THE MANAGEMENT OF SOUTH LUANGWA NATIONAL PARK TOWARDS SUSTAINABLE TOURISM DEVELOPMENT

By

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A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Philosophy in Development Studies specializing in Geography Department of Geography

The Norwegian University of Science and Technology (NTNU)

TRONDHEIM, NORWAY

MAY, 2006

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

While philosophers
Are investigating the answers of life,
Economists, are searching for economic systems,
Politicians, are struggling for power,
Specialists, are arguing over theories,
Barristers are drafting laws,
Social workers, are speaking of freedom,
Humanitarians, are speaking of human rights,
Monks, are delivering sermons to the people,
NGOs, *are speaking of empowerment,*
Sorghum *farmers, in Malambo are harvesting.*

Those kernels
Shall feed the people

Trondheim, May 2006
Godfrey Joe Zimba

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ABSTRACT

This thesis explores communities' participation and involvement in both wildlife-based and tourist activities in south Luangwa national park with particular focus on local participation/ devolution. Specifically, it assesses whether the legal provisions for community participation in wildlife management spelt out in the wildlife policy take into account various factors which enhances the effectiveness of local participation in CBNRM. It then examines various forms of community participation in wildlife management and small scale tourism activities. Finally, the study examines sources of conflict which may occur over natural resources in SLNP and adjacent GMA.

The study uses political ecology and protected area management paradigm as the theoretical frameworks. The former comprises four major elements, which include the politicization of the environment, a focus on actors as the contestants in this politicization, inequality in distribution of power between and among actors in the park, and the dynamic involvement of natural environment in this process. The latter, uses a CBC framework that is based on: allowing people living near the protected lands to participate in land-use policy and management decisions; giving people proprietorship or ownership over wildlife resources; and, giving local people economic benefit from wildlife conservation.

A case study approach is adopted involving qualitative research method. Data were collected through personal observation, formal and informal interviews, focus groups and document review. In a case study approach, an empirical inquiry, which investigates contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context such like wildlife, is analyzed and interpreted through the selected theoretical frameworks.

The data reveal that, local people living near SLNP and in the Lupande GMA do not per se actively participate in land-use policy and management decisions. Further, data indicate that community resource boards in the three chiefdoms have not been given ownership over wildlife resources. ZAWA has continued appropriating all the revenues accruing from wildlife utilization in the area since its inception. This is contrary to what is stated in the wildlife policy and wildlife Act 1998. Also, data shows that many local people do not individually benefit from wildlife-based and tourist activities. Additionally, data indicates that different interest groups expect different types of participation to achieve their own goals. Accordingly, participation varied among various interest groups although much of it as reported by respondents concentrated in the two lower levels of Pretty' typology. The findings are significant because they offer a framework for understanding challenges and conflicts related to wildlife conservation and tourism development.

Key words: sustainable tourism development, eco-tourism, community, participation

DEDICATION

To Martin, Deliwe, Taonga and Temwani

ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

ADC   Area Development Committee

ADMADE   Administrative Management Design for Game Management

CAMPFIRE   Communal Areas Management Program for Indigenous Resources

CBC   Community-Based Conservation

CBNRM   Community Based Natural Resource Management

CMW   Community Based Wildlife Management

CRB   Community Resource Board

CSO   Central Statistical Office

DoF   Department of Forest

ECZ   Environmental Council of Zambia

FAO   Food and Agricultural Organization of the United Nations

GDP   Gross Domestic Product

GMA   Game Management Area

GRZ   Government of the Republic of Zambia

ICDP   International Conservation and Development Program

IIED   International Institute for Environment and Development

IMF   International Monetary Fund

IUCN   International Union for the Conservation of Nature

LIRDP   Luangwa Integrated Rural Development Project

MTENR   Ministry of Tourism, Environment and Natural Resources

NGO   Non Governmental Organization

NORAD   Norwegian Agency for international Development

NPWS   National Parks and Wildlife Service

ODA   Oversea Development Agency

PA   Protected Area

SADC   Southern Africa Development Community

SLAMU   South Luangwa Management Unit

SLNP   South Luangwa National Park

STD   Sustainable Tourism Development

TDF   Tourism Development Credit Fund

UNCD   United Nations Conference on Environment and Development

UNEP   United Nations Environment Program

VAG   Village Action Group

WB	World Bank
WCED	World Commission on Environment and Development
WTO	World Tourism Organization
WWF	World Wide Fund for Nature
ZNTB	Zambia National Tourist Board
ZAWA	Zambia Wildlife Authority

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CHAPTER ONE

1.0 GENERAL INTRODUCTION

1. 1 Introduction

Zambia is endowed with abundant wildlife, and a fairly rich unspoiled biological diversity. Up to 1990, government controlled wildlife without involving local communities. Although recent research on wildlife management and tourism development shows a shift from the top-down, technocratic model of the 1970s to bottom-up, decentralized, and participatory approaches advocated in the 1990s; there is still lack of active local participation. However, a shift in policy has been observed in several sectors dealing with natural resources. This policy shift aims at the devolution of management from central government authority to local communities (chapter 5). It is however, claimed that even though decentralization policy has been launched, it has not reached lower organs of government. Therefore, it is neither felt nor practiced in the field. This thesis explores communities' participation and involvement in both wildlife-based and tourist activities in South Luangwa National Park with particular focus on local participation/devolution. The chapter is divided into four sections. The first section describes the overview of the problem. The second section provides information about the research gap. The third section puts the study in perspective through the formulation of the objectives and research questions. The fourth section gives outlines of the chapter summaries.

1.2 An overview of the problem

On the one hand, many authors claim that managing protected areas (PAs) has proven more difficult than simply declaring them (Gliessman 1992; Fabricius, Koch et al. 2001; Phillips 2003). While on the other hand, some scholars argue that protected areas suffer from habitat degradation and illegal activities within their boundaries. In Zambia, almost all protected areas were set up with the broad objective of conserving landscapes, ecological processes, biodiversity, and cultural heritage. This has implied reduced access to natural resources for the surrounding communities (Peluso 1993, Phillips 2003). This has in Zambia, as elsewhere, created tension between the objectives of the Protected Area

and the needs of neighboring communities; and communities are often perceived as threats to the parks and protected areas. However, the recognition of human use of and dependence on the natural resources found in protected areas, as well as the difficulties in enforcing exclusionary rules, have led to a desire for new approaches to protected area management (Brosius, Tsing et al., 1998; Phillips 2003). Today, more and more it is recognized that it is important to include human beings in the analysis of ecosystems and management of protected areas (Peluso 1993, Brosius, Tsing et al. 1998, Lane 2001, and Phillips 2003).

Many alternative approaches have been attempted aiming at working with the local communities. It is claimed that the new approaches stress the importance of decentralized governance and community participation in the management process. Further, it is said that the approaches may play a pivotal role in decision-making, implementation and enforcement. However, it is argued that protected areas in Zambia do not focus on providing economic income to local people through, small scale tourism activities, visitor revenues and ecotourism development. What has continued to persist is the initial focus on ecosystem protection, as opposed to local participation.

In Zambia, it is claimed that the failure by both the state-based and community-based models of managing wildlife and other resources calls for new research. It can be argued that community participation in decision-making and distribution of benefits from tourism has been poorly researched. Also, the hierarchical and patron-client social relations, and restrictions placed on access to the forest resources of the park, have led to renewed conflicts with local people. It can further be argued that no research has been done to link conflicts in wildlife management to the broader political decentralization process that has gripped Zambia.

There is an obvious need to strengthen communities' involvement at decision-making level in order for the local communities to 'own' conservation and development initiatives. This is because local communities are likely to have local knowledge claimed to be complementary to more formal scientific knowledge. The use of this knowledge for instance in conflict resolution may help to produce more enlightened, effective and equitable remedies and solutions to management challenges facing protected area management today. Further, the participation of local communities in wildlife

management in various stages may legitimize the lost ownership back to the local communities.

Specifically, this thesis is based on case study research that was carried out in South Luangwa National Park and surrounding Lupande GMA. The SLNP and the adjacent Lupande GMA are located in eastern Zambia. The area has experienced a hive of both Community-Based Natural Resource Management and Community-Based Wildlife Management since early 1980s and 1990s respectively and is Zambia's premier wildlife tourism attraction due to its abundant wildlife. The area is under a complex management system which provided a testing ground for community participation in wildlife management and tourism activities.

The methodological approach adopted in this thesis is based on the case study method. This approach involves the empirical investigation of a particular contemporary phenomenon (wildlife management and tourism development) within its real life context using multiple sources of evidence. This multiple method increases the validity and reliability of data gathered through triangulation. I collected data over a period of two months at the South Luangwa National Park and the adjacent Lupande GMA. Methodological tools to collect data for this thesis included document review, formal and informal interviews, focused group discussions and direct observation. A more detailed account of the methodology which I used and problems encountered during fieldwork can be found in chapter four.

Three basic assumptions underlie this study and follow the introduction above

- Firstly, that through participation in the management of wildlife, local people will come to have a more positive orientation to the park and the resources contained within the boundaries. As a result, they are more likely to stop using these resources profligately.
- Secondly, that poverty forces local people to use park resources beyond sustainable levels.
- Thirdly, communities' in Zambia tend to be passive participants in wildlife management, conservation and tourism activities, partly because the government retains high degree of control. For example, a hunting ban introduced in 2001 removed the main opportunity for communities to benefit from wildlife.

1.3 Background to the Study

This thesis explores three issues: Firstly, the study discusses whether the legal provisions for community participation in wildlife management spelt out in wildlife policy take into account factors which enhance the effectiveness of local participation in community-based wildlife management (CBWM) (chapter 5). Secondly, the study explores various forms of community participation in wildlife management and small scale tourism activities (chapter 6). Thirdly, the study examines sources of conflict which may occur over natural resources in South Luangwa National Park (chapter 7).

The involvement of local communities in management of wildlife needed in National Parks and Game Management Areas have become critical because the Zambian society has been undergoing part political and economic changes the last decade. In Zambia, what can be termed the culture of argumentation is strengthened by the democratization process, which began in 1991. That wind of change and the culture of argument it has given birth to has not been researched and tested off in wildlife management. As a country, Zambia lacks a well developed-research based policy, which pulls together all the various dimensions of the politics of wildlife management and combine conservation and tourism as well as actively engage communities to participate in conservation and small scale tourism activities.

1.3.1 Research Problem and Objectives of the Study

Based on the above, the broad background interest of this study is wildlife management in general, and the participation and involvement of communities in both conservation and small scale tourism activities in particular. The theoretical and empirical focus lies in political ecology on the one hand, and participatory approaches on the other hand, which are discussed in the larger context of political economy of Zambia. This may either positively or negatively impact/or influence wildlife management towards sustainable tourism development.

Accordingly, the research problem of this study is to explore *whether wildlife in south Luangwa national park is managed in a way that contributes to a sustainable development process that combine conservation and tourism as well as actively engage communities to participate in conservation and small scale tourism activities.*

1.3.2 Objectives of the Study

This overall objective will be explained through three main sub-objectives:

1. To assess whether the legal provisions for community participation in wildlife management contained in the wildlife policy document take into account various factors which enhances the effectiveness of local participation in CBWM.

    - What are the objectives and functions of the wildlife policy?

    - Does the wildlife policy enhance community participation in wildlife management?

    - Does the wildlife policy promote economic and social development of local communities?

2. To examine various forms of community participation in wildlife management and small scale tourism activities

    - What is local participation and how can it be applied to wildlife management and tourism development?

    - Do communities in the Lupande GMA see wildlife as their own property?

    - Are local communities empowered to take full control of wildlife revenue generated in the area?

    - What factors influence local participation in wildlife management, conservation and tourism activities?

    - Are communities involved in decision-making, planning and management of south Luangwa National Park/GMA?

3. To examine sources of conflict which may occur over natural resources in South Luangwa National Park and the adjacent game management area?

    - What are the causes of conflict related to natural resources in SLNP&GMA?

    - What are the sources of conflict that exist within among groups?

    - How does park management in South Luangwa National Park avoid conflict, create confidence and trust and increase participation of community members?

    - Does the wildlife policy address compensation issues in cases of crop damage, loss of life or property?

1.4 Outline of the study

Chapter one introduces the background of the study, the research problem and the ensuing research questions, as well as the scope and delimitations of the study. **Chapter two** presents condensed background information to the study by providing the country profile, reviewing literature on tourism industry and discussing the contribution of tourism sector to the national economy. **Chapter three** presents the methodology employed to collect and analyze the data used for this thesis. Also, details of sample selection, data collection techniques and methods of analysis are provided. **Chapter four** scrutinizes the theory of political ecology whose overall focus is on the politicization of the environment, a focus on actors as contestants in this politicization, inequalities in distribution of power between actors and among actors in the park and surrounding Game Management Area and the dynamic involvement of natural environment in this process. **Chapter five** presents policy analyses of legal and institutional arrangements for community-based natural resources management. **Chapter six and seven** presents the empirical findings arranged according to first, the overriding objectives of the study and second, the compelling and salient themes within which the narratives were provided by key informants. Then a discussion of the study's theoretical contributions and management implications on wildlife follows. **Chapter eight** provides the overall review of the research aim, objectives, findings, conclusions, and recommendations of this study. The chapter further provides direction for future research in wildlife management, conservation and tourism development and concludes by recommending active participation by stakeholders, formulating a research-based policy, downward and upward accountability and improvement in information flow in wildlife and tourism development.

1.5 Summary

The aim of the chapter was to introduce the background of the study, the research problem and the ensuing research questions. This chapter ends with a brief discussion of the outline of each chapter of the study.

CHAPTER TWO

2.0 BACKGROUND (THE SETTING)

2.1 Introduction

This chapter presents an outline of the study area. The first section examines very briefly Zambia's profile. The second section describes tourism development and its contribution to the national economy. The third section describes the geographical location of the study area, CBC and CBNRM projects found in the area.

2.2 Country Profile of Zambia

2.2.1 Location

Zambia is a landlocked country situated in the Southern African sub-region. It covers an area of 752,612km sq. To the north it is bordered by the Democratic Republic of Congo and the United Republic of Tanzania, to the west by Angola, to the south west by Namibia, to the east by Malawi and Mozambique, and to the south by Zimbabwe and Botswana (Figure 1). The country is located between 8 and 18 degrees latitude south of the equator and longitudes 22 and 34 degrees east. It sits on a gently undulating plateau which is between 1000 and 1,600 meters above sea level. This plateau is a mix of woodland and savannah regions interspersed with lakes, rivers, hills, swamps and lush plains (ECZ, 2000).

2.2.1 Physical characteristics

Zambia is located within the Miombo ecological region (figure 2). The country is divided into three major agro-ecological zones with distinct geophysical features, climate, vegetation and land use. The altitude varies from 600m above sea level in zone I (in the river valleys of Luangwa and Zambezi) to 1000m above sea level in zone II (areas of Central, Southern and Eastern plateau) and 1200m in Zone III (areas of the northern parts of the country). Region I present semiarid conditions and Region III experiences tropical conditions while Region II has moderation of the two.

Figure 1: The Physical Features of Zambia

The soils are strongly weathered, highly leached and very acidic clayey to loamy in the northern parts of the country while the eastern and southern plateau exhibit moderately leached clayey to loamy soils with medium to strongly acidic while the western parts have coarse to fine Kalahari sandy soils. The valleys have sandy to heavy clay water logged soils in flood plains and dambos.

Zambia's forest vegetation is classified into three major categories. Category one comprise the closed forests which include *Cryptosepalum* evergreen, the deciduous *Baikiaea* forests and to a limited extent the *Parinari, Marquesia*, montane, riparian

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swamp and itigi. Open forests (savannah woodlands), are located in the second category and account for 71% of the total area in Zambia (ECZ, 2000). These savannah woodlands are dominated by the miombo which are the main vegetation type. The miombo is interspersed with other vegetation types such as the Kalahari woodlands, Mopane and Munga woodlands to a lesser extent. The third category is the grasslands, which comprise the wetlands and dambos. Within these vegetation types exist the various ecosystems. It is claimed that the Miombo ecological region has 387 reptile species, 322 mammal species, 925 bird species, 126 amphibian species, and more than 8500 plant species with more than half being endemic to the ecological region (PFAP, 1998a & b). The main land use types in Zambia are forests (60%), agriculture (25%) the rest (15%) is taken up by settlements and water bodies.
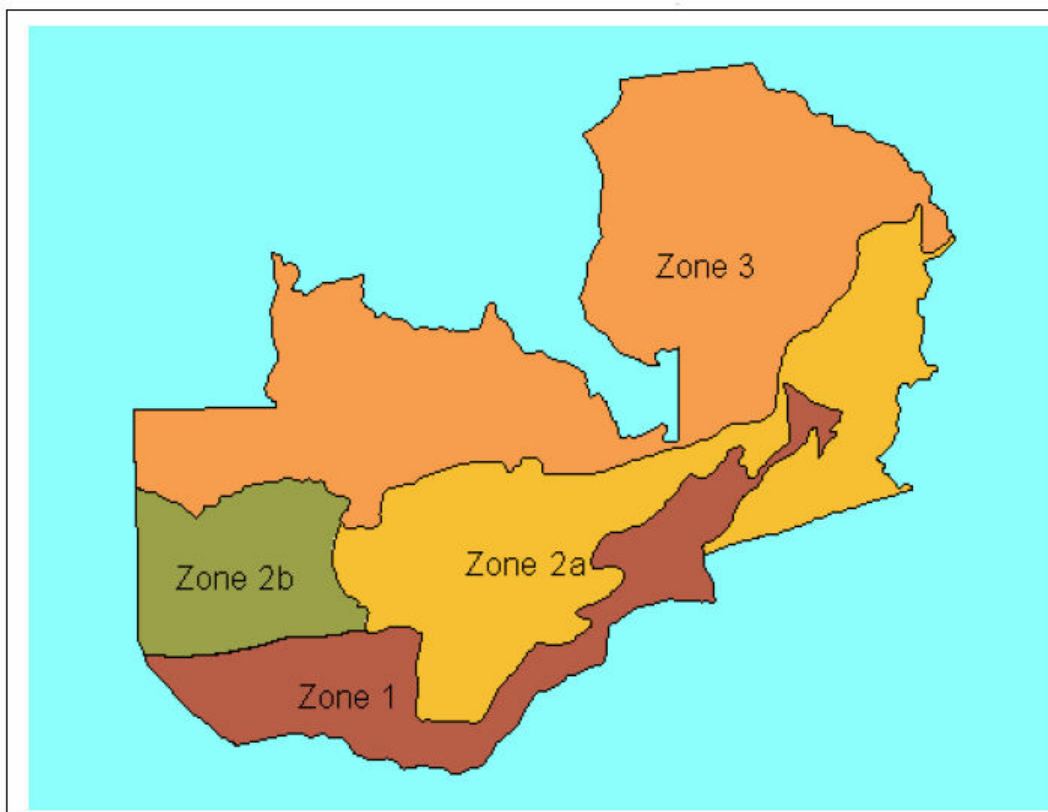
Figure 2: Agro-Ecological Regions of Zambia

2.2.3 Population Trends

In 2000, Zambia's population was 10.28 million of which 5.07 million (49.32%) were males and 5.21million (50.68%) were females (CSO, 2000). The growth during the period 1990 to 2000 was 2.9%. A major characteristic of the population is that about 60%

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is below 16 years of age. The country is also highly urbanized with about forty eight percent (48%) of the total population residing in urban areas.

2.2.4 Poverty Situation

Poverty is a serious problem in Zambia. A series of national surveys summarized by Central Statistics Office (CSO) for 1991, 1993, 1996 and 1998 show that poverty remains severe throughout the country, but especially in rural areas (see Table 1). Average national poverty levels are at 68%. Eighty three percent (83%) of the rural households are poor while 56% of the urban households are poor (ECZ, 2000).

Table 1: Overall and Extreme Poverty in Zambia by Residence

Year	Zambia		Rural Area		Urban Area	
	Overall Poverty	Extreme Poverty	Overall Poverty	Extreme Poverty	Overall Poverty	Extreme Poverty
1991	70%	58%	88%	81%	49%	32%
1993	74%	61%	92%	84%	45%	24%
1996	69%	53%	83%	68%	46%	27%
1998	73%	58%	83%	71%	56%	36%

Source: CSO-2000 Census of population and housing

2.2.5 Zambia's Land Tenure

It is argued that a significant cause of environmental degradation lies in inadequate institutions particularly ill defined property rights. Property rights can be defined as consisting of bundles of entitlements defining rights and duties in the use of natural resources, and property rules under which those rights and duties can be exercised (Hanna & Munasinghe, 1995). There are four types of property right regimes namely: private, common, state and open access. In Zambia, land is divided into Customary and State Land. Customary land as defined by the 1995 Lands Act is land falling under traditional rulers and chiefs and constitutes 94% of the total land area in Zambia. State land is mainly along the line of rail and is owned by the state. It constitutes 6% of the total land surface area of Zambia. The 1995 Lands Act abolished the distinction between two types of land but combined them into customary land under customary tenure. The local residents through chiefs can obtain title to land. This entails assigning ownership to individuals and guaranteeing to those owners control of access and to the right of socially acceptable uses. This Act recognizes the traditional systems and the role of traditional leaders in natural resources management through community participation.

2.2.6 Economic characteristics

Zambia's economy is heavily dependent on mining with copper as the main export mineral. There are many other minerals that are produced, but cobalt, precious and semi-precious stones take precedence over others that are exploited. The main imports are petroleum, machinery and textiles. At rural household level the main economic activity is subsistence agriculture producing various crops such as maize, groundnuts, cassava, beans, millets and sweet potatoes for food and cotton and tobacco as cash crops. Also, animal rearing is a common practice with cattle as the main livestock kept. Other animals that people keep include sheep, goats, pigs and chickens. The country's heavy dependence on copper mining has rendered the economy to be vulnerable to developments in the international metal markets. Currently the country is implementing the economic recovery programme, intended to promote economic growth, stabilize the economy, promote the private sector, privatize state owned activities and improve infrastructure and social services delivery systems. Whilst there has been progress since the beginning of the programme, it has been slow. GDP growth has fluctuated from 2.2 % in 1999 to 3.6% in 2000, 4.9% in 2001 and 3.0% in 2002. With the decline of the contribution of the mining sector to GDP, national development efforts have been directed towards developing alternative sources of income, employment and exports.

