunting industrie when ADMADE began in 1988 and of these nine (or 75%) have had their industries collapse because of depleted wildlife stocks (see Fig 36). Of the 18 with donor support, only one (6%) has suffered a similar fate, although an operator has begun reinvesting in it through the local ADMADE organization to help rebuild the area's wildlife.

Fig. 35

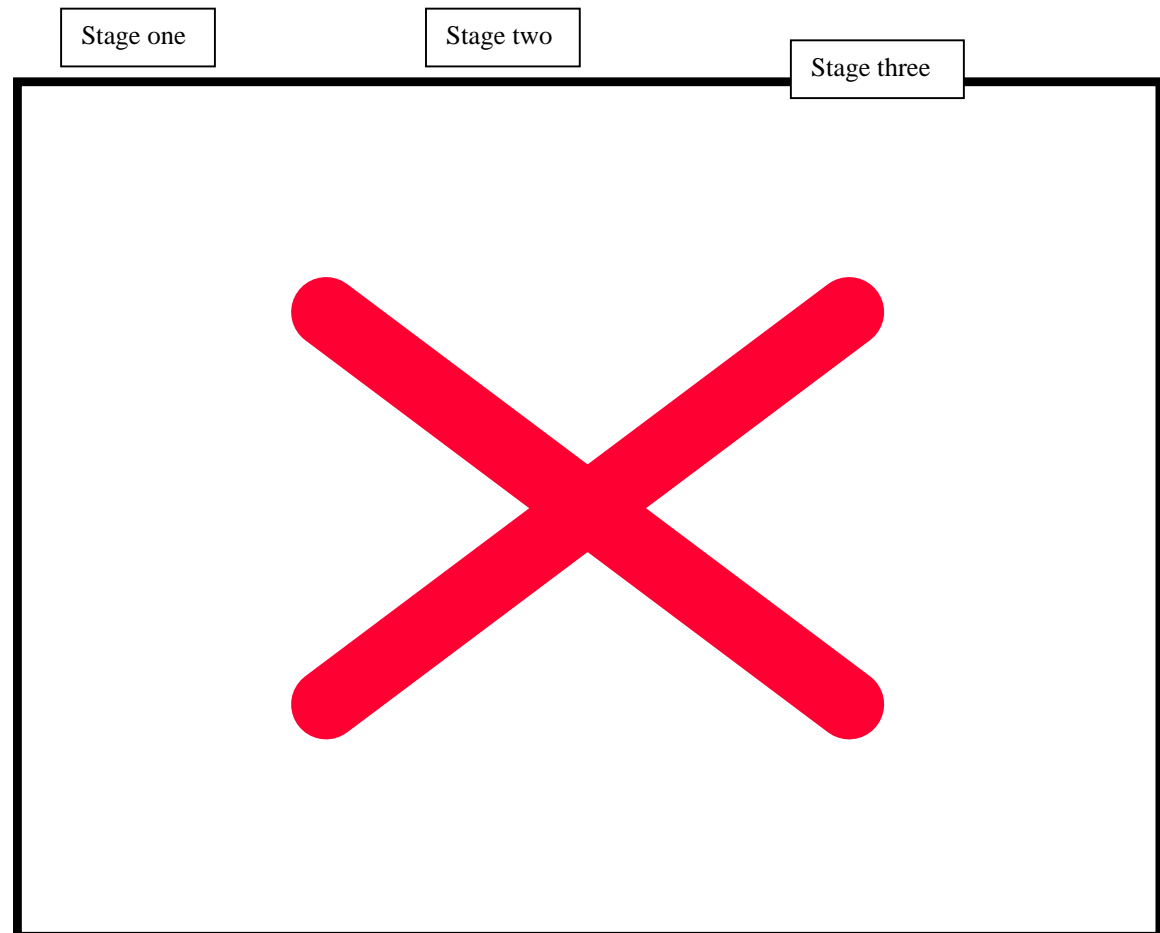
Fig. 36



This contrast between donor assisted areas and non-supported areas provides an important basis for arguing how critical initial donor investment is in the CBNRM process and helping sustain its long-term role for community development through conservation of natural resources. In the donor funded areas (excluding Lower Zambezi, which recently received support, and the Lupande areas, which continue to receive donor support), wildlife management has become entirely self-supporting, despite the problems identified in this paper related to returning revenues back to community authorities by WCRF. Complementing this achievement is the progressive trend among most of the participating communities of adopting more democratic approaches to how best their revenues should be used to support community needs. Based on the demise of the non-supported areas, it is strongly argued that without this prior donor support and without the CBNRM approach to

reduce management costs through local involvement, many of these donor-supported areas would also have collapsed.

The overall dynamics of the interacting players in a sustainable CBNRM process, based largely on the experience of donor support in Zambia, are illustrated in the diagram below.



To a large extent the initial 10 units supported by USAID have reached stage two in the diagram below and the various donor variables that have most influenced the process are discussed below:

1. Capital start-up investment

a) The initial investment in CBNRM

When ADMADE was initiated, none of the 10 units funded by USAID (initially nine but one became subdivided) had vehicle transport or a radio for 2-way communications. Administrative facilities were also totally absent and as a result, administrative leadership for local management of wildlife resources was seriously impaired. These and a number of less serious problems threatened any credible wildlife management effort.

It was clearly recognized from this initial point that the introduction of CBNRM into these areas would require a modest injection of capital support. Secondly, it was