2.2.7 Economic Decline (1975-1990)

From independence to the 1990's, Zambia adopted socialist economic policies that were characterized by public sector domination in which government had overall control. The economy was built on an extensive administrative control system following commandist socialist policies, which were characterized by nationalization of most economic activities, import substitution in the industrialization process and the use of price controls and subsidies. However, the prosperity of the 1960s did not last long. A number of external and internal factors hit its economy. First, the fall in world price of copper and a decline in the quality of its ore exposed the country's over-dependence on copper. Second, the world price of oil and energy fuelled global inflation pushing up the price of capital imports. This exposed its dependence on imported manufactured goods. Third, its balance of payments deteriorated and borrowing from overseas grew significantly. Fourth, Zambia's support to the various Africa freedoms fighting movements in Zimbabwe, South Africa, Mozambique and Angola also triggered its economic malaise. As a consequence its main trade routes were interrupted repeatedly. As a landlocked country this was a major barrier to development and the country paid dearly. Rakner, van

de Walle and Mulaisho (1999) also argue that aside from the external factors, the poor performance of the Zambian economy can be related to lack of a coherent strategy for economic growth. It is claimed that liberal economic policies, foreign assistance and democratization did not spur economic recovery, sustainable development and poverty reduction. Other reasons for poor economic performance include: the political elite that had no well-defined long-term policies and strategies for development and the excessive reliance on, and unconditional acceptance of, the IMF/WB economic decision-making. The government also abandoned national development planning, public investment, financial incentives to business, and provision of social services and affordable food to its people.

2.3 Tourism Development

2.3.1 National Tourism Trends

It is often stated that tourism is now one of the world's largest industries, contributing some 8% of world-wide GDP (Deloitte & Touche et al., 1999). Over the past two decades, developing countries have been receiving an increasing slice of the tourist cake, with their share of both tourist arrivals and tourism receipts accounting for over 30% of world totals in 1999 (ibid). This expansion of tourism has been described by Prosser as a "tidal wave of the pleasure periphery," (Munt and Mowforth 1998) as more and more countries have come under the 'gaze' of multitudes of temporary visitors. However, this tidal wave has not yet reached Zambia despite the Government's best efforts to promote the country as a tourism destination.

2.3.2 Tourism Stakeholders

Tourism in Zambia is organized and run by a mixture of state, private and civil society organizations. Originally dominated by parastatal companies, it is now dominated by the private sector especially hotels, tourist camps and lodges. The Ministry of Tourism Environment and Natural Resources is responsible for tourism in Zambia. The Ministry is divided into two departments:

- A human resources management and administration department; and
- A tourism planning management and coordination directorate (TPMCD).

The Ministry is funded by central government although this hardly covers the basic operating functions of the Ministry. It also receives some percentage of the tourism surcharge levied on accommodation and restaurant services.

2.3.3 Tourism Policy in Zambia

In 1997, cabinet approved a National Tourism Policy. The mission statement of this policy document is…'to contribute sustainably to the economic well-being and enhanced quality of life for Zambians through Government led, private sector driven, quality product developments that are consistent with the protection of unique natural and cultural heritage(Draft Policy, 1997, 4). The policy reflects both the greening of tourism in the 1980s through the emergence of ecotourism discussed in chapter 4 as well as the increased emphasis through the 1980s and 1990s on participatory forms of development. The new policy aims at encouraging easy access for entrepreneurs seeking to enter the industry and to ensure the preservation of resources. Its main objective is to develop a sustainable tourism sector.

2.3.4 Tourist categories

Many authors have attempted to identify categories into which tourists can be grouped. Apart from differentiating between international and domestic tourists, the broadest groups into which tourists coming to Zambia can be divided are those traveling for business and those traveling for leisure. People traveling for the purpose of generating an income or to attend conferences, meetings and exhibitions are classified as business tourists, whereas those traveling purely for recreation purposes are classified as leisure tourists. The overwhelming numbers of tourism visitors to Zambia according to MTENR (2000) are business visitors (26.4 %), followed by those visiting friends and relatives (51.2%) (Table 2). Only 15% comes for holiday tourism.

Table 2: Tourist visitors to Zambia by origin and nature of visit in 2000

Residence	Holiday	Business	Visiting friends and relatives	Other	Total
Africa	36,883	172,431	66,674	42,777	321,646
Europe	45,078	19,120	7,163	8,114	79,475
Americas	10,059	3,321	2,085	1,277	16,742
Asia/Oceania	15,435	5,606	1,797	2,371	25,209
Total	110,336	200,478	77,719	54,539	443,072
% of arrivals	15.2	26.4	51.2	7.2	100.0

Source: Ministry of Tourism

Many international tourists have a mix of motivations for visiting Zambia. For the European, American and Asian visitors, the majority come as holiday travelers, largely touring the region. These tourists are usually adventure tourists between the ages of 20 and 44 who focus on a wide range of hi-action activities from the legendary Walking Safari deep in the wilderness, River Rafting, Bungi into the deep gorge below the

Victoria Falls, Abseiling, and Canoeing Safaris down the Zambezi, River Surfing, Tiger Fishing and breathtaking African sunsets are some of the reasons for visiting Zambia.

The sector growth (table 3) averaged 5.1 percent between 1995 and 2000. The number of tourist arrivals, increased from 163,000 in 1995 to 430,000 in 2000. In terms of employment creation, the sector has contributed about 11,000 jobs to formal sector employment of about 475,000 up from about 6, 000 in 1995.

Table 3: Selected Performance Indicators in Tourism Sector

Year	International Visitor Arrivals	Tourism Earnings (US million)	Jobs	Tourism Sector Growth Rate
1995	163,000	46.7	5,909	5.3
1996	263,986	59.8	6,792	8.4
1997	340,896	75.5	7,902	7.0
1998	362,025	74.4	8,991	3.9
1999	404,503	85.2	10,340	-6.1
2000	457,419	91.2	11,892	12.1

Source: Ministry of Tourism, Finance and Economic Development and CSO

The phenomenal growth in Zambian tourist numbers is largely attributable to the development of tourist accommodation establishments on the Zambian side of the Victoria Falls, which cater mainly for South African and British tourists who would otherwise have opted to visit the more established Zimbabwean tourist facilities. This growth is attributed to political and economic situation in Zimbabwe where since 1999 there have been fuel shortages. This has made it difficult for tour operators in Zimbabwe to transport tourists between different attractions. In addition, the political turmoil associated with land claims has resulted in tourists opting for alternative destinations (Swarbrooke et al (2003).

According to Seenka (2001), tourism development in Zambia has not reached its potential due to government failure on the one hand, to respond to the relevance of tourism to the economy and on the other hand, because of the limited development of tourism support infrastructure, such as road networks, air links, access to electricity and telecommunications. Seenka (2001), also points out that of the 7000 people employed in the tourism industry in 2000, less than half were skilled, with little opportunity for training. These shortcomings have led to the restructuring in the MTENR to cater for improved monitoring of the industry standards, grading and classification of hotels,

licensing, research, planning, product development and marketing of Zambia as a major tourist destination. However, funding is a constraining factor in a country with limited resources to cater for many competing needs, especially social security needs.

Although Zambia has an abundance of protected tourism resources, there is still a question of whether the development of tourism in the country is worthwhile in economic terms. In other words, would the creation and maintenance of tourism facilities benefit the economy of the area it is aiming to serve? This is especially pertinent in the Zambian economy context where a number of basic needs need addressing and the satisfaction of these needs need prioritizing. Bull (1995) identifies five major factors which determine the impact of tourism on country's GDP. These are the stock of resources in terms of land, labor, capital and entrepreneurship, the state of technical knowledge, social and political stability, the attitudes and habits and the level of investment, or fixed capital formation. The factors that result in an increase in tourism's contribution to GDP are also the factors that are able to provide the environment that will enable tourism to achieve the development goals of a country.

2.4 Description of the Study Area

2.4.1 Geographical Location

South Luangwa National Park is located at the tail end of the Great Rift Valley and covers 9050sq.km of Zambia's pristine wilderness. The park consists of large amounts of woodland; miombo interspersed with grasslands in the north of the park and large stands of mature ebony which form deep shade along the banks of the river. The park was founded as a game reserve in 1938 and it subsequently became a national park in 1972 (figure 4). The valley stretches for some 700 kilometers at an average width of about one hundred kilometers. In the west, the Muchinga Mountain range forms the limit of both the valley and the parks. While in the east is a similar, though less well defined escarpment. The valley floor is about a thousand meters lower than the surrounding plateau. Down the centre of the valley flows the Luangwa River, this is fed by dozens of rivers. The River carves a tortuous course along the floor and when in flood this rapidly erodes the outer banks, depositing silt within the loops (figure 3). The park has large populations of mammals common to the African landscape in exception of the black rhino which were wiped out by 1987. The main settlement by the park is Mfuwe. The park also boasts of many privately owned camps and lodges which offer excellent facilities according to their claim.

Figure 3: Ox-bow Lake

Flanking the rivers western banks are the North and South Luangwa National Parks separated by the 30 kilometer Munyamadzi corridor. To the east, between the two main parks is another small undeveloped park called Luambe. Further east on the rocky upland beyond the flood plain is unequally undeveloped park called Lukusuzi National park (figure 4).
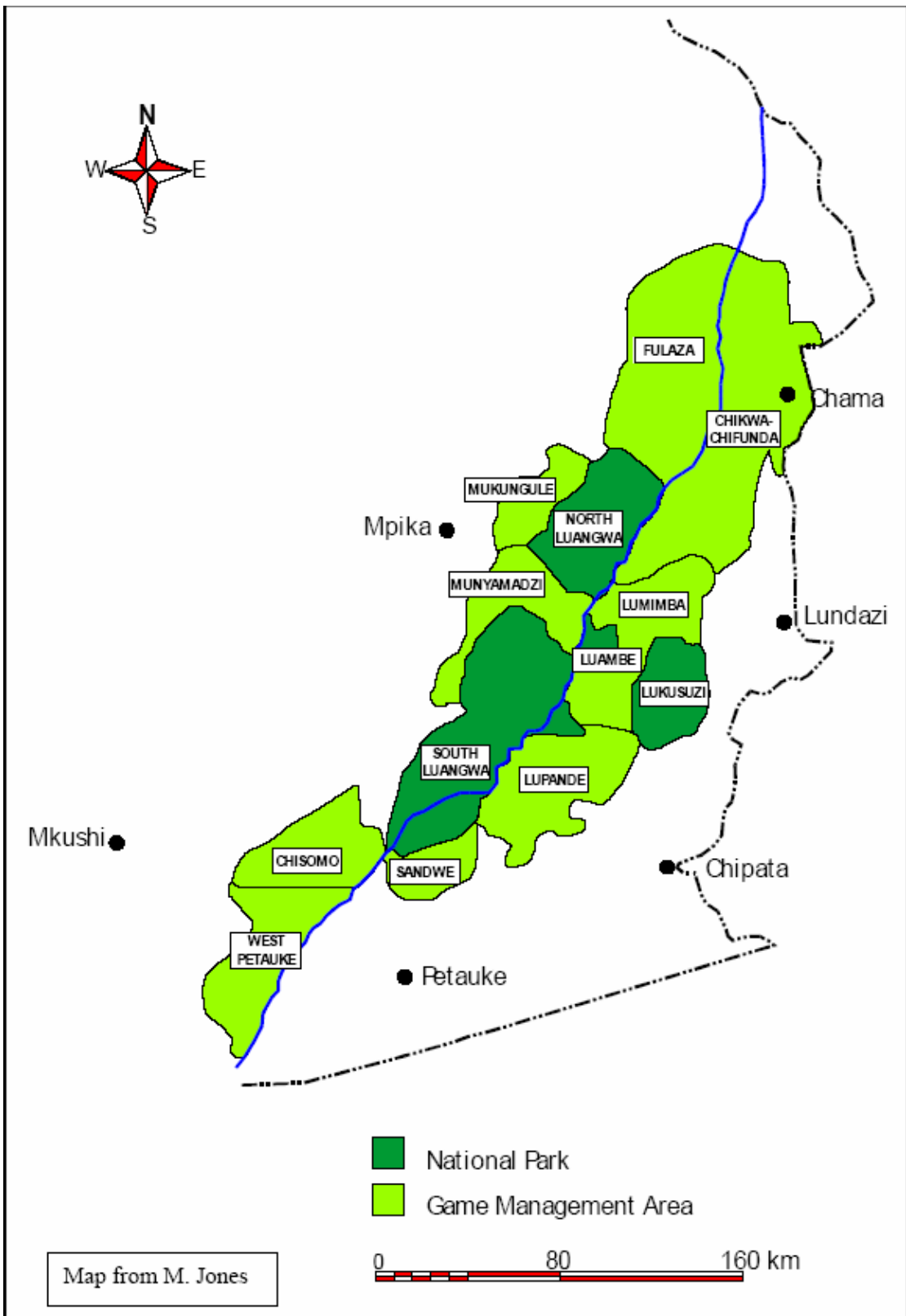
Figure 4: South Luangwa National Park

The study area also extended to the Lupande Game Management Area (also called Malambo see figure 5) especially in chiefs' Kakumbi, Nsefu and Mnkhanya areas. The Lupande GMA community is divided into six chiefs' areas. Although there are six chiefdoms, there is only one tribe known as Kunda, under senior chief Nsefu. The

chiefdoms are sub-divided into Village Action Groups comprising between 200 and 500 members. In the recent past, human population in the valley especially in upper Lupande area has increased posing tremendous strain on environment, wildlife, and other natural resources. According to Central Statistical Office, the population for Mambwe district in 2000 was 51,944 out of which 49.9% was males and 50.1% were female. The annual growth rate from 1990 – 2000 was estimated at 1.6 percent. The portion of the population that is below the age of 16 is 60.0% (CSO, 2000). Poverty and malnutrition are also widespread in the area (Sana Chipeta, pers. Comms.).
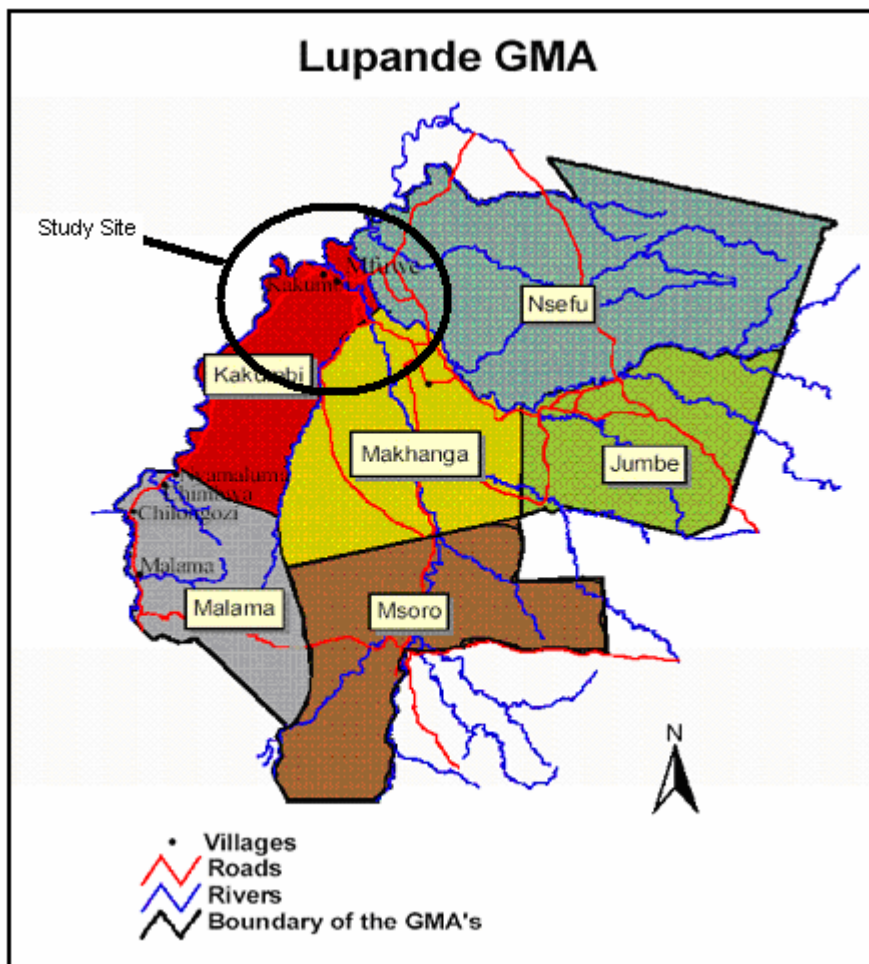
Figure 5: The Lupande Game Management Area showing study site

As stated already, many valley people construct their livelihoods precariously around rain-fed crops. They grow mainly subsistence crops (sorghum, maize, millet account for 70%) and cash crops (cotton and tobacco). Also, they depend on wildlife products (bush meat, fish). These products account for about 30% of their daily needs. The gardens are small semi-permanent fields often located near to village settlement to avoid crop damage

by wildlife. Soil fertility maintenance is a challenge for these gardens. There is a pressing need for the development of better husbandry systems that may sustain soil fertility and productivity which is low and highly variable as compared to the adjacent plateau lands. Livestock production is known but on a small scale being mostly chickens, pigs and goats. This is because much of the area is traditionally infested by tsetse fly making it unsuitable for cattle rearing because the animals contract sleeping sickness (trypanosomosis). Hunting, both legal and illegal, is another land use. Trophy hunting in GMAs is managed by ZAWA and Community Resource Boards. Poaching feeds both subsistence and local market needs..

2.4.2 The Rise of CBC and CBNRM (ADMADE & SLAMU)

The fall of global copper prices in the mid 1970s, and with it Zambia's foreign exchange earnings, had a devastating effect on Zambians as their incomes steadily declined and the cost of living dramatically increased. Many people were forced to locate new sources of income. They began to hunt and kill black rhinos and elephants for their ivory horns and tusks, which were sold on the domestic and international markets. According to Gibson (1995), the increase in poaching in south Luangwa national park was fueled by the increase in the domestic market for game meat; and the increase in global price of ivory. Further, the declining economy forced the government to redirect its activities away from wildlife conservation to other pressing issues related to reviving the depressed economy. This situation left local communities living near parks to continue competing for the scarce arable land with animals which were seen as destructive to their farming areas. Farmers also complained that allowing the elephant population to rise too high, the animals would trample their crops, create a nuisance, and alienate the people near the park. Also, local farmers continued to complain that the establishment of South Luangwa National Park did not benefit them including the lucrative tourist industry (Gibson, 1995).

As Gibson points out: since tourist industry was one of the few industries which dealt directly in foreign exchange, businessmen and women scrambled to obtain companies related to wildlife. However, many criticized the operations of the wildlife companies because they believed that the owners of these companies consistently defrauded government by under-reporting their foreign exchange earnings and over-charging both tourists and hunters. As mentioned earlier, the spectra of poaching especially black rhino took its toll during the mid 1970s, and much of the 1980s. This almost depleted the rhinoceros population by 1987. The humiliation suffered by the wildlife department

prompted a fundamental reversal of the protectionist conservation thinking which were characterized by the 'top-down'; 'technocratic' model of resource protection in the game management areas.

The government working in close collaboration with some donor and international conservation agencies in the early part of 1980s mooted a school of thought that holds that wildlife conservation and utilization is a potentially viable economic land use option in the these areas than the other more traditional land-use practices such as agriculture (Matenga, 2002). This led to the birth of community conservation projects such as ADMADE and LIRDP. These programs were promoted on the premise that wildlife utilization was a requisite for successful and sustainable development in GMAs. Local communities began to be co-opted in these programs with the sole view that they participate in, and bear the responsibility for the management and utilization of wildlife resources in their areas. Mwenya et al (1990), observe that the objectives of the wildlife were to ensure that the needs of the local communities were satisfied while at the same time guaranteeing wildlife conservation.

2.4.3 Development of CBNRM in Lupande GMA

Before 1983, the Lupande area fell under the National Parks and Wildlife Service (NPWS). During that time the area was known as Mfuwe Command and was headed by the Area warden. As from 1986, the area was taken by government as a pilot project area for NORAD. The name of the project became 'Luangwa Integrated Resource Development Project' LIRDP which had its headquarters in Chipata and was headed by the Director. The Luangwa Integrated Resource Development Project-LIRDP which has now changed name to South Luangwa Area Management Unit-SLAMU was initiated as a response to heavy poaching which reduced animal population from 90,000 in 1975 to a mere 5,000 by 1988. LIRDP linked poaching to the impoverished circumstances of the people residing near the park, noting that these people were used by outsiders to poach or trade in wildlife products for token payment. The rationale of the LIRDP project was the belief that wildlife could only survive if the livelihoods of the local people could be improved. This NORAD-funded integrated conservation and development project-ICDP became a 'mini' government for Mambwe district.

The aim of LIRDP in SLNP (see Box 1 in the appendix) was to use tourism to fund self-sufficient conservation through activities such as anti-poaching, ecological monitoring,

road maintenance, etc. while in the people dominated environment of the Lupande GMA (4,500sq. km), the objectives were defined as using wildlife to fuel grass roots empowerment, with the hope that by making wildlife valuable to people they will conserve it. At the core of the CBNRM program was the belief that in certain rural areas it was possible to capture the value of wildlife as a basis for development, and that that was essential for the future existence of wildlife. Sustainable utilization of mega fauna is dependent upon sustainable utilization of the habitat itself, and therefore, upon sustainable use of the natural resources in the area more generally (Dalal-Clayton and Child, 2002).

LIRDP's CBNRM program had two distinct phases. The first generation CBNRM aimed at general development. The wildlife was managed and sold by government in the guise of LIRDP, and a portion (40-60%) of the benefits returned to the community through mid-level government structures, that is, through the chiefs. The money was used to provide social services and infrastructure. The second generation CBNRM began in 1996 when the CBNRM policy changed. Three layers of local institutions were developed called Village Action Groups-VAG each comprising 200-300 households and Area Development Committee (ADC) comprising 3-11 VAGs in their respective chiefdoms. The third layer was called Local Leaders Sub-committee, comprising chiefs and their advisors including a woman representative plus five elected persons in the form of four councilors and the area member of parliament-MP. The principle was that all wildlife revenues that were to be generated in the GMA were to be returned to the community. 80% of the revenues were channeled to VAG where communities decided how best to use the money as long as they followed democratic procedures involving the entire community. The VAG also was required by the constitution to report on a quarterly basis to the entire community. The VAGs are the primary institutions for project development and participation. In 2000, when ZAWA became fully operational it transformed all ADCs into community resource boards (CRBs). The area of operation for SLAMU increased to include West Petauke and Nyimba where three CRBs were formed namely Sandwe, Luembe and Nyalungwe. Today, there are 9 CRBs formed under SLAMU in ZAWA and a total of 56 VAGs in the area. When the hunting ban was lifted in 2003, the CBNRM policy on sharing of revenues changed, ZAWA retained 50% operational cost and 50% accrued to the community for community projects.
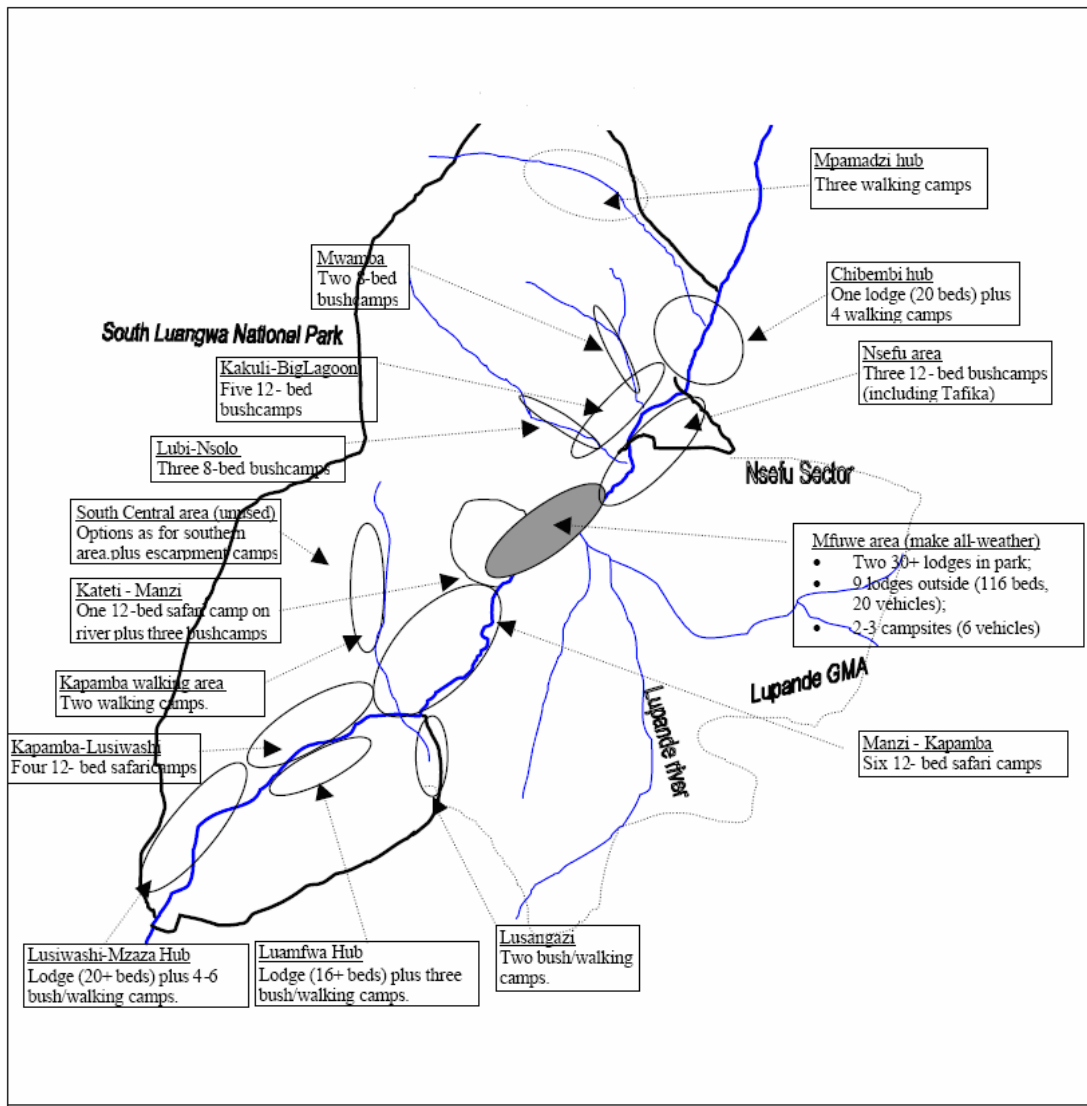
Figure 6: Vision of Tourism in South Luangwa National Park

Tourism in south Luangwa national park has increased since 1991 and is wildlife-based. The park receives many tourists particularly those visiting other places in southern Africa. The majority of these tourists come for game viewing while others come to hunt. Figure 6 shows the development of lodges and camps principally in the park. The park has many lodges and camps which boast of excellent facilities. Some communities are now running tourism businesses in partnership with Tour operators such as Kawaza Village Tourism Project (KVTP) and Nsendamila Cultural Village (NCV).

2.4 Summary

This chapter has presented condensed background information to the study by providing Zambia's profile, and discussing the contribution of tourism sector to the national economy. The geographical location of the study area and brief outlines of the LIRDP & CBNRM conservation projects has also been provided.

CHAPTER THREE

3.0 QUALITATIVE RESEARCH METHOD

3.1 Introduction

This chapter describes the methodology of the study and discusses the choices made regarding the methods and types of data selected for the study. The chapter is divided into three sub-sections. The first section defines the general approach to the research including the decision to follow a case study design. The second defines why I selected certain methodological tools over others. This section also describes how I used these tools to gather the necessary data. The third section presents some of the limitations that either complicated or contributed to the success of the fieldwork. The final section discusses the trustworthiness of the research.

3.2 Qualitative Research Design

I chose a qualitative research approach and considered it as appropriate for this thesis because qualitative forms of investigation are based on recognition of the importance of the subjective, experiential lived world of the respondents. Whereas quantitative research is based on a post-positivist assumption and is mainly characterized through an emphasis on causal "explanation and control" (Stake 1995:37), qualitative research is grounded on constructivist, advocacy and participatory knowledge claims, and is concerned with the description and interpretation of the social world. Qualitative research seeks to understand the context of a situation, organization or group of people, of a relatively small scale, from the perspective of those involved. The purpose of qualitative research is to describe "a world of complexity and plurality" (Orum et al. 1991:23), and to find out what really happens. A key feature is the intense contact with the research setting (Miles and Huberman 1994:6).

3.2.1 Justification of the methodology adopted
The applied qualitative research approach allows to capture how people themselves understand their setting (Gillham 2000a:7), and provides a holistic overview of the context under study. Another advantage of qualitative research is the flexibility and openness in the methods applied, allowing to choose the methods suitable to the setting and to the people involved, and to adapt them if necessary. Creswell (1994) states that the

choice of a qualitative research design rests on the lack of theory and previous research on the area in general, the need to explore a new area (wildlife management and tourism development), and the focus on the process and not only the outcomes. As stated above, qualitative research is understood as being more concerned with describing the characteristics and properties of a process like participation over a period of time, than with interpreting the data and information available in order to make statements concerning the nature and extent of the process which has occurred (Oakley and Marsden, 1990). Qualitative research further adopts assumptions about social life and involves documenting real events, recording what people say (with words, gestures and tones), observing specific behaviors, studying written documents or examining visual images. It focuses on subjective meanings, definitions, metaphors, symbols and description of specific cases. The aim is to capture aspects of the social world for which it is difficult to develop precise measures expressed as numbers (Neuman, 1997).

My work took the form of a non-positivist perspective, and it was non-linear and cyclical in nature (see figure 7). I did not follow a specific or precise order of steps, but I made several successive passes through a number of steps. I also added from time to time new data and gained insight with every cycle of repetition as observes Neuman (1997). However, my study placed much emphasis on the importance of the social context in order to understand the social world in which local communities in the study area viewed not only wildlife management but also their involvement in small scale tourism activities.

3.2.2 Case study
The case study represents one major form of qualitative research. There is some confusion in the literature about the definition and place of the case study in social science (see Blaikie 2000:215-218). For the purpose of this thesis, Creswell's definition (Creswell 2003:15) is used…"case studies, in which the researcher explores in depth a program, an event, an activity, a process, of one or more individuals. The case(s) are bounded by time and activity, and researchers collect detailed information using a variety of data collection procedures over a sustained period of time."
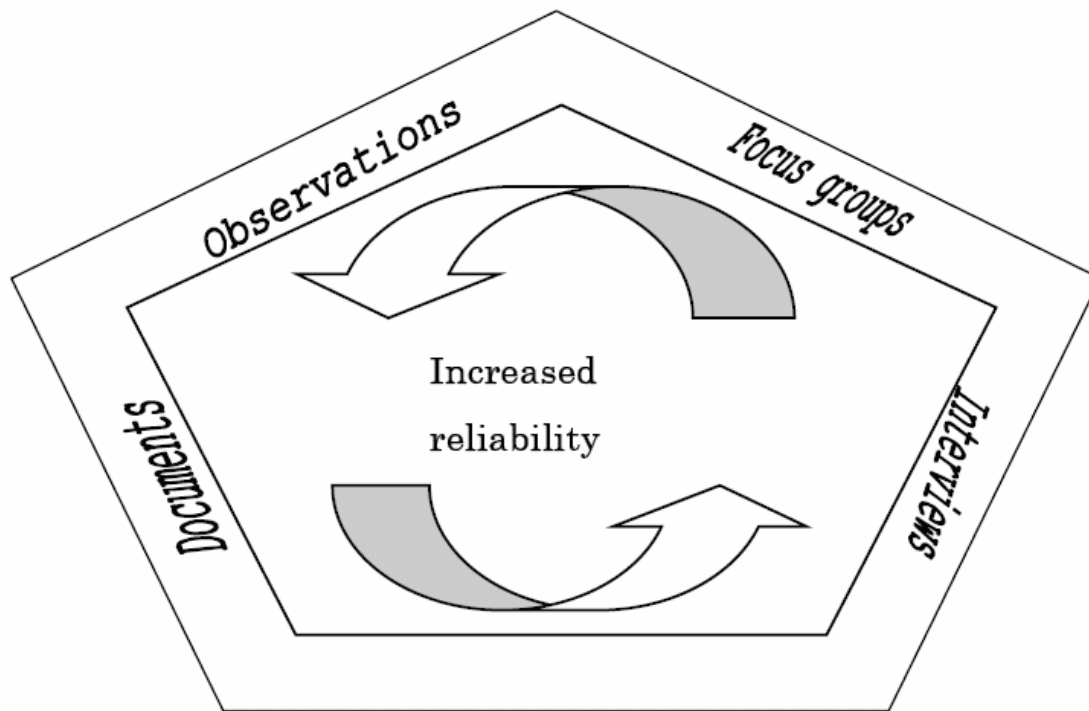
Figure 7: Multi-method research process
Source: Author 2006

Different types of qualitative research procedures such as ethnography, participant observation, social history, life histories and others have been termed or linked to case studies (Orum et al. 1991:5-6) and elements of these qualitative, as well as of quantitative approaches, have been used in different combinations. Consequently, the case study is a form of organizing data in view of an individual case rather than a specific technique. Importantly, it is argued that case studies "must also involve analysis against an appropriate theoretical framework (see section 4.2) or in support of theoretical conclusions" (Blaikie 2000:217).

According to Robson (1993: 143),…'if your main concern is understanding what is happening in a specific context, and if you can get access to and co-operation from the people involved- then do a case study.' This was the main reason for case study research. Each research strategy has its advantages and disadvantages. Strategies should be chosen in terms of their applicability to one's research (Yin, 1994). The case study is a strategy for doing research which involves an empirical investigation of a particular contemporary phenomenon within its real life context using multiple sources of evidence (Robson, 1993). Yin's (2003), suggests that they are the most relevant form of research strategy when the investigator has little control over events, when the focus is on a contemporary

phenomenon in a real-life context and when the research is exploratory in nature. Also, unlike other methodological strategies, case studies embrace methodological integration and do not limit the researcher to specific methodological tools. In summary I chose a case study due to its strength in contributing unique knowledge of individual, organizational, social and political phenomena.

3.2.3 Choice of study area

As discussed at section 2.3.8.1, I selected South Luangwa National Park and surrounding Game Management Area of Lupande as the study area because of its long history in both Community Based Natural Resources Management & Community Wildlife Resource Management. This is not different from other areas but that the area had attempted new approaches of wildlife management which combined conservation and tourism activities.

3.2.4 Validity of Data

Validity has been described as a mechanism which ensures that the process implemented to collect data has collected the intended data successfully (Welman and Kruger, 2001). According to Babbie (1995), validity refers to the extent to which an empirical measure adequately reflects the real meaning of the subject under investigation. I took the following steps to ensure validity in the data that I collected. First, I undertook an extensive literature review to understand how personal in-depth interviews were to be conducted. To ensure this, interview guidelines were generated. I consulted some of the fieldworkers particularly ZAWA officers and research assistants. Second, I explained the purpose of the study to respondents in order to resolve likely problems pertaining to the topics. Third, respondents were assured of anonymity and confidentiality. This ensured aspects of frankness and trust during the interview process. These steps helped in ensuring that interviews were conducted in an enabling and conducive environment that was agreeable to all the respondents.

3.2.5 Reliability of the data

Reliability is described as a condition in which the same results will be achieved whenever the same technique is repeated to do the same study (Babbie, 1995). The following steps helped to achieve reliability. First, the anonymity and confidentiality of respondents was ensured so that they were able to provide information that was to be used purely for academic purposes. During preliminary informal interviews that I undertook, I developed a rapport with respondents through which a number of respondents helped in identifying respondents with particular information regarding

issues that I wished to discuss with them. Through this, I built some trust with respondents reinforcing at same time credibility of the study. Second, the use of research assistants also helped to ease shy respondents and improved the discussions with respondents and gain entrance to chiefdoms without much trouble.

3.2.6 Tool selection
An important element of the research was the need to understand the historical and current processes lying at the root of the dynamic socio-economic context that surrounds wildlife management, conservation and tourism activities today. Initially, a review of wildlife management, conservation and management plan documents and informal interviews with wildlife management officers, local communities and a review of policies dealing with natural resources management were used to identify the kind of management in place, and major local and outside threats to these objectives. These interviews, along with continuous direct observation contributed to an initial rudimentary identification of stakeholder groups within the community and elsewhere. It is through this process that the sample group was identified.

3.2.7 Sample group selection
Stakeholders are those individuals/groups who have an interest in wildlife management and small scale tourism activities/projects and programs. Primary stakeholders (local communities) are those directly affected, either positively or negatively by these activities. The process used to identify the sample group was purposive sampling. This is a process often used in case studies where the researcher uses their judgment as to typicality or interest (Robson, 1993). The sample was selected based on my perceived perception about what I thought were the groups' perceived impact on and interest in wildlife management which combined conservation and tourism activities, with those groups/individuals with the highest impact and interest being at the core of the sample group (e.g., district ZAWA officers, private tour operators, NGO and MTENR) along with those with high interest and little influence on wildlife management (e.g., local people), conservation and tourism activities. The data collection methods involved close contact between me as the researcher and the key research participants, which were interactive and developmental and allowed a number of emerging issues to be explored. It further allowed me to reformulate and specify my research questions throughout the research process. Once the sample group was selected, a more in-depth approach was taken.

The following section describes how each tool that I selected was used along with the opportunities and constraints provided by each of the strategies. The tools that I selected for data collection were used throughout the research process. Moreover, each of the data collection strategies was ultimately inter-linked as shown in figure 7. Document collection led to the identification of key informants (and more documents), direct observations contributed to appropriate interview and more interviews led to more documents, etc.

3.2.8 Document Review

Throughout the fieldwork a wide range of documents was collected, summarized and subsequently analyzed. These texts provided important background information about SLNP & and the adjacent Lupande GMA. Merriam (1998, 70) states that…'the data collection techniques used, as well as the specific information considered to be 'data' in a study, are determined by the researcher's theoretical orientation, by the problem and purpose of the study, and by the sample selected'. Accordingly, my first step was to obtain documents specifically dealing with wildlife management, conservation and small scale tourism activities, management plans/or development plans, and implementation. I used these documents to check the accuracy of information collected by way of observations, interviews, and personal recollections. These documents included suggestions and recommendations from park management, policies dealing with natural resources management, articles in national newspapers both public and private, documents from Zambia National Tourist Board (ZNTB) dealing with marketing aspects of the tourism industry, both district development coordinating committee (DDCC), and the provincial development coordinating committee (PDCC) publications, the director general's status reports on wildlife, and surveys. I was able to use all these documents freely and to secure information in its natural state. According to Merriam (1998, 126)…'one of the greatest advantages in using documentary material is its stability. Unlike interviewing and observation, the presence of the investigator does not alter what is being studied'. The collected documents helped me triangulate the perceptions and views of the key research participants and persons responsible for wildlife management and those running tourism activities.

3.2.9 Direct Observation

Merriam (1998, 94) recommends making observations with context sensitivity…'first, observations take place in the natural field setting instead of a location designated for the purpose of interviewing; second, observational data represent a firsthand encounter with

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the phenomenon of interest rather than a second-hand account of the world obtained in an interview'. Likewise, during my first field visit to the study site, I talked to many people with a view to identifying key informants for the interview process and focus group discussions. I also used direct observation to find out additional information on various topics under study.

3.2.10 Interviews

Approximately thirty-five semi-structured interviews were carried out during the course of the fieldwork. Apart from these, numerous informal interviews were also realized. The semi-structured interviews were conducted with local ZAWA officers, government agencies operating in the case study site and other relevant organizations (NGOs, the church and private tour operators) along with local communities. Since many respondents disliked to be taped, the researcher failed to utilize this method. For the most part, each of the unstructured interview process with key stakeholders lasted between 30 minutes to one hour. The interviews were conducted soon after informal interviews had taken place. This allowed the participants to feel informed about the type of questions that would be asked and how they would be presented. An initial round of informational interviews was carried out with representatives of different government agencies, local communities and various NGOs and private tour operators' organizations in the area. These had the dual purpose of introducing the researcher at the field site to local leaders as well as gathering information to assist in the design of the semi-structured interviews that followed.

An in-depth qualitative interview is defined by Marshall and Rossman (1999, 108) as a conversation in which a researcher 'explores a few general topics to help uncover the participant's views,' while remaining faithful to how the participants 'frames and structures the responses.' Howe (1988) offers a continuum of interviewing styles from the most structured to the least structured. For instance, her definition of a qualitative semi-structured interview falls between the two extremes. Similarly, Charmaz (1991) calls it a 'directed conversation.' According to Kvale (1983), the role of the interviewer is to 'focus upon, or guide towards, certain themes, but not to guide the interviewee towards certain opinions about these themes' (p.176).

An interview guide consisting of open-ended questions designed to elicit talk about certain themes was used (see Appendix A). Using this format, key informants discussed a range of issues central to this research project. Participants' freedom to express and

expound their individual attitudes on the themes was also granted during the interview process. The interview guide enables the interviewer to frame the topics and keep the participants on track, while giving the participant freedom to express observations, perceptions, and attitudes. Since a qualitative interview's pace is largely influenced by the interviewee's willingness and degree of involvement, the amount of prompting and probing from the interviewer varied. Howe (1988, 308) contends, 'the qualitative structured interview affords the researcher the ability to adjust to the respondent while still covering the research concerns, areas, or questions'.

3.2.11 Focus Groups

Focus groups complemented the individual interviews by bringing the topics covered into a group setting and creating a flexible and open forum in which these areas of interest could be developed further as a group. This was extremely helpful when trying to understand why certain actors felt the way they did; things that independently the individual interviews would not have revealed. Focus groups were always informal and at times even spontaneous. Three focused group discussions were held, based on three specific settings. One was with District Development Coordinating Committee members after the informal interviews had been conducted, with local communities, NGOs and private tour operators' representatives and wildlife management officials stationed at either Chinzombo camp, or working in the study site. Second with local ZAWA officers at Chinzombo Camp and the third was conducted with one village from chiefs Nsefu and Kakumbi. Focused groups discussions covered topical areas of high interest to those involved. Questions revolved around local participation, distribution of benefits from tourism, state vs. local control of wildlife resources, displacement of local people, crop damage, and use of resources in protected area including compensation for either loss of life or property.

The Focused Group interviews revealed interesting dynamics between and among the participants in the group on varying issues connected to/or with the management of wildlife and tourism development. Often they corrected each other and discussed their answers backwards and forwards before taking a position on the issue at hand. Although in mixed groups men took the centre lead, women also contributed very strongly by either wanting to be heard alone or making a lot of murmuring sounds which often prompted the men to stop and listen to their concerns. Sometimes women chose to remain

silent. This provided richer gendered views on community participation, their perceptions about the aforesaid issues.

3.2.12 Research assistants

Due to the costs, time and distance I was not able to organize and conduct some focused group discussions alone. I recruited two research assistants, one retired male civil servant, and one woman running a local NGO dealing with women issues, to help organize the communities in the two villages into sizeable groups for discussion. They also helped to conduct the interviews and interpret the local culture. I held a one day workshop with them to discuss various modes and guidelines to conduct an effective interview. Both the research assistants were not only highly educated and lived and worked in the study area for many years but also had interest in the topics under study.

3.3 Methods of data analysis

3.3.1 Qualitative data analysis

According to Erlandson and others (1993), what distinguishes scientific approach from superficial conjecture is a thoroughly prepared, rigorously researched and documented analysis. Yin (1994) points out the importance of a general analytic strategy, however simple, prior to collecting case study data. According to Yin (2003, 116)…'one of the most desirable modes of analysis is to compare an empirically based pattern with a predictable one.' The precision of pattern matching, however, is far from well developed, so simple pattern matching is recommended, especially for the novice investigator (Yin, 2003, 116). Further, Yin (2003, 111) suggests three general strategies for analyzing case study evidence. The first is to follow the theoretical propositions that led to the study. A second general analytic strategy tries to define and test rival explanations. The third general analytic strategy is to develop a descriptive framework for organizing the case study. In this study, I adopted the first and second general strategies to analyze data collected. I analyzed and interpreted data based on the proposed theoretical proposition discussed at sections 4.1, 4.2 and 4.2.1 respectively.

This was in line with the objectives and research questions, which I had set based on this framework. I also disassembled and reassembled data to draw out uniqueness in pattern or behavior. Then I coded it wherever possible in order to trace such data back to the interview (via transcript), document, or observation for purposes of a conformability audit to verify the process and research method. The analysis and synthesis followed a

development process continually evolving and emerging through constant comparison of newly, acquired data with previously acquired material.

3.3.2 Limitations of the study

Marshall and Rossman (1998, 42) posits that, 'there is no such thing as a perfectly designed study.' This study sought to provide depth and breadth in understanding wildlife management and sustainable tourism development in south Luangwa national park. However, this study also sought rich detail and was context specific; one limitation is that it did not presume to be generalizable to other parks. In other words, interpretations made in this study may not apply to other national parks. Nevertheless, the findings may be transferable or useful in similar settings facing similar issues. A second limitation has to do with the nature of the data collected. The narratives and the study findings were from the perspectives of the participants in south Luangwa national park and hence it was subjective. Their worldview is presented. It is opinionated. It is rife with emotion. However, the perspectives presented herein are only part of one layer in the dynamics of wildlife management, conservation and tourism development. A second layer is anchored in the perspectives of ZAWA a government agency charged with the responsibility of managing wildlife. A third layer entails the perspectives of private tour operators and visitors. A fourth layer reflects the perspectives of the local people.