accepted that this support, which was largely in the form of capital procurements, would be based within the community as an investment in local participation in the wildlife management effort. In the past, material support for wildlife management had been controlled at sector, district or provincial levels versus direct support to the actual areas where wildlife was being managed and commercially utilized.

With funds from USAID, each of the nine units were provided the following equipment: 1 4x4 landcruiser pick-up, 1 tractor and trailer, 1 HF radio, assorted office equipment, solar lighting, and a variety of field equipment, including tents, packs, and protective clothing. In addition, each of the four NPWS Command Headquarters, which provided logistical support to each of the units, was provided with 1 4x4 landcruiser and 1-7 ton truck. Approximate cost of this support per unit was \$120,000.

Throughout the eight years since this support was provided, USAID has not provided any other direct investment of capital or operational support to these nine units. All salaries of village scouts and other personnel recruited to support the CBNRM process in the area have been entirely supported with revenues generated from the area itself. From the very onset, community leaders were told the support being provided by USAID was a one-off opportunity to secure the safety of their wildlife and to grow more wealth for their area through the ADMADE approach.

b) Investment returns

Annual ADMADE revenues average -- per unit among these same nine areas originally invested in by USAID. Tendering their hunting concessions has become highly competitive and demonstrates that the economic potential of wildlife in these areas has been maintained. Revenue levels over the past three years have remained relatively stable with a general increase among those operators meeting the Conservation Bullet criteria (2nd USAID Quarterly Report), suggesting a positive relationship between CBNRM and private sector profits. In five of the nine areas, communities have replaced their USAID purchased vehicles and a sixth area is planning a similar purchase for 1999. Permanent administrative office blocks have been constructed with community funds in six of the nine areas, providing an effective working environment for filing data, preparing reports, maintaining accounts, and so forth.

The above results suggest these initial capital investments have enabled the private sector to sustain the areas' basic management requirements while also providing substantial funds for community development. However, as has been pointed out in previous sections, ADMADE's full return on USAID's investment will depend on future leadership by the Community Resource Boards and the full payment of ADMADE shares back to the community.