Yin (2003, 33) also states that there are four commonly accepted criteria for judging the quality of a research design in the social sciences: construct validity, internal validity, external validity, and reliability. This study used triangulation involving reactive and non-reactive sources of information regarding each issue as discussed at section 3.2.10 (interviews with multiple informants and documentary evidence from multiple publications) as proposed in this study. The issue of construct validity, especially in a case involving wildlife management which combines conservation and engages communities in both conservation and tourism activities is critical. Construct validity was increased by the use of multiple sources of evidence, the establishment of a 'chain of evidence,' and the review of analytic findings by knowledgeable informants. Yin (1998, 253) suggests four approaches to improving internal validity of case studies: pattern matching, explanation building, time-series analysis, and logic modeling.

This study used pattern marching and explanation building. On the other hand, external validity in a single case design is based on what Yin (1994, 21) terms 'the logic of

replications,' in which each issue is chosen to serve a specific purpose within overall scope of inquiry. Reliability, on the other hand, was a primary concern for this study. The development of a case study protocol and database as recommended avoiding earlier weaknesses in case a study was adopted in this study.

3.3.3 Trustworthiness

Social science is the study of social systems and phenomena within those systems. In the study that I undertook, the social systems and phenomena of interest were not per se studied directly, but used the accumulated knowledge of the local communities in the study area. Therefore, reality has been translated through several layers before reaching this level of the thesis. Further, reality might have been distorted through the perceptions of the study participants, my interpretation of those perceptions held by the participants, my ability in conveying such perceptions that people held in the study area to an audience. My goal here was to reduce the gaps between what the study participants perceived and what was interpreted and reported. Lincoln and Guba (1985), suggests four criteria which I adopted for judging the trustworthiness of qualitative research: **credibility, transferability, dependability,** and **confirmability**. They felt that their four criteria better reflected the underlying assumptions involved in much qualitative research. Attention is now drawn to each of these issues and how they were addressed in my research.

Like validity, **credibility,** was critical to my study. The criterion poses one important question, 'are the data interpretation truly a function of real world phenomena and not the researcher or data collection procedures.' Henderson (1991) suggests ways of ensuring credibility in a study. According to him, the researcher needs to be explicit about what he or she is studying and to leave a paper trail along his way. In order to comply with this critical criterion, I took extensive field notes during data collection, organization, and interpretation. For instance, to substantiate my interpretations, I repeated data checks, participants' corroboration, and co-researcher verification.

Trustworthiness in my study addressed the degree to which the findings could be transferred or generalized to other areas. **Transferability** herein implied whether my study findings could be useful outside the context of south Luangwa valley. According to Marshall and Rossman (1998), the researcher himself or herself should take responsibility to make generalization and not necessarily the original researcher. The advantage of

qualitative research is that the depth of data collection techniques in my case allowed rich detail that was laden with specifics of the study's socio-cultural context of the study area to emerge. It was therefore not the objective of this study to generalize the findings to other contexts, though the findings of my study could shed some light on other communities living in a Game Management Area and, or near a protected area. This study might therefore provide a deeper understanding of natural resource area's neighboring communities.

Dependability asks, 'can the study be repeated?' however, since the study was context specific both spatially and temporally, changes over time could be in this regard be reflected in any second study. My study findings and the process could always evolve. This is the second advantage of qualitative study which, is that the study plan remained flexible and allowed for some changes in data collection techniques and even changes in research questions. I made some changes to my research objectives and questions. The extensive notes that I took during fieldwork served therefore as an archive reference point throughout the writing of my research.

Confirmability refers to the degree to which the results could be confirmed or corroborated by others. Conformability therefore, critically parallels objectivity in research. I coordinated my research activities with two research assistants who also took field notes which I discussed with them and incorporated in final notes for each day. This helped to maintain the study's confirmability.

3.4 Summary

This study focuses on community participation in wildlife management, conservation and small-scale tourism activities. Some members of the church, NGOs, and private tour operators were also selected for their contribution to development activities in the study area. Given the importance of this group to the success of wildlife management and tourism development in the area from public (government), and private (business community), this choice was considered both relevant and appropriate. Although I had contemporized other groups in the community, they were not included as the primary sample group. Also, given time and scope limitations, this study concentrated on the community level and less on government institutions in exception of ZAWA officers at Chinzombo Camp. From data collection, organization, and interpretation various themes emerged and patterns within those themes were also drawn to show their emerging associations. These themes form the frame of chapters 5, 6, and 7 on the study's findings.

CHAPTER FOUR

4.0 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

4.1 Introduction

The research problem of this study as formulated in chapter one, is to explore whether wildlife in south Luangwa national park is managed in a way that contributes to a sustainable development process that combines conservation and tourism as well as actively engage communities to participate in conservation and small scale tourism activities. Accordingly the following sections will scrutinize the theory of political ecology. Political ecology includes many theories, and it provides thus a general framework from which more detailed theoretical ideas can be adapted. Theories and literature addressing wildlife management, conservation and development especially community-based natural resource management will act as a starting point, helping to build concepts and assumptions underlying the empirical work. Possibly the findings of this study can contribute something theoretically new about wildlife management, conservation, and tourism development. Overall, the focus will be on a review of research that discusses political ecology, protected area management paradigms, and community-based natural resources management. I will also discuss the various concepts of community, sustainable development, sustainable tourism development, and participation.

4.2 Political ecology

Political ecology is a multidisciplinary field that has its roots in neo-Marxism and political economy, and has been influenced more recently by social movements' theory and post-structuralism; Bryant and Bailey (1997) explain the history and evolution of the field in detail. The concern of political ecology is human environment relations, which is basically a central theme of geography. It is distinct in that it views the environment as politicized, environmental change as inherently political, and pays particular attention to the roles of and power relations between varieties of actors at multiple scales (Bryant & Bailey, 1997). Bryant in an earlier description of political ecology, identified "three critical areas of inquiry: the contextual sources of environmental change; conflict over access; and the political ramifications of environmental change". Concerned that political ecology shares only similar areas of inquiry rather than a well-developed underlying

theory, Peet and Watts (1996) proposed that an engagement with post-structuralism and discourse theory would strengthen this emerging field of study.

Political ecologists argue that the environmental problems apparent in Third World countries are not simply reflection of a single factor, but manifestation of broader political and economic forces (Bryant & Bailey 1997, 3-7). Thus, the role of both place and non-place-based actors, and politics of different levels need to be analyzed when exploring the environmental changes. Central to political ecology is the exploration of multi-level connections between local and global phenomena (Adger et al. 2001, 682). These connections include both environmental functions and decision-making and hierarchies of power.

There is often debate in the field of political ecology over the necessary quantity of political analysis, the form that such political analysis should take (Moore, 1996), and level (s) at which this analysis should be focused (Eskteva and Prakesh 1992). However, as Bryant and Bailey (1997) noted, there is general agreement on the role of power, variously conceptualized, and the resulting inequality in human relationships in determining 'pattern of human-environment interactions' (ibid 38). The focus in this thesis is on actors and their interests, as well as the unequal distributions of power amongst them. The notion of power, its use and its distribution is central to understanding any social transformation. According to Chambers (1994), power is the basis of wealth, while powerlessness is basis of poverty. It is important to note that both the powerful and powerless are categories of actors in the dynamics of development process. Power when controlled by the government or by elite groups can be abused. It operates on many different levels and manifests in conflicting interests of different groups in a community. According to Bryant & Bailey (1997, 47) unequal power relations of actors are at core of much research in Third world political ecology. Control over the use of natural resources and capabilities to influence to the actions of other actors vary between the actors. Bryant & Bailey (1997, 39) state that 'power is primarily understood by political ecologists in relation to the ability of an actor to control their interaction with the environment and the interactions of other actors with the environment'.

There are four main ways that an actor may attempt to exert this kind of power, including both material and discursive types of control. First, an actor may attempt to control the

access of other actors to environmental resources. Second, an actor may determine where pollution occurs, and thus control the quality of other actors' environment. Third, an actor may control the distribution of support, particularly state financial support, to particular environmental projects. Finally, an actor may attempt to indirectly control the environment of others through discourse, by regulating ideas and the 'public transcript' (Bryant, 1997; Bryant & Bailey, 1997). Just as it is important to understand modes of control, it is also important to understand resistance, the counterpart of domination. Although power may become concentrated among dominant institutions and actors, it is never in their hands exclusively; power is never a one-way process (Bryant & Bailey, 1997; Few, 2002; Peet & Watts, 1996). Neither is power a permanent feature of any particular actor; rather, it is embedded in social relations between actors (Few, 2002).

It is claimed that political ecologists assume that the costs and benefits of nature conservation are normally not equally distributed between various actors (Brown 1998, 86). The benefits often accrue to rich (e.g., public-government agency/private sector) where as the poor (local communities) bear the costs of conservation (ibid). However, there can be differences within more localized contexts too, between the interests of actors at the local or national level. There is also an asymmetry between which actors bear the costs of, and which actors mainly control, efforts to solve (environmental) problems in Third World countries (Bryant & Bailey 1997, 37). Political ecology approach to resource management, therefore, advocates that it is necessary to examine a resource management system in the context of the multiple relationships at multiple scales within which it is embedded (Baikie 1985, Bryant 1992, Peet and Watts 1996).

A topology based on their work, which is of interest to this thesis includes states, multilateral institutions, business, the church and environmental NGOs and grassroots actors living in and around protected areas. This is true for the study area, where the use of natural resources at a particular place and time is the outcome of conflicting interests between groups of people with different aims. For instance, the local variants of social groups include: the local hunter-cultivators, safari hunters, conservation pressure groups, and the politicians and administrators and others are the international community and scientists and commercial poachers. Political ecology further recognizes that the natural environment is, in a sense, a dynamic and active participant in its own politicization. Thus, wildlife management can be likened to constitutional politics and rules of conduct

that define practices, assign roles, and guide interactions (Stokke 1997, 28). It is about the meta-rules and social institutions that structure politics and policy, domestically, internationally, and "across the domestic-foreign frontier" (Rosenau, 1997, 144-173). In the case of wildlife conservation, this includes the overall rules about such issues as ownership of wildlife, roles of private and public conservation areas and organizations, the involvement of local communities in conservation projects and tourism activities. Further, the weight given to animal welfare/rights concerns, and the relative authority of central versus local state authority, but not the specific regulations and/or practices found in particular conservation projects or national parks/Game Management Areas need closer scrutiny.

Blaikie & Jeanrenaud (1997, 66-68) suggest that the plurality of understandings and competing interests between the actors engaged in conservation activities imply that the negotiations between outside agencies and local people will presumably not be equal in nature. Political ecology stresses that critical approach to participation (in the context of biodiversity conservation) needs to be taken where the social and economic dynamics of differentiated power, knowledge and influence between different interest groups are addressed (Brown 1998, 86). An essential part of the analysis of the community conservation approaches and in more general, of the decentralization processes, is related thus to the question how transfer of power and management responsibilities for local people is organized. The level of access to and control over resources can be changed more or less profoundly.

4.3 Protected area management paradigms

Since the establishment of protected areas, protected areas have more or less been regarded as enclaves of species refuge rather than places for recreation, spiritual revival and economic benefits. In Zambia like in other SADC countries (Namibia, Botswana, South Africa etc), protected areas have tended to have a strong orientation to environmental protection and have often responded to people's issues as problems instead of thinking of them as opportunities. Phillips (2003a) traces the nature and character of protected areas to the management paradigms which created them. He categorized these paradigms into two distinct periods of their evolution. First, is the classic paradigm of protected areas (1860-1960s), also known as the Yellowstone model; second, the modern paradigm of protected area management announced by the World Parks Congress on Protected Areas held in Seattle, Yellowstone Grand-Teton 1972, Bali

1982, Caracas 1992 and Durban 2003 and the World Summit on Sustainable Development held in Johannesburg in 2002.

4.3.1 The Classic Paradigm

Before the 1960s protected areas around the world were set up and run as top-down and favored exclusive views of protected areas. As discussed in chapter 5, Zambia's own protected area categories closely follow the guidelines of the International Union for the Conservation of Nature (IUCN). This kind of management style fitted with the autocratic style of colonial administration especially in Africa. The view was that government knew best, public opinion was something officials helped to shape and not to be influenced by local people (Phillips, 2003a). During this time, management emphasis was on creating parks which people did not hunt, gather, herd, farm, fell trees or even collect medicinal herbs. However, wherever this was implemented, the results were disastrous for the local communities. As mentioned above, in the process of setting up such parks many local people were forced to settle outside of the parks and as Stevens (1997; 31) observed, 'found that the natural resources of their former lands, which constituted the mainstay of their economies, were now off-limits'. Also, many local people found that long-standing customary subsistence resource uses which were very critical to physical and cultural survivals became criminalized and were discouraged by fences, armed patrols and threats of jail terms and fines. Further, Stevens (1997, 32-33), asserts that in these conditions, 'subsistence practice became clandestine activity and traditional local resource management institutions and other conservation practices were abandoned in the areas that became managed as protected areas'

In Africa, examples of forced removals of indigenous communities abound and include: the Masai from Serengeti, Tangarire and Manyara, the Ik of Uganda from the Kidepo National Park, the Phoka of Malawi from Nyika National Park and in Asia include about 22 000 people from Royal Chitwan National Park in Nepal (Stevens1997). The evicted communities were denied opportunities to participate and benefit from the tourism business built on their former indigenous homes. This was the beginning of conflict between conservationists and tourism. Nonetheless, by 1960s winds of change were blowing with more calls for new modern approaches in managing protected areas (IUCN, 1992).

In Zambia too, the "exclusive" use concept applied to many protected areas, especially national parks, has resulted in resentment and resistance among local people and political leaders in some parts of the country. For instance, consumptive use of wildlife is prohibited in the 19 National Parks but promoted in the 34 Game Management Areas which act as buffer zones to the parks. Only game viewing tourism is promoted in the parks. However, the wider application of IUCN categories V and VI, as alternative models to category II, could prove handy for Zambia (Davey, 1998). This is more flexible and would be a useful alternative to consider for future alternative. In sum, the exclusionist approach (1930s-1980s) was characterized by some of the tenets shown in table 4 below:

Table 4: The characteristics of classical and CBNRM paradigms

CHARACTERISTIC OF PROTECTED AREAS FOR CLASSIC PARADIGM	CHARACTERISTICS OF PROTECTED AREAS FOR CBNRM PARADIGM
- Planned and managed against the impact of people (except for tourists), and especially to exclude local people; - ion of central government, - Managed with little regard for local community, who are rarely consulted on management intentions and Managed by central government, or at the very least set up at the instigated might not be informed of them; - Managed as 'islands'- that is managed without regard for surrounding areas; - Established mainly for scenic protection, with a major emphasis on how things look rather than how natural systems function; - Managed mainly for tourists, whose interests normally prevail over those of local people; - Viewed primarily as a national assert, with national consideration prevailing over local ones.	- Managed with, for and in some cases by local people-that are no longer seen as passive recipients of protected area policy but as active partners, even initiates and leaders in some cases; - Managed by many partners, thus different tiers of government, local communities and indigenous groups, the private sector, NGOs and others are engaged in protected area management-a function of decentralization and devolution which is occurring in many countries; - Managed with social and economic objectives, as well as conservation and recreation; - Managed to help meet the needs of local people, who are increasingly seen as essential beneficiaries of protected area policies, economically and socially; - Developed as 'networks', that is with strictly protected areas which are buffered and linked by green corridors, and integrated into adjacent land that is managed in sustainable manner by communities for ecotourism purposes; - Managed so that the needs of the local people are considered alongside those of tourists; - Viewed as a community assert, balancing the idea of a national heritage

Adopted from Phillips, 2003a

4.3.2 Community-Based Natural Resource Management

Community-based approaches to the environment have evolved from statements and outcomes from the Brundtland Commission (1987) and the United Nations Conference

on Environment and Development in Rio de Janeiro 1992, which put the environment firmly on international development agendas (UNCED; 1992). Underlying this is the moral argument that conservation goals should contribute to and not conflict with basic human needs. In the broader development field equally, the concept draws on ideas about 'community' and particularly about the need for local communities to be more involved in formulating and implementing public policies. This has been the emphasis in development for the last two to three decades, especially in the 1980s-where some even called it the decade of participation (Chambers 1983; Ingham 1993). The overall concepts of development experienced a great shift towards 'people centered' development, public involvement, cooperative management; power sharing, decentralization and devolution, and empowerment.

Community-based conservation (CBC) is a strategy used throughout the world as a means to save wildlife. It has its modern roots in the experience of conservationists working in poorer countries during the 1960s and 1970s. Conservationists came to realize that local people, who commonly are hostile to wildlife conservation, had to be won over as supporters of their efforts (WCU, 1980; Parker, 1982). Without the cooperation of rural people, wildlife conservation efforts would be doomed. This is the case in the study area, where local people view wildlife conservation as misguided because it puts the needs of wildlife above those of people (e.g., Abrahamson 1983; Hackle 1990; McMeeklin 1994). Although this response is primarily a reaction to people's present-day economic needs, it also has strong roots in the colonial legacy that alienated rural Africans from conservation efforts.

In this regard, community-based conservation is an advance over past practices because of its inclusive philosophy; but if rural people accept CBC because of its economic benefits, they may reject it at some point in the future if a better economic alternative is presented. Thus, CBC programs can work to produce a better relationship between wildlife and people, but only a vast improvement in the lives of rural communities may ultimately produce a more secure future of wildlife. Advocates of CBC argue that the approach can be effective because it harks back to pre-colonial African conservation practices that used community-based constraints to regulate resource use and is a means by which rural Africans will benefit materially from saving wildlife (McNeely & Pitt

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1985; Metcalfe 1995). Hence, the overall goal is to make rural people an integral part of conservation efforts (Western & Wright 1994).

In general, CBC programs do this in three ways: (1) allowing people living near protected lands to participate in land-use policy and management decisions; (2) giving people proprietorship or ownership over wildlife resources; and (3) giving local people economic benefit from wildlife conservation. In its purest form, CBC would change the relationship between rural people and governing agencies. The underlying thinking of community based is that local communities have been alienated from resource they should rightly own, control, manage, and benefit from (Songorwa et al., 2000). In CBC, communities are perceived not merely as beneficiaries but more as active participants capable of carrying out wildlife management activities. Its advocates stress that CBC is a bottom-up rather than a top-down approach: it changes the usual way of doing things by giving local people a strong voice in land-use decisions instead of having them imposed from above (Western & Wright 1994). Decentralization of resource management from the central authority to local communities is considered a linchpin for a successful CBC program. This emphasis on participatory democracy gives CBC a somewhat revolutionary character (Western & Wright 1994). Although CBC is mainly concerned with wildlife conservation, it has political, social, and institutional implications beyond wildlife conservation. According to Songorwa et al., (2000, 608), CBC approach has the '… potential of becoming a catalyst for socio-political and institutional changes in the communities where it is introduced, and may spread to other parts of the country, and lead to demand for an even greater devolution of power.'

4.3.3 The concept of community
In this study, the concepts of 'community' and 'local community' are used interchangeably. Milne (1998, 10) refers to 'community' as "a group of people living in the same locality", while Stroet (1998, 10) argues that community in its broadest sense refers to "those people who live in a designated area". According to IIED (1994: 4), the concept can be approached in spatial, socio-cultural and economic terms. Spatially, communities are "groupings of people who physically live in the same place". Socio-culturally, communities are "social groupings that derive a unity from a common history and cultural heritage, frequently based on kinship". Economically, communities are "groupings of people who share interests and control over particular resources". This thesis adopts Agrawal's (1999) definition which combines these constructs and defines

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the concept as an entity socially bound by a common identity, living within a defined spatial boundary and having a common economic interest in the resources of that area.

It can be argued that although it is defined as such, the reality on the ground is that few communities are characterized by such functional uniformity. Therefore, understanding the differences and conflicts within the community is important as these processes have an impact on the ability of a community to reach conservation goals. The degree to which these differences define or affect interactions between resource users also has important design implications. Community-based management regimes deal with resource user communities, that is, groups of individuals who share access to a common pool resource.

However, resource user communities differ from one another in their history, experience, physical setting and ecology. Relationships within communities are not static either. They are often influenced by the economic or political changes taking place regionally or nationally and, especially for rural communities, by changes in the natural environment. For example, a community may consist of older and more recent residents. This is the case in tourist destination areas where conservation and tourism related activities attract immigrants and diverse business members of the wider society not only from the locality but across the country and the globe to come to the area and open tourism related businesses.

As previously stated, communities are not static, more often they are a dynamic combination of both factors that draw members together and others that divide them. Individuals sharing resources may or may not experience a feeling of 'community' as a result of sharing that resource. In fact, as discussed in chapter 6, individuals sharing resources may see other resource users as a threat to their own livelihoods. In resource user communities, there are often conflicting desires and needs that put resource users at odds with each other. Both the literature on CBC as well as community-based management identifies the absence of these conflicts and differences within communities as strengths contributing towards the success of such regimes (Ostrom, 1990). McCay and Jentoft (1998) points out that these differences are not necessarily a handicap for collective action but may actually reinforce interdependence. The authors note that 'competition and co-operation are not mutually exclusive'(McCay and Jentoft, 1998: 23), as competition requires some general understanding of what people are vying for and

what are the rules of the game. Groups that are labeled 'communities' are very likely communities of communities. Within groups there exist sub-divisions such as age, race, gender, class and ethnicity within the broader resource 'community'. Other divisions include those related to the different ways resources are tapped into. In the case of communities from the study site, this was manifested in the different strategies they use to construct their livelihoods. To compound these differences, power structures within communities can be both dividing and binding (chapter 2).

These structures can be legitimate and supported by community members or they can be the source of corruption and unequal distribution and access to resources (Leach et al., 1997). Care need to be taken not to over-romanticize communities since their internal structures often mirror the inequalities existent in the wider society. Also, one should not exaggerate the traits of unity, homogeneity, coherence and stability within communities. Communities are for most part dynamic entities, changing over time and are often characterized by internal conflict (McCay and Jentoft, 1998, Schlager and Blomquist, (1998).

Institutions (like ZAWA) which regulate resource use often successfully or unsuccessfully deal with the changes that take place around them; although they fail to resolve the conflicts. Relationships among members change, people come and go, the resource itself is often the source of change within communities and their structures. Environmental changes, the effects of modernization and globalization, political changes and technology changes all test the resilience of community solidarity. Some resource user communities have demonstrated a greater ability than others to endure alterations to the environment in which they exist (e.g., Kawaza Cultural Village).

According to Schlager and Bloomquist (1998), heterogeneity can exacerbate the commitment of individuals towards collective action in a number of ways. Individuals are more likely to remain committed to a common goal or set of common rules if they have faith that other users are committed as well. Further, 'heterogeneity may affect the trust that individuals have in each other. For instance, cultural differences or resource differences may convince individuals that it is okay to break the rules because the only ones that would be hurt are those from a different group (e.g., ZAWA), or those who are wealthy' (e.g., tour operators) (ibid.: 7). This is not to say that the notion of community is

not useful at all. What makes communities more than simply aggregates of individuals driven by self-centered utilitarian motives are the collaborative social qualities that some groups have. These social networks are systems of relationships rooted in kinship, culture and history. When these systems are present, resource users feel an important connection whereby they identify with the past and future of fellow resource users.

4.3.4 The concept of Participation

Participation is claimed to be a multidimensional concept that needs disaggregating in order to be understood and effectively employed. Community participation concerns are not new, but stem back in the 1940s and 1950s. The 1992 UN Conference stressed the importance of community participation for sustainable development. And Agenda 21 further highlights this need by emphasizing decentralization (chapter 5) and finding local solutions to environmental problems. It is for this reason that various conservation initiatives are emphasizing community participation.

In 1981, UN defined participation as 'the creation of opportunities to enable all members of a community and the larger society to actively contribute to and influence the development process and to share equitable in the fruits of development' (Midgley, 1986: 24). While Hall (1986:99), defines the concept to mean 'allowing freedom of decision-making and control over internal activities to those taking part in the development process.' Furthermore, ODA (1995: 3), defines participation as 'a process whereby stakeholders-those with rights (and therefore responsibilities) and/or interests-play an active role in decision-making and in consequent activities which affect them.'

According to Narayan-Parker (1996), definitions of participation include the notions of contributing, influencing, sharing, or redistributing power and control of resources, benefits, knowledge and skills to be gained through beneficiary involvement in decision-making. It can be argued that the degree of community participation falls within a spectrum with either increased control or empowerment on the one end and efficiency issues on the other end. This argument is further widened by Pretty (1995). He adds manipulative participation at one end referring to it as a process in which participation is viewed as a pretence where people have no power. He also puts on the opposite end of the spectrum self-mobilization, which he views to be a process whereby communities participate independently of external institutions or influences (table 6). Many authors argue that there is a distinction between passive and proactive participation (Hall, 1997b;

Wells and Brandon, 1992; Chambers 1994). The difference lies in the degree to which outcomes are predetermined by outsiders and the degree to which local people can have power to change the direction of interventions when the project is already underway (Hall 1997b). This has been found to have an influence if the designs of such a project come from outside the area. In this regard community participation cannot be empowering. It is manipulative and leads to conflict over resources.

On the one hand, proactive participation, which is the ideal (see table 5), involves a stronger role for communities in any development activity. As communities get involved in development activity from the very beginning through the end, they are likely to own such programme and support its operation. This also entails a real commitment by the external agent to involve local people in the development process of their own area. Further, it involves changing the external agent's attitudes about the local people in the area in which they work. Chambers (1994) retaliates that this scenario calls for outside 'experts' to respect local people and the knowledge they hold and be willing to learn from them. On the other hand, when local people are involved early, they may be able to influence objectives and outcome than when they are involved at a later date; late involvement also limits the depth and quality of the participatory process. It means that design/s have been decided from outside and local peoples' involvement is only limited to implementing such programs and is often passive. Pretty (1995), makes a useful overview of different levels of participation shown in Table 5. But as Vedeld (2002, 16), has observed, it is not necessarily the highest level of local participation that is important, but that the level of participation should be seen relative to the issue in question. In some instances, mere information to people may be appropriate whereas in other cases, participation and capacity enhancement of the people must be the target. A high degree of local participation can also be more important in certain stages of the project, or a process for change than in other stages. Participation in formulation of goals is of course crucial in gaining local legitimacy and practical support.

Table 5: Typology of participation in development programs and projects

TYPOLOGY	CHARACTERISTICS OF EACH
1. Manipulative participation	Participation is simply a pretence
2. Passive participation	People participate by being told what has been decided or has already happened.
3. Participation by consultation	People participate by being consulted or by answering questions. External agents define problems and information gathering processes, and so control analysis
4. Participation for material incentives	People participate by contributing resources, for example labor, in return for food, cash or other material incentives.
5. Functional participation	Participation seen by external agencies as a means to achieve project goals, especially reduced costs.
6. Interactive participation	People participate in joint analysis, development of action plans and formation of strengthening of local institutions. Participation is seen as a right, not just the means to achieve project goals.
7. Self-mobilization	People participate by taking initiatives independently of external institutions to change systems.

Source: Pretty (1995, 173)

It is important in the field of development to consider whether participation should be taken as a 'goal' or a 'means'. As mentioned above, participation in community conservation and park management as in the case of ADMADE and Uganda's Mgahinga National Park, is viewed in an instrumental sense: as a means to achieve goals and conservation objectives, as a means to efficiency in the programme management (Adams and Infield, 2001). Although the principles of community-based conservation aim at empowering and actively involving local communities in the whole process of wildlife conservation, participation in the ADMADE programme and wildlife management is still viewed as a means than a goal. In terms of roles assigned to local communities in participation, the first two categories of 'manipulative' and 'passive' (Table 5) as described in the participatory typology after Pretty(1995), cannot be considered for community conservation initiatives since they do not involve local collective action. It is, however, only in the last five categories in the table that collective activity is required and that the concept of 'community' has relevance. While the nature of participation varies in community conservation and community-based conservation the most commonly forms found in the SADC are consultative and functional (Barrow and Murphree, 2001).

Participation should not only be seen as an implementing tool to deliver development but also as a dynamic political process (White 1996; Botes and Rensburg 2000). As earlier

mentioned, participation may open up new avenues for local communities to challenge the existing power relations, both within communities, like challenging local elites, and in wider society, and government structures. This may result into conflicts as reported by Alexander and McGregor (2000), citing CAMPFIRE in Zimbabwe where despite democratic potential, has become a focus of resistance and fear among local communities. It is claimed that CAMPFIRE transformed from its democratic and decentralizing ideals into authoritarian practice and '… CAMPFIRE became a word associated not with development, but with dispossession' (ibid, 625).

The question of ownership in the context of community participation as discussed earlier needs further attention. Lack of local ownership is often seen as a major reason why so many development initiatives in the past decades despite having good intentions have not been sustainable (Eylers and Forster 1998). The question of ownership in community-based conservation is cardinal especially in case of land tenure. The term tenure in the context of CBC covers the rights of secure, long-term access to land and other resources, their benefits, and the responsibilities related to those rights. The terms of (common) property, proprietorship and entitlement all relate to these rights (Barrow and Murphree, 2001).

In SADC region (e.g., Namibia, Botswana and South Africa) tenure conditions are very insecure and not favorable for community-based natural resource management and conservation programmes. Local communities living on state land in communal lands do not have strong property rights and their tenure is often uncertain. Without secure rights of access to natural resources, local communities will have little interest in long-term participation in community-based conservation. It is important that tenure rights derived from membership in culturally based local groups are taken on board rather than those based on freehold or leasehold introduced and backed by the government. As mentioned in earlier text and from Hoben at el., (1998) views, participation is not merely desirable but essential to the success of rural development and natural resource management projects, policies and regulations. It is noteworthy to see that local participation is one of the central principles and a key to success of community-based conservation and wildlife management not only in the study site but also in other GMAs.

4.4 Sustainable Tourism Development

The concept of sustainable development emerged in the mid nineteen-sixties. However, World Commission on Environment and Development popularized the concept of sustainable development in 1987 with the publication of 'Our Common Future' (commonly known as the Brundtland Report). Sustainable development brings together the apparently contrasting concepts of economic development and environmental conservation. The vision of the Brundtland Report was one of economic development not concerned with attaining maximum economic growth, but also with issues of fairness between the individuals and groups making up a society as well as fairness between the present generation and those generations still to come (WCED, 1987; Harris et al., 2002).

The concern of sustainable development approach is that resources for development are conserved for indefinite future as well as present use. In short, sustainable development is considered to be "development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs" (WCED 1987). In other words, it is a process of change in which the exploitation of resources, the direction of investments, the orientation of technological development and institutional changes are in harmony and enhance both current and future potential to meet human needs and aspirations.

4.4.1 Sustainable Tourism Development

Sustainable tourism is tourism that meets the needs of present generations without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs (Hunter & Green, 1995; Harris et al., 2002). Sustainable tourism embraces a community-oriented approach, encouraging community involvement and participation. The definition of sustainable tourism emphasizes quality, continuity, and balance. The term has continued to be influential since then as much of tourism is on cultural, economic and environmental impacts (Ahn et al., 2002). According to Munasinghe and McNeely (1995), the concept of sustainable development is hinged on three broad approaches and concerns, namely: social, economic, and ecological sustainability.

Although the Brundtland Report did not make notable reference to tourism, its influence has, however, resulted in increasing awareness of and concern about the continuing degradation of the environment and the role which tourism can play in environmental exploitation. According to Diggines (1998), the increasing awareness between

sustainable development and tourism has become more or less a reality today. As many global environmental crises emanate from a variety of reasons including over-exploitation of natural resources in the world more so in developing countries, it is essential that all forms of tourism based on nature or man-made resources contribute to the sustainable use of resources (UNEP, 2000). As Muller (1994) observes, the target of sustainable tourism must, therefore, aim at balancing tourism in which no one single element predominates over others.

Economic efficiency aims at producing the maximum output in order to achieve a high standard of living of the people within the constraints of the existing capital (Markandya, 1993; Paehlke, 1999). Although economic sustainability implies meeting the economic needs of everyone through the use of natural resources, Ndubano (2000) states that the experience of Kenya has shown that it is possible to have a booming tourist industry while the majority of the local people live in poverty.

Social equity among other things advocates fairness and equal access to resources by all user groups. This is aimed at ensuring equity in the distribution of costs, benefits, decision-making and management, which in theory will eradicate poverty (UNCED, 1992). In the case of the study site, social equity refers to a situation where all individuals have the same opportunity to be actively involved in, benefit from, to make decisions about, and to manage natural resources for tourism development. The assumption is that opportunity to benefit from tourism should be the same for all stakeholders irrespective of their ethnic background, gender, age or economic status.

According to Serageldin (1993), ecological sustainability emphasizes that the rate of renewable natural resources use should not be faster than the rate at which the natural process renews itself. This is based on the assumption that the dynamic processes of the natural environment can become unsustainable as a result of stresses imposed by human activity (Munasinghe & McNeely, 1995). Therefore, ecological sustainability refers to maintaining a system's stability, which implies limiting the stress on ecosystems central to the sustainability of the global system (Perrings, 1991). Tourism, as an economic activity should establish whether its development is carried out in such way that it does not pressure ecosystems beyond their inherent processes of renewal.

As discussed above, the three concerns of economic, social, and ecological sustainability are inter-related. Impacts on one are likely to affect all others. For instance, the failure by safari/ or tour operators in lodges to observe prescribed waste management regulations might result in pollution. This may lead to that area loosing its quality and attractiveness, a factor that can result in the decline of tourists visiting the area and economic benefits such as income and employment opportunities accruing from it. Oliveira (2003) observed that the environment that attracts tourists and tourism investment can be destroyed by tourism and consequently, the loss of environmental quality can ultimately destroy tourism itself. Plog (1974) equally observed that tourism contains the seeds of its own destruction, tourism can kill tourism, destroying the very environmental attractions which visitors come to a location to experience.

Even though tourism product in the study area might in some ways be compatible with the principles of sustainable development, there are many other issues which are contrary to the definition of the concept. For instance, tourism planning does not involve local communities. In fact, planning is centrally based (chapter 6). Other issues include local ownership, participation and stakeholder involvement (chapter 6). Tourism development has neither provided adequate employment for communities nor provided full benefits to individual households. Further, tourism development in the area has lacked a broad-based community input. As discussed in chapter 6, local communities are not in charge of tourism activities and sustainable tourism has failed to provide an intergenerational equity. Communities reported that equitable distribution of costs and benefits of tourism development in the area did not flow to local households because ZAWA controlled safari hunting and it was cash strapped.
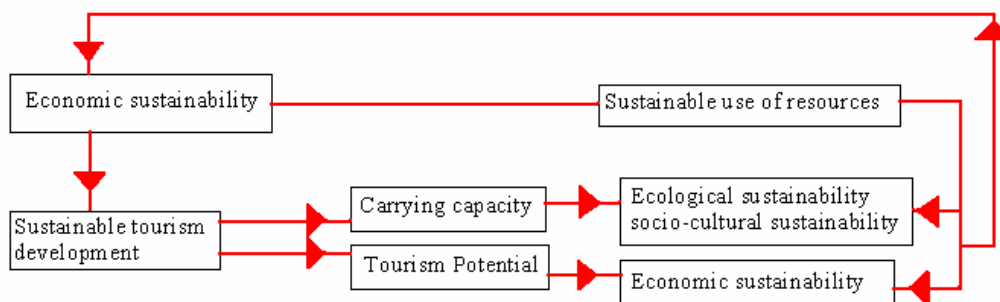
Figure 8: Tourism as a tool in sustainable development

Source: NHTV BREDA 2000, a sustainable future for PAN Parks Regions

As I mentioned in chapter 2 and shown in the figure above, tourism can be a tool in sustainable development if it is well planned and monitored. Figure 8 shows a relationship between sustainable development and how tourism can be a tool in the sustainable use of the resources of a protected area. Simply, it shows that sustainable development involves sustainable use of resources. In this regard, sustainable tourism strategy should be formulated in a manner likely to respect the social and ecological carrying capacity of the area in order to maintain ecological and socio-cultural sustainability. In terms of local situation, ecological sustainability represents the National Park area and the surrounding GMA, while socio-cultural sustainability reflects local communities and their way of living. These elements are core and together form the basis for economic sustainability.

4.4.2 The concept of Eco-Tourism

Although the origins of the concept of ecotourism are not certain, one of the first sources to have contributed to the discourse appears to be Hetzer (1965), who identified four pillars or principles of responsible tourism. These four pillars are minimizing environmental impacts, respecting host cultures, maximizing benefits to local people, and maximizing tourist satisfaction (Blamey, 2001). In 1978 Kenton Miller also wrote about similar principles associated with ecotourism when he wrote about national park planning in Latin America. Although Miller referred to the concept as "eco-development" he clearly described the basic theoretical concept of ecotourism by describing the need for park development to integrate social, economic, and environmental considerations in order to meet the needs of both humans and the environment. Kenton's concepts of eco-development also became part of the debate on sustainable development (Honey, 1999).

Some experts suggest that there were two major components that contributed to the emergence of ecotourism. First, ecotourism is linked to the environmental movement of the 1970's and 1980's. Second, there was a great dissatisfaction with mass tourism due to overdevelopment, environmental pollution, and the invasion of culturally insensitive and economically disruptive foreigners (Honey, 1999; Orams, 1995). This combination of an increase in environmental awareness and the emerging dissatisfaction with mass tourism led to an increased demand for ecotourism (Blamey, 2001).

Currently there is no clear-cut consensus on the definition of ecotourism. The meaning and the use of the term are plagued by disagreements, confusion, and propaganda

(Weaver, 1999). Many argue that the lack of a clear definition and the vagaries and ambiguities that surround the term ecotourism, make it almost meaningless (Weaver 2001). According to tour operator Kurt Kutay; "Ecotourism is now used indiscriminately to describe anything related to nature or unrelated to conventional tourism" (Honey 1999, p. 21). Others argue that there are different types of ecotourism: such has "hard" vs. "soft", "deep" vs. "shallow", or "active" versus "passive" ecotourism (Stem, Lassole, Lee, and Deshler, 2003; Orams, 1995). Therefore, it can be argued that because there are different types of ecotourism, it cannot be grouped into one categorical definition. Even though ecotourism lacks a concrete definition, there are many well recognized definitions that have formed a clear picture of its core principles, which are shown in Table 6.

While there are a variety of definitions, each with a unique perspective, there is considerable consensus that ecotourism must be beneficial to local communities and have a positive effect on protecting the environment. Ecotourism is still in its infancy as a global phenomena but as David Weaver points out, "some degree of consensus or cohesion may be emerging: indicators, perhaps, that ecotourism is moving towards a higher level of maturity" (Weaver, 2001, 1). As the term ecotourism has evolved, definitions have become more precise, with stronger ties to principles of sustainable development (Blamey, 2001).

Ecotourism's perceived potential as an effective tool for sustainable development is the main reason why developing countries are now embracing it and including it in their economic development and conservation strategies (Stem *et al.,* 2003). As discussed at sections 4.4 and 4.4.1, ecotourism, in its purest form, is founded on the same philosophy as sustainable development as well as sustainable tourism. It is important to think of sustainability not only as a goal for ecotourism but perhaps more importantly as the means for achieving that goal. Since sustainability is so difficult to measure, it is more important to emphasize sustainability as the intention and not necessarily the outcome. The most important way to advance ecotourism is to adhere to the philosophy of sustainable development and to try to maximize the probability of positive impacts while minimizing the negative impacts (Weaver, 1999).

In the Lupande GMA, ecotourism is approached as a community-based development intervention, designed to integrate environmental, social, cultural and economic concerns

(Dernoi 1988, in Pearce 1992; Wells and Brandon 1992). For instance, in Kawaza village, ecotourism is said to be successful because local communities have some small measure of control over them and are said to share equitably in the benefits emerging from ecotourism in their area. As discussed in chapter 6, distribution of benefits within the arena of social services (health and education) is not recognized as individual benefits for the reasons stated therein.

Table 6: Definitions of Ecotourism

Source	Definition
Conservation International (Ziffer, 1989).	A form of tourism inspired primarily by the natural history of an area, including its indigenous cultures. The ecotourist visits relatively undeveloped areas in the spirit of appreciation, participation and sensitivity. The ecotourist practices a non-consumptive use of wildlife and natural resources and contributes to the visited areas through labor or financial means aimed at directly benefiting the conservation of the site and the economic well-being of the local residents.
World Conservation Union (Brandon, 1996)	Environmentally responsible travel and visitation to relatively undisturbed natural areas, in order to enjoy and appreciate nature that promotes conservation, has low negative visitor impact, and provides for beneficially active socio-economic involvement of local populations.
Martha Honey (Honey, 1999, 25).	Travel to fragile, pristine, and usually protected areas that strive to be low impact and (usually) small scale. It helps educate the traveler; provides funds for conservation; directly benefits the economic development and political empowerment of local communities; and fosters respect for different cultures and for human rights.
International Ecotourism Society (2004)	Responsible travel to natural areas that conserves the environment and sustains the well-being of local people.

There is a claim that ecotourism functions as a clear catalyst of change, in the sense that it incorporates new environments into market economies. It entails a commodification and symbolic reshaping of a variety of natural characteristics, in order to extract use or exchange value from them. In the process, the quality of environments can deteriorate through the construction of tourism infrastructure and over-exploitation of attractions. Still, ecotourism has the pretension of contributing to the preservation of pristine landscapes or fragile ecosystems, in other words to secure environmental continuity. Moreover, the auto-definition and marketing strategy of the ecotourism sector evolves precisely around this pretension. Simultaneously, it is also a basic necessity of ecotourism that the environments it exploits remain unchanged, in order to preserve the direct resource base on which it depends and to secure long term profitability of investments.

As a result of this paradox, ecotourism has often come hand in hand with new environmental legislation, the establishment of protected areas or the regulation of access to natural resources through environmental management plans. Such interventions are aimed at mitigating the environmental impacts of tourism. However, in practice they also serve to restrict competing forms of natural resource use that might deteriorate them.

4.4 Summary

A political ecology research framework was preferred in this study to better identify different social actor groups vying for access to natural resources and the extent to which their actions influence biodiversity. It examines the political dynamics surrounding material and discursive struggles over the environment in South Luangwa Valley and surrounding GMA. Particular attention is given to the ways in which conflict over access to environmental resources is linked to systems of political and economic control of a country. The application of the framework revealed two issues: first, the existence of tensions between groups of social actors vying for access to and use of natural resources; second, the characteristics and role of power, differing greatly by actor group and the misdistribution of power, and its manifestations of use, that has detrimental effects on sustainable tourism development. The active participatory approach aims at devolving much of the decision-making process and significant control over important wildlife resources to the community level. The underlying thinking behind community-based conservation/community-based wildlife management is that local communities have been alienated from a resource they should rightly own, control, manage, and benefit from (Songorwa et al., 2000). Further, participatory approaches bring in the element of empowerment, which is the real goal of participation. This element of participation involves the transfer of decision-making to local people and implies that they will have more control over the management of wildlife or design and implementation of local development strategies.

In the words of Friedman (1992: 20),---'alternative development involves a process of social and political empowerment whose long term objective is to rebalance the structure of power within society by making state action more accountable, strengthening the powers of civil society in the management of their own affairs.'

CHAPTER FIVE

5.0 POLICY ANALYSES

5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents policy analyses of present legal and institutional arrangements for community-based natural resources management in Zambia. The chapter is divided into four major sections: the first section outlines the theory of participation and community-based natural resources management; the second section describes an overview of protected areas system under which the wildlife policy was developed. The third section analyses the roles and responsibilities of MTENR charged with the responsibility of policy formulation and ZAWA mandated to enforce regulations in protected areas. The fourth section assesses the legal provision for community participation in wildlife management and tourism activities. It does this by reviewing the wildlife policy to find out to what extent communities are given the responsibility to exercise power over them and accrue benefits resulting from that use and management.

The main discourse in all the legal instruments, especially that of wildlife, is based on the sustainable use of natural resources for the development of tourism, which is outlined in ZAWA ACT and the Tourism Policy. It is claimed that devolving control over wildlife resources to the users and ensuring their participation in the formulation and implementation of policies and development initiatives, will lead to the adoption of sustainable practices and control by those who use the resources. The major thrust is also that communities living in and around natural resources, in a park/or Game Management Area, must be the primary beneficiaries of exploitation activities. As discussed in chapter 4, participation has been presented as a process through which different groups in a community influence and share control over development initiatives and the decisions and resources that affect them (Mascarenhas et al., 1998). A basic tenet of this approach is that all groups must be involved in all varying forms of decision-making processes.

The objective of this chapter is to assess whether the legal provisions for community participation in natural resources management spelt out in the Zambian environmental

laws take into account the various factors needed for efficient and real participation and decentralization. As studies in decentralization and participatory natural resources management reveal, granting natural resources management powers and the right to accrue benefits from such management to local communities is a complex task (Agrawal and Ribot, 1999). The complexity results from the political, legal and institutional issues that must be addressed in order to enable the effective exercise of management powers by local communities. However, as Gibson (1999) stated, it is difficult to ensure that the devolution of power to local communities contribute to the efficient and equitable satisfaction of their economic and social needs, and simultaneously to natural resources conservation interests. The analysis presented here, shows that what is commonly called "rights" is nothing more than simple privileges given and taken at the discretion of government authorities without real transfer of decision-making powers to local communities.