2. Training support

USAID has supported the initial costs of village scout and unit leader training at Nyamaluma Institute. More recently it has offered additional support through the same institution to promote civic education about the community's role in ADMADE as well as both formal and informal training of community skills needed to administer

ADMADE. Funding levels have tended to average about \$150,000 per year and have been a critical source of support for the progressive development of monitoring and research skills to manage their natural resources. Various technical communities have been established for all the Luangwa Valley units and a growing number from Kafue, all of which have begun to demonstrate impressive use of their ADMADE taught knowledge to track income earnings, plan and implement projects, and lobby effectively for their full transfer to community accounts. Most especially, community ownership of the ADMADE process has not been compromised by any efforts to use outside expertise to take away community responsibility for implementing ADMADE.

The progression of skills and increased level of participation has been a direct response to USAID's training support and has helped move the community's focus to the more far-reaching challenges of dealing with land use needs for their area. Key issues that affect how their area will look twenty years from now are becoming topics for ADMADE local meetings and this is of fundamental importance to its long-term success. Resolutions and decisions being made through an improved process of participation and dialogue include such issues as community support for family planning, improved food security planning, improving schools, and establishing no settlement zones for future wildlife development. This stage represents a very exciting period ADMADE is now entering for many of the units initially funded by USAID and while many variables will influence its outcome, there is guarded optimism that at least the process will be strengthened by a foundation of CBNRM skills.

3. Donor-Government relationship

Throughout the ADMADE history USAID and the Government of Zambia have gained much from each other's views and concerns. In many ways, this dialogue has been a strategic basis for helping shape ADMADE's continued evolution and adaptations to rural development and wildlife management. One of the most interesting and important aspects of this relationship has been its openness to criticism and critical review of ADMADE's performance. In many ways, USAID has played a special role as mentor in rural development. It has done this by helping a Government department traditionally enshrined as a law enforcement agency for a natural resource sector to bridge itself with rural communities to more effectively engage them as co-managers of this resource. Undoubtedly there have been conflicts and misunderstandings along the way but out of such conflicts there has always emerged a closer, more congenial partnership between USAID and GRZ as well as a stronger ADMADE for Zambia.

Criticism by the donor should be welcomed and given forthrightly in a manner that builds increased solidarity for shared goals among the collaborating institutions. Currently there is need to improve the process where such dialogue could be more constructive in promoting CBNRM efforts by ZAWA, and such efforts are being demonstrated through the ADMADE Sustainability Project. As the host institution, ZAWA or the Ministry of Tourism should also take the initiative to improve opportunities for such dialogue and to facilitate an improved flow of information and discourse on CBNRM developments and results.

4. Recommendations

Capital support of viable, understocked areas

- a) Having seen 75% of the non-donor funded GMAs lose their wildlife industry with total loss of revenue support for the local communities in these areas, it is strongly recommended the same level and conditions of capital start-up support be provided to these same areas.
- b) Conditionalities may be required to ensure private sector leasing is favorable for long-term sustained support for continued recovery of these areas, revenue sharing arrangements enable communities to realize the full benefit of producing wildlife on communal land, and so forth.
- c) Special consideration should be given to particular areas that would be geographically linked to other areas for the overall protection of key ecosystems or protected areas in Zambia.

Matching grants for land use initiatives for existing areas

- a) As Community Resource Boards become more advanced in their skills and responsibilities for managing large land areas for resource-based income generation, solving land use conflicts that may threaten the long-term viability of these resources will likely become an important priority. Committing community resources for this purpose could be encouraged and strengthened by offering matching grants directly to the CRB on the basis of sound proposals that represent important contributions to CBNRM. Results would provide a further catalyst for similar efforts in other GMAs.
- b) Regionally located institutions could help administer and monitor these self-matching grants.

Matching grants for training needs

- a) As communities continue to develop their CBNRM programs, there will be a growing need to diversify the training to embrace other resource use options and ways households can be rewarded for their support of CBNRM. Equally important is the need for communities themselves to invest in this training to raise the level of commitment in applying these skills. Likewise, there is need for local training institutions to support these training needs, and this will more likely be done if financial incentives sustain their commitment to this cause. It is therefore recommended that training investments by communities be matched with a donor grant to enable greater options for training needs to be sought from the various institutions seeking to support CBNRM skills development in Zambia.