The analysis is focused on the provisions spelt out in ZAWA ACT No 12 of 1998 and Tourism Draft policy of 1999. The analysis makes references to decentralization studies which propose an assessment of actors, powers and accountability mechanisms in the context of decentralization and participatory natural resources management (Ribot, 2001). The analysis makes reference to chapter 4 where the concept of local community has been discussed in more detail. The Zambian laws and policies underpinning the natural resources management present "local communities" as a unitary entity while reality from the study site shows that there are distinct groups and sectors within the concept of a "community". The different actors are discussed in light of their inter-relationship, their representation structures and accountability mechanisms. Further, I discuss both downward and upward accountability of empowered actors, in order to discern whether decentralization of management powers to local communities is taking place in a meaningful way. The analysis is purely based on a textual assessment of institutional structures, procedures, accountability and conservation strategies for community wildlife use rights or any other form of community participation in wildlife management, proposed in wildlife management laws and regulations.

Ribot (1999), states that according to economic and public choice theory, participation and decentralization can increase economic and managerial efficiency by: (1) Allowing the local populations who bear the costs of the resource use decisions to make those

decisions, rather than leaving them in the hands of outsiders or unaccountable locals; (2)Reducing administrative and managerial transaction costs via the proximity of local participants, access to skills and local information; (3) Using local knowledge and aspirations in project formulation, implementation, management and evaluation for better matching of actions to needs.

5.2 An overview of Protected Area System

Zambia's first PAs were created in the 1920's as game reserves under the Game Ordinance of 1925. The creation of PA has continued over most of the century, with large areas gazetted since independence in 1964. The criteria used a half century ago for the selection of areas for national park establishment were; (a), presence of species requiring special protection; (b), areas unsuited to agriculture, either because the soils were unsuitable for cultivation or because of the presence of tsetse flies that precluded the raising of domestic animals, especially the bovines; and (c), areas in which human settlements were absent or sparse. The first game reserve in the country was located in Luangwa at the instigation of the administrator of North-Eastern Rhodesia in 1904 (UNEP-WCMC, 1991). It was later followed by the Kafue Game Reserve, set up around the 1950s to control the progressive erosion of wildlife populations (Mwima 2001). During this period, there was no infrastructure or protection agency to administer the areas in terms of wildlife management and law enforcement.

The policy relating to the use and management of national parks and subsequent guidelines has evolved from pronouncements in internal departmental ministerial reports and documents to supporting frameworks ratified at higher levels of government. For example, the first government policy for wildlife protected areas appeared in a ministerial Annual Report in 1958 and was followed by the subsequent issue of guidelines regarding the use and management of game reserves as well as the formulation of protected area legislation. As discussed and summarized in the table below, contemporary national parks were established to preserve selections of the country's environments for the enjoyment and education of the general public, and a policy of "no major developments inside the national park" was adopted. The National Parks and Game Management Areas were formally provided for under the National Park and Wildlife Act No, 57 of 1968, which authorized the President to declare any area a national park and also abolished the previous categories of game reserves, controlled hunting areas, and private game

reserves. Three legal instruments, the Game Management Area Declaration Order of 1971, the National Parks Declaration Order of 1972, and Statutory Instrument No. 44 of 1972, established the current network of wildlife protected areas.

The IUCN scheme provides a range of available categories of protected areas, each suited to particular conservation needs and each capable of contributing to regional national or international goals of biodiversity conservation. From table 7, Zambia lays more emphasis on 6 categories with the largest amount of land being confined to category VI where GMAs are located. According to Jachman (2000), when category VI is combined with Category II (national parks) the two accounts for 225, 000 km squared of Zambia's land surface. National parks also vary in size from as small as 66 km squared (Mosi-oa-Tunya-meaning the smoke that thunders) to as large as 22, 000 km squared (Kafue national park). The largest GMA is the west Zambezi GMA, which covers 38, 070 km squared.

Table 7: A Brief Description of Zambian Protected Areas

IUCN CLASS	DESCRIPTION	FUNCTION/OBJECTIVE	ZAMBIAN EQUIVALENT
I	Scientific or Nature Reserve	Area managed mainly for science or wilderness protection	Botanical Reserves?
II	National Park	Area managed for ecosystem protection and tourism	National Park, Chembe Bird Sanctuary
III	National Monument or Natural Landmark	Area managed mainly for conservation of special cultural and natural features	Cultural or Heritage Sites
IV	Habitat/Species Management Area	Area managed mainly for conservation through managed intervention	Nchete and Sekula Wildlife Sanctuaries; Protected watersheds; Protected Fisheries areas
V	Protected Landscape	Protected area managed mainly for landscape/seascape conservation and tourism	Nil
VI	Managed Resource Protected Area	Area managed mainly for the sustainable use of ecosystems	Game Management Areas, Wetlands of International Importance
VII	Anthropological Reserve or Natural Biotic Area	Area where habitat is maintained for the livelihood of traditional societies	Nil
VIII	Multiple Use Management Areas	Intensively managed area for sustainable provision of economic goods and services	Local and National Forest Reserves; Private Game Ranches and other conservation areas
IX	Biosphere Reserve	Spatially zoned landscape/seascape and managed for multiples purposes an d having a core protected zone, buffer zone and restoration zone	Nil

Adapted from IUCN 1994

Game Management Areas, which surround national parks and serve as buffer zones against disruptive land-use practices, emerged in the early 1970s as provided for under the Game Management Area Declaration Order of 1971. They were established with the basic objective of conserving wildlife within game management areas at optimum variety and abundance commensurate with other land uses and to allow for harvesting or annual culls on a sustained yield basis. According to Lungu (1990), GMAs were created with the overall objective of providing a framework within which to integrate wildlife management into the rural economy.

Before the coming of Europeans, wildlife was regarded as an integral part of Zambian life. During that time, wildlife and habitat protection was vested in the local chief on behalf of the tribe. The chief controlled allocation not only of land for use by households, but also access to forest and wildlife resources. In the legislation enacted to set up game reserves in the 1940s the ownership and access to wildlife resources was taken away from the local chiefs and vested in the State. This move heralded the gradual alienation of the indigenous population from land and wildlife, to make way for Game Reserves. This resulted in conflicts as stated in section 7. 2. With the exception of Kafue National Park, which has continued to hold national parks status since its establishment, all Game Reserves were subsequently transformed into National Parks in 1972 (Jachman 2000). The reason for the establishment of the national parks has remained as that of the Game Reserves. None of these early pieces of legislation provided for community participation in the country as reflected under section 4. 3. 1, perhaps with the exception of Western Province, where traditional institutional arrangements allowed the Litunga (Paramount chief of Lozi people) to manage wildlife through the institutions of the Barotse Royal Establishment with very little interference from the Colonial Government (CONASA 2002).

Innovation within the provisions of the National Parks and Wildlife Act was spurred by public debate (including Parliament), on the participation of local communities in wildlife conservation. This led to innovative initiatives such as the ADMADE and Luangwa Integrated Resource Development Programme (LIRDP) – now under the Zambia Wildlife Authority (ZAWA), as the South Luangwa Area Management Unit (SLAMU). Consecutive National Parks and Wildlife Acts have attempted to refine stakeholder

participation in the management of national parks and game management areas. Denied their rights and access to resources, the local communities engaged in the illegal harvesting of timber, grazing, and wildlife creating a whole new set of law enforcement problems (more details at section 7. 6).

Before 1990, Zambia had no clearly articulated policy and the country's first formal policy for National Parks and Wildlife was only adopted in 1993 and subsequently, revised in 1998. The policy elaborates a mission statement, objectives for a wildlife management entity, a planning framework and local level institutions for community participation in the game management areas. The National Parks and Wildlife Policy is said to have pioneered community participation in natural resource management in Zambia empowering local level wildlife management institutions to redistribute revenues from wildlife in their localities although its success is questioned in this thesis. The Zambia Wildlife Act of 1998 provides for the current management of the Zambia's wildlife protected areas. The Act provides for and describes the purpose of the Zambia Wildlife Authority and how it is to be involved in the regulation of hunting in protected areas and game ranches (ZAWA, 2002). It also provides for protected species, licensing, entry in wildlife protected areas, management planning requirements for national parks and game management areas and the enforcement of wildlife related activities for compliance with international agreements. The Wildlife Act also describes the functions of the Zambia Wildlife Authority and local level community institutions, the Community Resource Boards, which it fails to support as discussed at section 6. 1.

The Wildlife policy and the Act have not developed together like one behind the other. As such, legislative reform directed at national parks and game management areas has evolved faster and incorporated some innovative approaches to the management of wildlife in the protected and open areas, while the wildlife policy has remained stagnant. According to high ranking ZAWA officers at headquarters, the organization intends to develop a series of sub-sector polices that would bolster the Act. ZAWA are also said to have been involved in a process of drafting various subsidiary policy documents and regulatory frameworks in response to the shortages (see section 3) in the policy that await government's approval after stakeholder consultation. These draft policies include the rhino policy, elephant policy, private wildlife estate conservation and management

policy, crocodile conservation policy, wild dog conservation policy and the research policy.

Further, local communities, who bear both the direct and indirect costs of living together with wildlife, remain largely excluded from wildlife management, cash benefits and tourism activities that could be derived from wildlife in their area. The ACT does not allow initiation of management-partnership with local communities as it lacks a clear framework to facilitate its implementation. The policies with regards to protected areas in Zambia (Table 4) follow closely IUCN form of legislation. These sets of rules and regulations governing the management of protected areas include both the formal institutions- the protected area laws, regulations regarding resource use and access and the statutory authority of the management agencies, as well as informal institutions, which include the customs of resource use that local communities and visitors adhere to, and the views of politicians and society in general towards the role of protected areas.

In view of the aforesaid, the behavior of protected areas stakeholders is not the consequence of one law or social custom, but the interaction of a complex, and multi-layered institutional environment. This multi-layered institutional arrangement follow a history and experiences which determine how the concerned agencies relate and work with each other. The central aspect of Zambia's Protected Areas (PA) system is based on the country's constitution. Implicit in the constitution is the sectorization of the environment and natural resources sector into sub-sectors e.g., wildlife, forests, water, set the basis for segmentation (Figure 10)

5.3 Roles and Responsibilities

Roles and responsibilities refer to how actors participate in managing a natural resource. Responsibilities describe the activities an actor performs in support of management and are derived from the rights held by an actor. When an actor is involved in management, each activity in which he or she participates corresponds to a right and responsibility being exercised either formally or informally by that actor. Actors may take on responsibilities without having formal rights, but in fulfilling those responsibilities the actor assumes *de facto rights.* Responsibilities are also referred to by some authors as duties (Pinkerton and Weinstein 1995, 12) and include activities such as monitoring the condition of the resource, restoring the habitat or resource productivity, and allocating resource with regard to natural resources management in Zambia, roles and

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responsibilities lie with the agencies outlined in the figure 14 shown in the appendix and the table 10 that follow. Of all the institutions outlined in table, the Ministry of Tourism, Environment and Natural is the most important one. The MTENR assumes a coordination role and with that comes the crucial role of policy formulation for these sub-sectors.   The MTENR's roles also embody the facilitation and monitoring the implementation of international agreements, conventions and treaties with a view to promoting the country's conservation interests as well as meeting international obligations. These two roles have a critical bearing on how conservation work is carried out in Zambia. Another strategic institution is the Environmental Council of Zambia (ECZ), whose focus is land utilization, environmental impact assessment regulations, and air water quality standards.

The Zambia Wildlife Authority's responsibilities include national parks, game management areas, forestry reserves, and heritage sites. ZAWA are also responsible for the protection and conservation of individual wildlife species. These roles have assumed such proportions that there is a tendency to overshadow all the other institutions. Emerging from this analysis is the fact that ZAWA seems to be everywhere on the PA map but their ability to meet the expanded mandates is seriously questioned. Another important institution is the department of Forestry which oversees both national and local forestry reserves but staff cannot enter the national park and game management area without express permission of MTENR. The wildlife ACT of 1998 promotes only ZAWA's activities disregarding other institutions with mandates to conserve other natural resources.

In addition, fisheries are another important institution with a single mandate. This department has a limited number of PAs but is responsible for commercial fishing, issuance of licenses, and enforcing fishing regulations and laws, which give the department a basis for controlling fishing in all PA categories. However, due to the exclusionist provisions of the Wildlife and Forest Acts the DoF cannot influence management of National Parks and Forest Reserves. The department cannot even carryout any conservation work in national parks, GMAs, forestry reserves, and heritage sites unless called in by the responsible institutions. Another single mandate institution is Water Affairs whose main role is to provide guidelines for the protection of watersheds and catchments areas.   This role is implied in the work of ZAWA and Forestry Department as most of the conservation work carried out by these entities can enhance

watershed quality. As discussed in chapter 5 there is no collaboration among the institutions.

At the local level, there are two very important institutions; district councils and customary authorities. Both are excluded from national parks and restricted to GMAs and local forest reserves and heritage sites. As regards GMAs, these institutions can work closely with community resource boards and the joint forest management (JFM) under local forests. The key role of private sector is to contribute to investments in national parks, GMAs, forest reserves, and heritage sites. Central to this endeavor is employment creation, consumptive tourism and revenue generation. To this end, the private sector has formed a number of associations, which include the Game Producers Association, Tour Operators Association of Zambia, Safari Outfitters, and Safari Hunters. Timber Producers have also set up a similar association in the forestry sub-sector. Another category is that of NGOs and donors which have provided support for conservation programmes in all the categories of PAs. However, there is no linkage with local communities and the council under whom they operate.

To sum up, the exclusions and overlaps in roles and responsibilities demands close collaboration. But the other more formidable problems include the shortage of financial resources and capacity to effectively assume roles and responsibilities. In addition, the monopolistic tendencies in many of the legal frameworks for PA also affect the ability of such agencies to meet their set objectives. For example, ZAWA's assumption of the responsibility of coordinating the conservation of wetlands, previously a role performed by ECZ, has affected its ability to meet its set objectives. In this regard, there is need to allow other agencies to work in a particular designated area. There is also a need for MTENR to take its coordination role seriously to ensure that PA institutions under its charge support each other's conservation mandates.

If the roles of such institution are clearly defined, there will be less emphasis on internal factors constraining its operations. Further, the roles must be mirrored not only in the Transitional National Development Plan but also should appear in National Biodiversity Strategy as well as in the Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper. Furthermore, the over centralized management bring with them the potential of overlaps and conflicts as discussed above. This becomes more prominent when NGOs which sometimes appear to

crowd project sites, is overlooked. The downside of a low budgetary allocation to ZAWA is equally affecting its operation in wildlife management which has an impact on community participation itself as a whole. The role of donor support can be viewed as an opportunity as well as a threat in that such support is never long term and creates dependency, which often leads government into allocating insufficient support for the sector. Other threats include inconsistencies in government policy statements as regards NGOs, which affect their planning, and commitment. Furthermore, increased environmental pressure due to increases in population is putting pressure on individual PAs through encroachment and resource abstraction. In the absence of good budgetary allocations, such types of threats will lead to the demise of the Protected Area system more so wildlife resources. Declining wildlife populations due to continued poaching, lack of resources for monitoring and poor infrastructure in wildlife-protected areas combine and weaken further ZAWA's capacity to management thereby hampering tourism development and its contribution to economic development in Zambia.

5.4 Legal provisions for community participation

As explained in chapter 4, many countries in sub-Saharan Africa have in place national policies and laws that state explicitly that communities should be involved in all areas of environmental management in a very active and direct manner, and that their values, norms and practices should be taken into consideration. For instance, the Namibian policy on wildlife Management, utilization and tourism in communal Areas (Cabinet Resolution No.8th/16.03.95/005), sets one objective to establish an economically based system for the management and utilization of wildlife and other resources on communal land so that rural communities can participate on a partnership basis in the management of and benefits from, natural resources.

The objective advanced in these legal instruments is to enable local communities to benefit economically from the use of wildlife and wildlife resources, while simultaneously participating in activities that aim at their conservation. Regional legal instruments that promote the participation of local communities in wildlife management have also been adopted. The 1999 SADC Protocol on Wildlife Conservation and Law Enforcement (SADC 1999, Article 7.4), for example, asserts that State parties shall establish or introduce mechanisms for community-based wildlife management and shall integrate principles and techniques derived from indigenous knowledge systems into national wildlife management and law enforcement policies and procedures. The protocol

defines community- based wildlife management as the management of wildlife by a community or group of communities, which have the right to manage wildlife and to receive the benefits from that management.

Further, several international environmental agreements to which sub-Saharan countries are parties, have also adopted the concept of community-based natural resources management. For instance, principle 22 of the Rio Declaration asserts that sates should recognize and duly support the identity, culture and interests of indigenous and local communities and enable their effective participation in the achievement of sustainable development. Furthermore, the Convention on Biological Diversity (CBO), states in the preamble the close dependence of many indigenous and local communities on biological resources.

Participatory community wildlife management has dual objectives: (1) ensuring conservation of wildlife resources with the participation of local communities, and (2) promoting the economic and social development of such communities through use of wildlife resources. These objectives imply that communities should not only share the benefits resulting from the use of wildlife resources but should also participate in decisions regarding wildlife management. In the SADC region, including Zambia, countries have adopted, regulations and/or guidelines establishing community participation mechanisms, including the so called community wildlife use rights (Johnston and Dannenmaier, 2000). Apparently, many states are proposing to transfer some of their powers in wildlife management to promote the participation of locals in the decision-making process and accommodate development interests and concerns of communities. It is argued that many developing countries are formulating sustainable use plans as a strategy for wildlife conservation outside of protected areas, and one of the more popular approaches is to grant wildlife use rights, which imbue communities and individuals with legal rights for wildlife use.

5.4.1 Who are the actors?

There are various kinds of actors that can receive wildlife management powers in the name of decentralized or community-based natural resource management. It is important to understand who these actors are, how they fit into the community structure and how they promote or hinder CBNRM objectives. The Zambian law like other SADCC laws defines local communities as…'the residents within a game management area or open

area who by virtue of their rights over land invest in and derive benefits from the sustainable utilization of wildlife resources in the area' (ZAWA ACT NO 12, 1998 section 2). However, as discussed in chapter four, under section 4.3.5, communities are not homogenous and the term 'local community' cannot easily be geographically defined and comprises diverse interests stratified by gender, age, class, religion, livelihood etc. Provisions from this law related to local actors show that organizations that act on behalf of communities are key actors for community participation in wildlife management. Communities must form community-based organizations (e.g., 'Community Resources Boards') and register them as a means of acquiring wildlife management rights and rights over benefits resulting from wildlife. It is these boards that interrelate with both the government and the private sector in the name of community.

The role of chiefs and/or local leaders is also not mentioned despite the significant influence that they have in many rural communities. According to Gibson (1999), many chiefs still possess considerable influence over social and economic institutions in rural areas, despite the slow erosion of their authority over the past century. It is also interesting to note that the definition of local community could allow exclusion from CBNRM & CBWM initiatives of anyone who does not conserve wildlife resources. In other words, those who are not protecting nature are not part of "the community". The basic question concerning accountability is whether the actors who retain and/or receive powers over nature truly represent and are responsive to the population affected by such powers. Since the government, through ZAWA, plays an important role in promoting community participation and since real management powers are not in fact being transferred as it is shown bellow, the question of accountability is also whether or not government is accountable.

The question of selecting representatives is crucial, since it is these representatives who decide, in the name of communities, the general use of wildlife and the beneficiaries. According to Ribot (1999), locally accountable representation in public decision-making must be in place in order to test the hypothesis that participation and decentralization lead to a greater efficiency, equity, development and environmental outcomes. Although Zambia has established representative participation through formation of CRBs it is not clear, however, from the CRBs, how comprehensive the system is in terms of ensuring that the diversity of community members endorses the options chosen for community

representation. Further, adopting elections as a mode of selecting community representatives for wildlife management may not necessarily ensure comprehensiveness of representation or accountability. Rural elites, for one, can manipulate candidacies, electoral processes and those in elected positions.

With regard to mechanisms of accountability of local representatives, there is no space in the ZWA Act for communities to decide which form(s) of representation to adopt, electoral or otherwise. The choices for community representation, in any instance, either traditional or formal should be a result of a process that ensures legitimacy, comprehensiveness and accountability. While there are a few provisions in the Zambian laws on upward accountability, downward accountability other than elections are completely absent from most laws. Also, Community Resource Boards are required to report to government agencies but as stated already, there are no legal mechanisms in place to ensure that they are also downwardly accountable.

5.4.2 Who wields more powers?

According to Agrawal and Ribot (1999), the nature of decentralization depends to a significant degree upon who gets to exercise power and the accountability relations to which they are subject. Consequently, while local actors form the institutional basis of decentralization, decentralization cannot be said to take place until they hold significant powers and are accountable to the local population (Gibson, Clark 1999). These analysts indicate powers that can be transferred as part of a decentralization to include: power to create or modify rules; power to make decisions about how a particular resource or opportunity is to be used; power to implement and ensure compliance; and power to adjudicate disputes. But, if powers are transferred to actors that are not accountable to their constituents, or who are accountable only to themselves or to superior authorities within the structure of the government, then, these analysts assert such reforms are not likely to accomplish the stated aims of decentralization.

5.4.3 Rights to participate in wildlife management

The law in Zambia provides communities with more than just wildlife exploitation opportunities. For instance, after complying with procedures established for participation in wildlife management, i.e. forming community resources boards (ZAWA ACT 1998 section 6), communities are entitled to take part in decision-making processes regarding

wildlife resources existing in their area. However, communities are required to apply to ZAWA in order for them to access decision-making processes and wildlife benefits. Also, communities can only have wildlife management rights in wildlife management areas, the existence of which requires approval by a government minister. Approval requirements and procedures demonstrate that what governments are proposing here are essentially participation privileges, that can be given and taken, and not exactly participation rights. Thus, the now commonly evoked community wildlife use "rights" are nothing else but a misleading interpretation of the participation provisions from these and other laws in the region. The underlying assumption reflected in the law is that government, represented by the ZAWA, has the ultimate power to decide whether or not communities can participate in wildlife management and access benefits from wildlife. When opening space for community participation in decision-making processes over natural resources government reserve for itself the discretionary power to withdraw such community "rights".

5.5 Shortcomings in Wildlife and Tourism policies

5.5.1 Cumbersome procedures for community participation

It is claimed by proponents of community participation that, procedures for community participation in wildlife management and benefit sharing will determine how accessible decision-making processes are and, consequently, will shape to a large extent how genuine the principles of community participation proclaimed in laws. In Zambia, and some SADC countries like Namibia and Botswana, governments require a number of steps for communities' involvement. Local communities must organize themselves and apply for registration as Community Resources Boards. Such boards should have elected representatives from the local communities, a representative of the local authority in the area and a representative of a chief in whose area the board is established (ZAWA Act No 12, 1998, 6 (1) (3)). As stated in chapter four and section 6. 3. 4, the fact that the central government retains, the legislative powers to determine the rules that community must follow to access wildlife benefits is the other way of maintaining state control over wildlife resources. A number of questions can be raised as to the extent to which the institutional structures and procedures proposed for community representation and participation are relevant and appropriate. The government is imposing procedures that are complex, costly and time-consuming for communities and this has the effect of removing opportunities for real community participation in wildlife management.

5.5.2 Lack of power to determine wildlife management areas

Although sustainable community wildlife-use entails delimiting different uses in different areas, it is important to mention that restrictions on community access to wildlife resources can potentially be made through geographical criteria (limiting areas where communities can participate in management and accrue benefits), through quotas (limiting the quantity of resources that communities can utilize) and through types of uses (consumptive versus non-consumptive or, in other words, commercial versus non-commercial uses). Unless management plans are formulated in a truly participatory way, the cumulative affect of these restrictions on community access to resources can be substantial. In fact, what appears as an opportunity for community development is greatly reduced by circumscribing participation areas, limiting permissible uses for communities and via allocating quotas. However, community resource boards have the power to manage wildlife within its jurisdiction but within quotas specified by the authority (ZAWA ACT NO 12, 1998, 7 (2) (b)).

5.5.3 Lack of power to formulate management plans

It is written in ZAWA ACT NO 12 of 1998, section 7 (d) and 5 (h) that one of the functions of the community resource board is to develop and implement management plans that reconcile the various uses of land in areas falling under the board's jurisdiction. Such plans are mostly non existent. Even where they exist, the plans are developed in consultation with the Zambia Wildlife Authority which equally lack its own revised management plans. When preparing management plans for game management areas and other protected areas ZAWA is expected to consult local communities, but consultation is manipulated as will be discussed. It is also interesting to note that in Zambia, even where the power to formulate and implement management plans has been completely devolved to local committees, in reality this is a limited devolution. For one, the technical requirements imposed by the government for this purpose implies that most communities are always in need of government assistance to formulate management plans. In addition, management plans have to be approved by the government.

As mentioned in chapter four, imposing technical analysis which in turn requires assistance is simply another route for state control over plans. If communities were granted resources that they could freely use to hire independent or government bodies for assistance that would perhaps constitute greater decentralization. But the only sort of

assistance or intervention that is envisaged in community formulation of management plans is governmental. The law is silent on the role of NGOs and the private sector on this matter. The role that local knowledge and capacity of communities in Zambia should play in the development and implementation of management plans in Community Resource Boards is also questionable. The local knowledge has not received due consideration even though communities are responsible for developing such plans. This lack of explicit reference to this aspect has created not only ambiguity but has also posed the danger that local knowledge and capacity are overwhelmed by government technical requirements.

5.5.4 Lack of power to determine costs and benefits for the community

The government of Zambia through, ZAWA maintains a tight control over community resource boards' freedom to decide on costs and benefits. For example, negotiation of co-management agreements with the private sector is to be made in conjunction with the ZAWA. In the same line, acceptance of any grants or donations from any sources within or outside the country must have the approval of ZAWA or the Minister, respectively. No autonomy whatsoever is given to the boards to make financial decisions. In general no provisions are included requiring that a pre-assessment of the socio-economic situation of communities and identification of interests and aspirations of communities are made before allocating wildlife conservation responsibilities. Because the objective should be to maximize benefits and minimize costs to local communities a requirement for an assessment of the costs attached to community wildlife involvement in wildlife management would, therefore, help to ensure that costs do not exceed the benefits. For example, a few categories of local benefits could include: financial income (resulting from sale of or tax on collected, hunted or captured wildlife, and traditional knowledge usage fees, etc); general community benefits (resulting from employment, schools and/or educational supplies, health centers and/or medical supplies, roads, training opportunities and provision of equipment, information dissemination, etc). These and other categories of benefits could serve as a basis from which choices could be made. Furthermore, no provisions are included in the ACT to ensure that benefits resulting from wildlife use are applied for community development. This latter aspect would help to assess the role of the laws in promoting the objective of community development and could be an important means to avoid conflicts (see chapter 6) over choices for revenue use.

5.5.5 Lack of power to revoke or transfer use rights

In evaluating security of participation rights it is found out that the "rights" that community members have to manage wildlife and to decide on the use of wildlife are in practice privileges granted to communities. For instance, the law in Zambia is silent about this issue, which means that it does not provide a guarantee against arbitrary or unjustifiable limitations of participation opportunities established by its provisions. In many regulations pertaining to CBNRM & CBWM in Southern Africa, governments have continued to retain the power to withdraw wildlife management and use rights if they decide that, communities are not conforming with a wildlife management plan {monitoring and enforcing), or that there is a superior public interest that determines a withdrawal of such rights. Although reserves are usually justified under considerations of "public interest" but in many instances, such interest is neither delimited nor explained, which means that the rights of local communities are not protected against government after arbitrary and unjustifiable decisions. Where restriction are imposed on the exercise of wildlife use rights, both within community land and on other land, clear and solid arguments should be provided, in the same way as the use "government interest" for withdrawal of rights should be justified. In other words, the government may reserve the right not to grant use rights to communities where it is solidly determined that a certain use will be prejudicial to conservation and/or community development interests when practiced by local communities. Nevertheless, this must be determined through a transparent procedure and the government should ensure that communities nonetheless benefit from exercise of the restricted uses by others.

With regard to transfer of rights, the law provides a system of partnerships between local communities and the private sector in wildlife management. For example, the laws in Zambia spelt out in ZAWA ACT No 12 of 1998 section 7 (a) contain provisions for partnerships between communities and the private sector. But guidelines for ensuring effective contribution by the private sector to community development and wildlife conservation to protect communities against possible misconduct by the sector are missing. Furthermore, the ACT does not legally consider the threat that economic and financial superiority of the private sector may represent to communities, who negotiate from a position of weakness. This could be resolved by making sure that CBNRM & CBWM regulations include clear indications of contractual responsibilities of the parties involved. Thus, the basic provisions could relate to wildlife protection and conservation

roles and responsibilities earlier mentioned economic and social benefits which communities expect to receive by entering into wildlife management agreements and by involving the private sector in the process accountability mechanism for government agencies and the private sector, and mechanisms to prevent conflicts and facilitate resolution of disputes.

5.5.6 Lack of power to adjudicate disputes

According to Ribot (1999), the power to resolve disputes over wildlife resources is an important aspect of participation and the independence and accessibility of the adjudicating bodies is cardinal. In this context, in order to ensure that the legitimate rights, expectations and interests of communities and other actors are not undermined, the authority to settle disputes should not be left exclusively on the hands of ZAWA or of any other party. Alternative dispute mechanisms - including access to courts, arbitration, and mutual conciliation and to traditional dispute resolution schemes - should always be considered as this diversity of mechanisms provides better opportunities for access to justice revealed in section 7. 7. However, ZAWA ACT does not provide guidelines for dispute resolution mechanisms for communities to follow. Determination of forms and powers to adjudicate conflicts at the community level implies, in many cases, dealing with multiple overlapping systems of law. It suffices to say that it is important that studies be undertaken to determine how best the written and oral systems of law coexisting in many sub-Saharan countries can be used to promote community progress and sound wildlife resources management. Provisions for recourse to customary law and dispute resolution schemes have been proposed in many laws in different countries but the mechanisms through which customary and formal legal frameworks will co-exist and inter-relate have not been assessed and established although I made reference to tradition methods of natural resource management practiced in western province of Zambia discussed under section 4. 3. 2.

5.5.7 Lack of Institutional Coordination Mechanisms

In Zambia, the MTENR, although considered as the lynchpin for the coordination of protected areas, has often tended to be upward looking – more to Cabinet and Ministry of Finance for budgetary considerations, than coordination. There is no budgetary allocation per se for the MTENR coordination role, although it has lately been amplified in the ministry's draft strategic development plan. It does not, however, clearly articulate who

will do it and how it will be done. In addition, the tendency of having continuous reshuffling of ministries and government departments has hampered the setting up of effective coordination mechanisms (e.g., Department of Forests, Department of Water Affairs). The mechanisms which are in place were largely donor or project funded, e.g., Biodiversity Working Group, and the Steering Committee on Wetlands, which have no legal basis but have set objectives and end dates. Thus, while well intentioned, such mechanisms never really become part and parcel of the government's long-term institutional arrangements for biodiversity conservation.

5.5.8 Lack of Institutional Arrangements for Protected Areas Management

The policy and legislative framework in Zambia, results in five (5) PA management institutions which cover wildlife, forestry, water, heritage sites, and fisheries and wetlands (see figure below). The five institutions work in 9 sub-categories which show very little linkages. Some convergences were noted for ECZ, Fisheries and ZAWA on water resources; though ZAWA has now taken over the role of coordinating wetland conservation which used to be under ECZ. At the level of communities, where closer linkages would be expected, it is only CRBs and the Forestry Department whose mandates interlock and again over water. What emerges from the figure 14 in appendix, is that coordination between these institutions only takes place outside of their mandates e.g., through a ministry.

5.6 Summary

In sum, despite the rhetoric on decentralization and local community involvement, ZAWA Act and Tourism policy stand out for their lack of significant provisions to accommodate key CBNRM & CBWM principles. Further, since no policy has been developed and adopted for CBNRM, CBNRM issues are likely to remain a matter for pilot testing for a long time to come. The analyzes of policy has shown that the ZAWA ACT and the Tourism policies have failed to address or have, in some cases, inadequately addressed essential issues that would effectively translate discourse into practice. The powers to decide and control that are essential for community's meaningful participation in wildlife management of wildlife resources are not being transferred or significantly shared. Therefore, as far as ZAWA ACT is concerned, communities will continue to play an insignificant role in the decision-making process while the government unilaterally determines the conditions and terms under which communities will intervene and benefit. In their current wording, what the policies are proposing is a situation of participation

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without powers a half-hearted attempt of decentralization still requiring a significant commitment from the part of government to its principles. The distinction between rights and privileges is key in construction of local autonomy, whether for governance issues or for individuals. Privileges are delegated. Privileges are subject to the abuses of the allocating authority that may give them and take them away at whim. However, rights are held by citizens who have representation and recourse in the event those rights are denied. Transfers made in the form of rights rather than delegated privileges reflect the degree of government commitment to the decentralization process.

The regulations that are contained in ZAWA ACT and Tourism Policy in their current gaps, must reposition themselves to addressing in greater details, the question of actors that may play a critical role in the promotion of community participation and their responsibilities. As discussed in chapter 4, the concept of local communities spelt out in ZAWA ACT should reflect the existence of different groups, interests and socio-economic and political influence in this concept. The structures to be chosen for community representation must, be aware and responsive to the diversity of actors that they are obliged to serve. Furthermore, community recognition and legitimacy of representatives will be determined by how these representatives are chosen, who gets involved in their selection and the accountability strategies that will ensure that they remain committed to defend their constituencies. The powers that communities must receive for effective participation and involvement in decision-making processes are also key aspects. The power to decide on resources uses and to determine benefit distribution may contribute significantly to both objectives of CBNRM & CBWM. Motivated by real prospects of socio-economic gain, communities may be more motivated and willing to conserve resources and use them sustainably. It is also essential to note that if CBNRM & CBWM initiatives are to succeed then community members need to experience direct or even indirect economic and social benefits.

CHAPTER SIX

6.0 COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION IN WILDLIFE AND TOURISM DEVELOPMENT

6.1 Introduction

Chapter six presents the empirical findings arranged according to first, the overriding objective of the study which was to examine various forms of community participation in wildlife management and small scale tourism activities and second, present the compelling and salient themes provided by key informants. I chose to analyze the content of the interviews as wholes rather than individuals and to report the recurring themes in their original form in order to reflect a real-world setting. I use direct quotes in order to allow participants' voices to be head. In chapter 6, on community participation I analyze two themes a) participation in decision-making; b) and distribution of benefits from tourism development. These discussions illuminates both exclusionist and inclusion tendencies common in Community-Based Natural Resources Management & Community Resources Boards as experienced and lived by local people. Also, I analyze the nature of community participation expected by various interests groups in the study area. I discuss these local people's perceptions in the light of a CBC framework and political ecology.

6.2 Nature of Community Participation

One of the objectives of this study was to examine nature of community participation expected by various interests groups in the SLNP & GMA in wildlife management and tourism development. To draw these out, respondents were asked questions concerning: 1) the various forms of community participation desired by various interests groups, 2) the involvement of communities in decision-making; planning and management 3) the factors influencing various interests groups on the impacts of tourism development and 4) the views expressed by local communities regarding wildlife management. The views of communities on participation in wildlife management and tourism development fluctuated between positive and negative experiences related to tourism as well as persistent crop damage caused by animals (see chapter 7). It has been claimed that more participation is better than less and that past development strategies failed through its absence. The desired forms of participation varied among interests groups.

When respondents were asked to discuss the nature of community participation expected by various interests groups, the following picture came out. Key informants (selected local people; district agency-ZAWA; and private sector) approached the subject matter from the angle of whether Local communities were involved in decision-making, planning and management of wildlife, and tourism development. Their answers oscillated between local ZAWA and host communities. A total of eighteen key participants (including the Church and NGOs concerns) preferred local involvement in decision-making, whereas, only nine preferred lower ranks of ZAWA at district local level to make decisions rather than provincial or higher ranks of ZAWA at headquarters. As mentioned in chapter 5, the bureaucracy involved in the operations of ZAWA are cumbersome, take long to reach the beneficiaries; it can be argued that until and only when local communities see immediate action over their reported cases, have the authority to make decisions, no effective lower level resource management can be realized.

The results from study area shown in table 8 indicate a strong support for the idea that local people should be consulted about issues of tourism development in their area. Although support for district ZAWA was higher than the line ministry, local people preferred participation that was empowering. They wanted to be involved early than later. However, the Church and NGOs preferred communities and ZAWA to work as a team rather than independent bodies. In their view, the two parties were supposed to enter into a partnership where all parties involved are treated as co-partners rather than underdogs. The view above can be related to Pretty's (1995) assertion of interactive and self-mobilization. However, decentralization and devolution as discussed in chapter 5 of protected area management through CBNRM approaches appear not to have reached local ZAWA. As I mentioned earlier on, ZAWA prefers they make decisions as they fear to lose control over wildlife resources and possibilities that they form partnership with local communities and tour operators. What appears to be difficult for ZAWA is developing a shared vision, shared objectives, and a negotiated relationship with the local people over wildlife resources. Further, ZAWA fears to discuss its strengths, weaknesses and complementarities of other partners in wildlife management and conservation development.

It was interesting to note also that key participants in the study area preferred local ZAWA to make decisions rather than reporting to headquarters for major decisions. Only

six key participants preferred higher ranks at headquarters to make decisions. Strangely, people from ZAWA had an insignificant support for community resource boards which were democratically elected by local communities to make decisions. This appears to be a violation of ZAWA's ACT of 1999 which was a departure from former wildlife legislation to include a provision to set up CRBs. The setting up of CRBs was meant to address the negative community views on establishment of national parks in their areas with no clear benefits accruing to the communities. When ZAWA was probed for an explanation, senior officers stated that CRBs were actually siding with local people when dealing with problem animals and they cannot be trusted. Basing on the discourses above, it appears that both local people and district ZAWA officers wants to take an active role in both the management of wildlife and tourism development through decision-making. Local communities also supported the ideal of either being informed or at times being consulted before a decision is taken. This view reflects both participation by consultation/ or induced participation as described in Pretty's typology since at times local communities lacked both the necessary information and skills.   Many respondents particularly CRBs do not question the existence of the park, but request a more active involvement in activities even within the park, especially where tourism is concerned.

Some district ZAWA officers at Chinzombo Camp, private Safari operators and local communities agreed that the 1998 Zambia Wildlife Authority ACT was too restrictive. It has not changed at all. The only observable change as respondents argued is that all financial benefits from wildlife and tourism is now passed directly to the communities-thus creating a new incentive to conserve natural resources and the ability to invest in community enterprises. Nevertheless, communities do not know how much ZAWA actually collects (chapter 5). Local communities make no decisions about revenue allocation beyond determining how to spend the share that ZAWA allot them.

Key private Safari operators were very uncomfortable with the question of community participation. Most of the Safari operators whom I interviewed stated that central government through the line ministry of tourism environment and natural resources had encouraged them to set-up businesses in the area. One Safari operator explained:
'There is no difference between non-local and local entrepreneurs. Tourism development needed an injection of private capital to increase level of tourism development in the area. Government invited us, and we responded to that call to invest in tourism.'

However, when I probed them further, three Safari operators openly supported the Ministry of Tourism as being better placed to make major decisions concerning tourism development. Interesting only Safari operators thought ZAWA should make decisions either at local or headquarters levels. There was also minimal individual support for traditional chiefs to make decisions. This minimal support for the chiefs explains the silence that was exhibited by many respondents during focused group discussions; may be for good or for bad, respondents feared to openly criticize their chiefs in case the chiefs hear about it and they decide to eject them from their land. This is because chiefs in the study area have a lot of power and can throw out the undesirables out of their kingdoms including civil servants. What appears to be the problem is the misconstrued view that chiefs benefit more from revenue generated from tourism/ wildlife. What is at stake for the chiefs is their loss of control over their subjects who sometimes openly disregarded their authority. Nevertheless, those who opposed them asked not to be quoted.

Further, some Safari operators believe that time is not ripe for local communities to engage in tourism activities due to high levels of poverty among most rural people. They were also not willing to form business partnerships with local people because they were not sure that they could eject in enough capital and have enough education to run business. It is thought that communities with lower levels of education needed more time to assimilate, adopt and/or adapt to new policies and business ethics. The above assertion shows that private Safari operators neither supported nor favored community participation in tourism development. The resentment and mistrust that both the private sector and local communities felt for each other were a result of lack of appropriate attitudes and approaches with regard to understanding each others needs, priorities and aspirations. It is important that partnerships with NGOs and the Church dealing with food security and livelihood issues are established and strengthened with local people. This is likely to reduce illegal activities which are common among local communities especially in accessing forest resources.

Selected key respondents (local people, district ZAWA, private sector and the church & NGO) were asked to discuss the issue of tourism development, and to reflect on what they would or would not like to see happen in South Luangwa over the next five to ten years. Only two respondents from Kawaza Village said they would like tourism in South Luangwa to be 'foreign driven' and remain as it is, while the other 21 respondents were

of the view that tourism should be controlled by local communities. A further 12 were willing to consider minimal, controlled development. When the views of both respondents who were willing to allow minimal, controlled development and those who preferred foreign investors to run the tourism sector are compared, it is striking to find a such a wide split with local people perceptions. This may be interpreted that local people preferred to drive their own development. A member of CRB in chief Kakumbi observed that: 'development is demonstrated by the ability one has towards one's span of life. In this context, development becomes the ability to feed, clothe and shelter oneself resulting from more income earned from one's occupation and from the provision of infrastructural facilities like roads (figure 9), water, electricity, telecommunications and improvements in factors of production. The questions to ask about tourism development in SLNP are therefore: what has been happening to poverty levels as a result of tourism? What has been happening to unemployment due to tourism industry? What has been happening to inequality in SLNP? Therefore, whether the industry is foreign or locally driven do these concerns decline?

Safari operators also voiced concerns about the state of the Chipata-Mfuwe road. The road has affected the flow of tourists to the area. Coley a general manager of Flatdogs camp, said safari operators were disappointed that the road had not been improved for a long time and yet "south Luangwa is a prime national park in Zambia but it's disappointing that the road has not been maintained." Further, local communities argued that some Safari operators have been blamed for the bad road because of heavy trucks. However, Coley dispelled that rumor and said that they want the road improved. According to Coley, Flatdogs camp loses about 30 per cent of its business due to the bad road. About 70 to 80 per cent of Flatdog's clients use this road. What was worrying to the Camp management was that tourists who were already there were saying they will not come again because the road is bad. This view was representative of many Safari operators concerns about the state of the road. The road needs urgent attention and there has been no political will to improve the road since independence in 1964. Figure 9 shows some recent periodic patches that the roads department had undertaken to improve the Chipata-Mfuwe road. However, the program is often abandoned due to lack of major capital ejection by government. Furthermore, being an opposition UNIP strong hold, the area seems to be deliberately being punished by the 'New Deal' government.

Figure 9: Mfuwe Road showing a section recently upgraded.

Most local people associated the idea of tourism development with costs and benefits. Two focus group discussions concluded that there was need to weigh the potential positive and negative aspects of tourism development (FG 1, FG 2). During the discussion respondents knew about the economic benefits that tourism brings the community and the value of environmental education, but were more concerned about the potential negative environmental impacts of increased tourism. One respondent stated on behalf of the group that:

'We hope that if we were to come back in 5 to 10 years SLNP/GMA wouldn't have changed too much, because we don't want SLNP/GMA to become another place like other foreign tourist run places. But at the same time, many communities would be at the centre running the tourist business instead. So we hope that local people will be running small-scale tourism related activities and it is our guess that people would continue coming including foreign tourists, and maybe the tourism industry would not just grow a little more, to boost the local economy, but that that wouldn't have to affect the feel of the place either'.

When asked whom they thought was in charge of tourism in South Luangwa, most respondents identified foreign Safari operators (25), ZAWA (5), and/or local residents (5). One other Safari operator that I interviewed pointed to the issue of local ownership. Despite her own preference for minimal development only, she recognized that ultimately tourism development actually is the prerogative of the local residents.

"This isn't my home, this place doesn't belong to me, no matter how much I have a connection with the place, it doesn't belong to me, and it's not my place in terms of ownership to say what happens to it and what doesn't. So if the community wants to make it a big lodge or camp place with guided tours to see the wildlife in SLNP then that's what they want to do and that's the way they want to play it" (R 9).

The following comment from a local member of Kakumbi CRB shows not only the incapacity to participate in wildlife management and tourism related activities but the hopelessness they feel about their lack of participation in wildlife management and engaging in tourism activities and the mistrust about foreign Safari operators:

'Many Safari operators are foreign; only two or three cases are local, while those that are local work in the shadows of powerful politicians in Lusaka.'

However, I observed that the money generated in the GMA was used to provide social services (health and education) and infrastructure (e.g. roads) which were a common form of distributing benefits in the first generation LIRDP now SLAMU (see appendix B) by community resource boards. However, local people fail to see them as direct benefits accruing to them. Although schools and clinics have been built or rehabilitated using revenue collected from wildlife, such investments seem to have little impact on the attitudes of local people and incentives to participate in wildlife management or stop poaching. Local people fail to link social service provision to wildlife conservation and management because service provision in the area does not discriminate between those who comply with the regulations and rules of the park from those who illegally access the park resources. Also, local people cannot identify the benefits of improved health service delivery (because of user fees) and education services with wildlife management because government has always provided such services at no expense to local people. It is difficult to convince and explain to local people that actually improved health and education services have been made possible due to wildlife conservation particularly when government provides the same services to other communities not living close to a park or within a game management area.

Based on the discussion above, it can be argued that local people appear to have low awareness of the use of benefits generated from wildlife and tourism and how the benefits are distributed. Some choose this line of thought because of poverty levels in many households as reported by many respondents that they lacked food. This implies that knowledge obtained by those in the CRBs stays among them and travels slowly to other groups in the communities may be due to lack of information flow or education among CRBs leadership. Therefore, if tourism is not integrated with other sectors in the different

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villages; local participation such as entrepreneurmanship among local people will not develop organically. That is, without external assistance the growth rate of new entrepreneurs will continue to be low. I also observed that the tourist industry in South Luangwa and surrounding GMA is dominated by foreign investors from South Africa who own most of the tourism facilities and have concessional rights to wildlife areas. The dominance of the tourism industry by foreign investors and the non-local investment can reduce control over local resources and that this loss of local autonomy is the most negative long-term effect of tourism.

Some local respondents especially in chiefs' Kakumbi and Nsefu claimed that a local resident may also suffer a loss of the sense of place, as his/her surroundings are transformed to accommodate the requirements of a foreign-dominated tourism industry. This is because tourism is an agent of social change and it affects everything it comes into contact with including peoples' livelihoods. Informal interviews with community leaders and household representatives in the study area indicate that there is a general assumption that south Luangwa and GMA has been taken from them by government and given to private Safari operators. As a result, local people view the approach negatively because they perceive the domination by non-locals as "selling out" their resources.

Since the tourism industry in SLNP & GMA is dominated by private Safari operators, equal access to and decisions about the use of resources now largely excludes local people. This situation is not sustainable development, which emphases access and participation in decision-making about use of natural resources by all user groups and stakeholders. A sustainable tourism industry should be sensitive to the needs and aspirations of the host population and provide them the opportunity to participate in the decision-making process (Ceballos-Lascurain, 1996). Even though respondents stated that tourism benefited only a few people directly through employments; CRB leadership, felt that communities benefited through provision of social services and infrastructure an issue disputed by many respondents including the church and local NGOs. However, its effects on communities are not regarded as a benefit at all. One interpretation is the local communities' claim that tourism is dominated by foreign investors, who also happen to derive better benefits than local people creates resentment, antagonisms, and resource conflicts between the local people and foreign investors. Many local people state that the 'valley or Malambo' which has sustained their livelihoods for centuries, has been usurped

from them and has been transferred, to foreign tourism operators. This state of affairs creates a hostile environment in which it is unlikely that the most important stakeholders, local people themselves, can collaborate with the tourism industry to promote the sustainable use of the wildlife resources. In the following table I present a summary of various comments both positive and negative as noted in the field. These perceptions are then grouped into clusters.

Table 8: the impacts of tourism development in South Luangwa

POSITIVE IMPACTS OF TOURISM	NEGATIVE IMPACTS OF TOURISM
Tourism has encouraged a boom of small-scale traders amongst the community. Many hawkers are now selling their art and crafts as well as local culture.	Prices of certain crafts and food have been inflated as a result of the presence of tourists
Tourism development is gradually improving the local economy, created employment and is likely to spill over to other industries.	There is no enough evidence of increased employment levels. Few 'preferred' local people find work in the lodges.
Tourism in the valley has resulted in the development of infrastructure, new facilities and amenities for both foreign and local tourists	True roads are good in the park but not outside the park. Infrastructure is dilapidated especially roads that are outside the park (e.g. Chipata-Mfuwe road).
Tourism development has led to an increased interest in traditional cultural ceremonies (Malaila) and local crafts	Traditional culture is commercialized. Some people sell and trivialize their culture for the sake of making a profit. many young girls engage in prostitution.
The development of tourism is also instilling a sense of pride about the local heritage. Tourists when they visit our area treat local people with respect, dignity and equally	Local community believes tourism has increased health risks- increased incidence of HIV/AIDS and other related diseases as they come into contact with tourists
Tourism is reducing levels of poverty in our area.	Local people are too poor and cannot afford three meals in a day. Centrally poverty levels are increasing
Rural areas are becoming more accessible. Today many local people are coming back to invest in tourism activities.	Local people do not see the rewards of increased flow of tourists in the area and those that come back, work in the shadows of powerful politicians or donor agents
Tourism has led to increased participation in wildlife conservation. It has instilled a sense of ownership over wildlife resource.	Local people are merely informed about decisions already made by ZAWA.
Tourism development is benefiting local communities.	Tourism benefits are in the hands of a few local and foreign elites.
Tourists are appreciating local culture. Traditional skills are valued and have commercial value	Fewer tourists buy such crafts

The findings above show a strong support for tourism development due to its economic impacts. For instance, those in regular contact with direct benefits of tourism tended to strongly support tourism development; while those that experienced indirect benefits and costs vigorously opposed its development. For instance, both female and youths that run 'Tuntemba' (makeshifts shops) along park road supported tourism for the boom it gave to their business enterprises. These participants were of the view that tourism helped to raise a spirit of entrepreneurship among community members and that many hawkers were

selling arts and crafts (figure 12). Some women took advantage of the booming tourism industry to engage in stone quarrying (figure 11). To many participants, tourism activities were not just generating increased opportunities for income earnings, but were also, to some extent, strengthening their values, and cultural inheritance, which was one of the main spin-offs for the whole community. The tourism activities as claimed by some local participants were providing an interest and/or incitement for the locals to engage in some of their traditional activities like basket making, crafts work, traditional dances (figure 10) and music and cooking traditional dinner. Furthermore, most respondents claimed that when they saw outsiders valuing their culture, it gave them pride and self-esteem.

Figure 10: Malaila Dancing Troupe performing in Lusaka

Source: Post, 2 May 2006

This finding is similar to Koh's (2000) assertion that tourism growth is driven by entrepreneurial development. The finding also reflects the tourism policy's aim of redistributing both the opportunities to participate in tourism growth, and access to the benefits from it, towards Zambians regardless of gender (Draft tourism policy, 1999). Some participants argued that the cultural tourists activities were separated from the local people's private ceremonies, and therefore, not having the risks of being intrusive for local community if tourists came to watch them in times of grief or other private ceremonies. Other participants thought that traditional dancing could be made more of a show if the dancers wore traditional outfits made of leather and feathers. Yet other participants claimed that dancers showed a more authentic picture of village life as it is currently instead of what it was like in their days.

Figure 11: Stone quarrying as a form of livelihood activity for local women
Source: Fieldwork, Mfuwe, July 2005

Further, the emerging picture as painted by local communities is a community lacking strong leadership and unity of purpose among neighbors. This has affected and inhibited active participation not only in management of wildlife but also in tourism development. Although many people expressed their willingness to play an active role in tourism development, most of them thought the idea to be unrealistic and highly unattainable at three fronts. As mentioned in chapter 2, communities were too poor to invest in tourism; second, communities lacked access to credit facilities to boost their participation in tourism development, and third, communities lacked the necessary skills (human capital) to manage tourism. This was also confounded by family ties that are breaking-up due to many factors including poverty. In this way, many were resigned to the premise of either being 'lucky' or 'unlucky' one who found work in the lodges. Since social capital is being eroded by modernization, it is weakening the basis for cooperation. This has been exacerbated by government policy over wildlife resources which have not provided an enabling environment for collaboration with local communities. Local communities can no longer call on friends or kin for help.

Interestingly, none of the respondents mentioned capacity building as a means to overcome their deficiency in management. Simply, many accepted their circumstances and heavily criticized their colleagues for their wish to take control of wildlife and tourism related activities. However, education and training are important variables of human capital. This is important because in wildlife conservation and tourism-based activities, acquisition of important skills through education and training would help reduce communication problems and facilitate understanding of others or their own expectation and it would thus enhance their participation whether in wildlife management or tourism-based activities. Little community participation in wildlife management and tourism activities was observed beyond direct employment, despite many opportunities that availed in the area.

The largest source of income in the area is vending and the sale of handicrafts. But many such traders and hawkers were not local people. Many of them came as far as Lusaka, while others came from other areas within the province. Only a handful of them were Kunda people. The few that sold handicrafts claimed they did not generate enough because tourists bought their handicrafts from Livingstone which they visit first before trekking to South Luangwa national park. Nonetheless, the street sellers claimed that cash generated is spent mainly on daily households' goods including meal mealie meal, rice, salt, sugar etc, with a larger portion of their money spent on mealie meal or maize. A few respondents claimed that a small portion of their income went to savings, investment in their own houses although I observed a few housing units which were being built, others claimed that they saved to buy fertilizer (seen by a few bags that remained in the last season), for the on coming rain season. When I discussed with the traders where they got their goods, all stated that almost all their goods came from either Lusaka (capital city) or Chipata (provincial centre). This may suggest that venders' income could have low economic multiplier effect and contradicts the general view that local income has a high economic multiplier effect because the observable effects on the group were different and minimal. Much of what they claimed to have saved through the sell of their merchandise was spent on transporting goods to Mfuwe through a very difficult terrain and was charged very high transport costs.

Nevertheless, the readily exhibited positive attitudes held by small scale traders, hawkers and street vendors and some tour operators also sparked off negative tendencies in some people. The older participants in the community, the learned, and the poorest of the poor claimed that tourism development came with negative impacts. Their particular concern was the erosion of culture, which accordingly was becoming commercialized. Further, some of the learned, some local chiefs including a few local politicians claimed that some local girls dressed up in short tight dresses or jeans which revealed their womanhood. To local people especially the old, this is one direct way in which they thought culture was being sold at a price to earn them a profit. The chiefs also claimed that the change in dress during their malaila (traditional ceremony) performance has lost its original touch and meaning and believed that it was one other way in selling and trivializing their culture to tourists with a view to making a profit.

The above views are similar to studies which acknowledged that the rapid expansion of tourism in the latter half of the 20th century led to changes in the structure of society (Mathieson & Wall, 1982; Urry, 1991). Recent research also indicate that tourism as a factor of change can affect traditional family values, cause cultural commercialization, increase the crime rate and lead to negative elements such as prostitution (Cohen, 1988). Although prostitution was not directly identified as a problem in the area, it was saliently raised in respondents' comments with respect to health risks which local people feared had increased incidences of HIV/AIDS. Tourism development as seen by many participants may appear not to be psychologically empowering. To many local people it did not result in a community that was self-reliant, which demonstrated pride in its traditions and culture. But the booming informal sector presented a different picture. As stated earlier, tourism has to some extent helped communities to engage and start 'Malaila' traditional ceremony. This is similar to the argument that tourism that is sensitive to cultural norms and builds respect for local traditions can be empowering for local people (Singh *et al. 2003)*. Preservation of tradition is therefore, extremely important in terms of maintaining a group's sense of self-esteem and wellbeing. This is shown in some performances of Kalela dance to tourists.

Some negative comments which participants raised concerned the inequitable distribution of economic and employment benefits. Many local people were said to be very unhappy about the 'lucky' or 'preferred' ones whom were employed in lodges and/or CRBs as

village scouts. Others thought that there was corruption in manner of selecting employees by the employing agencies. The rich got employed while the poor were sidelined.

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According to some participants, government and women's organizations perpetuated this trend by allowing women to wear all sorts of outfits and championing the so called women's rights in direct opposition to local cultural norms. As stated earlier on, participants claimed that local people were purposely and selectively sidelined in preference to foreign investors who have taken over all tourism related activities in the parks and game management areas. Since 1991, Zambia has privatized tourism operations in the parks, and hunting in game management areas, have been sold to the private sector; and the private sector is foreign dominated (field notes). In south Luangwa national park all the lodges and camps have been sold to private enterprises. However, as mentioned in chapter 2, corruption was rife during the privatization phases.

Some respondents further claimed that local people were not able to access tourism credit fund. They claimed that the tourism credit funds were benefiting foreigners and powerful politicians with links to donor agencies and NGOs. Participants additionally stated that they were not sufficiently consulted about the development and planning of tourism. They also said that ZAWA only informs them and asks them to embrace and implement such changes instead of involving them in decision-making. This situation, they claimed, worsened the already sour relationships among local people, ZAWA officers and foreign tour operators. Furthermore, participants called for an improvement in the information flow concerning future planning in tourism development and its associated benefits and costs.

The results also show varying levels in exposure of local people to tourism benefits arising from tourism development. This mixture of, and shifting of positions, with regard to positive and negative views are linked to the unrealistic and often unattainable expectations of benefits of tourism that local people hold, and their perceptions about benefits accruing only to a few people. The shift in positions also is attributed to the rising levels of poverty in the country as discussed in chapter 2. Many local participants continue to ask themselves what has been happening to poverty levels in their area as a result of tourism; what has been happening to unemployment due to tourism; and what

has been happening to inequality in the area? Many respondents stated that they fail to get jobs in tourism industry.

Fewer participants acknowledged that the previously 'remote' area was becoming a hive of activities as more businesses were opening up due to tourism development. Both the educated old and the young said their awareness of tourism has broadened their views about foreign cultures and fostered in them renewed interests in local art, craft and traditions, and this has instilled a sense of pride in them about their heritage and culture (figure 12). The finding is similar to Ratz's (2003) suggestion that tourism not only created jobs and business opportunities and helped to stabilize the local economy, but it also facilitated cultural exchange between hosts and visitor, bringing about an improved image of the host community and provided recreational facilities. However, no cultural exchanges were reported by respondents during interviews.

Figure 12: Local sculpture selling his crafts
Source: Fieldwork, Mfuwe 2005

The findings also show the need to re-interpret the meaning of development. Participants stated that development was not simply a question of undertaking projects, or transforming departments into autonomous bodies or of achieving objectives specified in

narrow economic terms. Development was perceived by many respondents to be a process, by which was meant the creation of social products such as upgraded local leadership, a culture of enterprise and innovative action, or enhanced capacity of people to act in concert, purposefully and effectively to cope with the threats and opportunities which they faced everyday. Many participants, however, claimed that the aforesaid issues did not fit in wildlife management and tourism development process and present, neither in the park nor in the surrounding Game Management Area. One participant quoting Nyerere said; 'people cannot be developed; they can only develop themselves by participation and co-operative activities which affect their wellbeing. But whenever, people are herded like animals into new ventures they cannot develop.' (Source not known)

The above statement can be interpreted as a call for community participation and political will to empower rural people. Scheyvens (2002) postulated that it was at this level of empowerment that the issue of community management of tourism comes to the fore. Once local people are politically empowered, their voices and concerns guide the development of any tourism initiative from the feasibility stage through to its implementation. The finding above is similar to Timothy's (1999) assertions that tourism is influenced by class, gender, caste, age and ethnicity, so it is important that democratic structures that encourage the involvement of a range of interest groups are in place. It can be argued that the views expressed above are analogous to views that forming organizations, or working through traditional organization structures, can help gain greater control over tourist development in their areas and give them political strength to deal with outsiders, including the private sector and government officials.

After discussing lack of participation by the local people, one focus group (FG 2) strongly echoed the views of communities that:
'Tourism development should be seen as a process owned and controlled by the local people themselves. In this process, the local people must be participating as beneficiaries where participation is for the people and sustainable tourism development is working with the poor people.'

Although it has been argued that local involvement in the development process is an important thing; the understanding of who is a local or what is a 'local community' was difficult to see in the field. As discussed in chapter 4, the study site has a cross range of people from both within Zambia and across the oceans. It can be argued that the notion of community is like a myth. As discussed in chapter 4, a community has been described as a coherent entity with a clear identity and a community of purpose. However, the reality

on the ground is that communities were made up of an agglomeration of factions and interest groups which were locked in competitive relationships. As I mentioned in chapter 5, the law in Zambia defines local communities as the residents within a game management area or open areas who by virtue of their rights over land invest in and desire benefits from the sustainable utilization of wildlife resources in the area. The diversity was found to be problematic in study site because community participation was often presented as an insider approach to development, which was supposed to be driven by the needs and values of the community. Many of the research participants were not sure as by whose values and needs tourism development were driven in South Luangwa and surrounding Game Management Area. It was also found that social diversification and economic inequality were prominent in the community just as in other parts of the world.

It can be argued that the failure by government to reduce the number of people suffering from hunger in the area is indicative of other considerations that need to be looked at in order to enable households in the study area have access to adequate food. The people spent much time looking for food rather than wanting to engage in tourism activities, food production, and distribution and communication infrastructure among others. Social status, resources at hand along with the 'know how' to express themselves were often given the affluent of the community an unproportional access to the development agenda. The results were that community decisions represented the interests of the elite, which were those who had most to gain from the introduction of tourism. The bias in access to influence occurred when decisions were of external agents. This came out prominently during focus group (FG 1) discussions. For instance, group participants concluded that:

'The consensus that we achieve in our meetings (CRBs) and ZAWA, is not based on mutual agreement among individuals, but is based on the 'balance of social forces'. There is no consultation, but balance only between unequal groupings.'

Participation in totality is said to occur where communities supply the majority of goods and services to tourists, have considerable input into planning, decisions and collectively manage common resources (Timothy, 1998; Tosun 1999, 2000). Participants also felt disempowered since they could not decide the forms of tourism they wanted to be developed in their communities and how the costs and benefits were to be shared among different actors. They felt that the economic, social, psychological and political

dimensions of empowerment did not allow them a measure of management control over tourism and secure maximum benefits from engaging in tourism activities.

6.3.1 Views of Community Cohesion and Conflict

Differences of opinion with respect to tourism and conservation, particularly in terms of who has rights and responsibility for these activities, were identified as a source of conflict in the study site. All key participants with the exception of high ranking ZAWA officers at Chilanga discussed the problem of intra-community conflict in relation to one or more of the following groups: ZAWA ACT (see details in chapter 5), Decentralization policy (chapter 7), sharing of benefits, foreign dominance of tourism activities, crop damage, compensation, decision-making and MTENR (see table 8 & 9). Several respondents identified the ZAWA ACT as one source of conflict, suggesting that community members should be consulted instead of ZAWA bringing and imposing the ACT on the people and asking the community to implement it.

6.3.2 Divisions amongst Community Members

In addition to sour relations between local communities, ZAWA and private tour operators, jealousies from those not employed in the lodges have affected friendships with some of the village scouts. A few village scouts stated that people started treating them differently once they started working as scouts. While some shrug off these affronts, others seem more affected by them. Referring to the belief many hold that the current village scouts employees are only there because they are the "favorites," one local headman explained:

"It bothers me a bit because you know it is not like that and the fact that you have a job, live a little better than the rest – that does not make me bigger nor make me think I am better than anyone. Look, amongst the good things I have learned while working here is that I have met such beautiful people that have possibilities to make money but they don't have this pride, or this boasting. Rather, they are humble, and the truth is that this is what motivates them to get ahead."

When discussing community participation, one local trader stated that the only people who benefit from tourism are those who work either for the lodges or ZAWA. The trader did not know what requisites they used to hire those people, but the trader complained that it was not rotational, and there should be an opportunity for everyone. "The fat fish are there" was his response to where tourism profits have gone. The FG 1 & 2 echoed sentiments of favoritism, explaining a situation in which the private tour operators and ZAWA turned away hard working people looking for a job:

"They did not want him, or his son – a very valiant boy he has – and they did not want him either, they didn't want to give him [work]."

Since costs and benefits of tourism are not evenly distributed within local population, it leads to internal power and interest conflicts. As discussed in chapter 7, tourism changes power relations and increases interest conflicts in a destination area. As a result of this retribution of political power, the groups that are negatively affected become more hostile and resentful to the upcoming elites. It has been argued that when tourism enters a locality through strangers, it is likely to be resented by local people. But if it involves many local people who expect to gain important socio-economic benefits from it, it will be supported.

6.4 Conflicts over Decision-making

When asked to describe the government agencies involved in wildlife management, rich detailed responses were associated with the roles of ZAWA and other institutions with mandates to conserve natural resources (see section 5.3). All participants in exception of local ZAWA and community resource boards exhibited varying perceptions of ZAWA-local people relationship. One view from local people was that of 'battle' and described having to 'fight ZAWA at all cost' in order to enlist action. Some participants from Kawaza Cultural Village observed cooperation. 'We cooperate with ZAWA and Safari operators.' A female participant in chief Nsefu's area captured the general sentiment of local people interviewed. 'I think ZAWA must work together with the local people. ZAWA needs to listen to local people more because people suffer crop damage, loss of property and life.' As stated before, many respondents whom I interviewed claimed that they were only asked to help to enforce ZAWA rules. What is also clear in ZAWA is that decision-making processes do not allow local communities to participate in decision-making; neither are local communities consulted or informed about policy goals and outcomes. It can therefore be deduced that local communities are disenfranchised from wildlife resources and their livelihoods have not improved much following the introduction of CBNRM initiatives.

It was agreed by most participants that wildlife management can contribute to the substitution of income derived from agriculture and, therefore, offer an incentive for the protection of flora and fauna in their area, thereby attempting to create a network of sensible development measures. But, ZAWA according to local communities in the three chiefdoms said it did not devolve enough to include local communities as partners in development. Also, respondents from the chiefdoms criticized themselves concerning

their handling of human-wildlife conflicts in their area. Self criticism included the admission that it would have been better if they took an active interest in wildlife and tourism development even if they were constrained with lack of credit (through formation of cooperatives). Further, respondents said that if ZAWA would involve the communities and land users in the formulation of CBNRM policy then it would help to ease off the many conflicts that they felt. They however, blamed ZAWA officers for their moralizing and/or arrogant behavior, notably towards farmers. There were also a few instances when participants blamed local communities for their inflexible attitude and behavior towards ZAWA officers and village scouts and the concept of protection. However, many participants are unhappy that ZAWA does not consult nor inform them about new changes in wildlife management and tourism development. Neither are they informed on the allocation of hunting concessions in their area. They also lamented that lack of consultation created differences and misunderstandings between the local community and foreign investors on the one hand, and on the other, ZAWA and village scouts. As mentioned in chapter 4 mere consultation and conditioned information does not lead to spontaneous participation. Participants believe that the reluctance by ZAWA to devolve power and ownership rights to local communities is the major impediment to sustainable wildlife management.

A general brief expressed by most respondents that I interviewed was that local people need more input in wildlife management decision-making process. Of course, dissenting views were also expressed by participants especially members of the district coordinating committee in Mambwe district. This illustrates some of the skepticism participants shared about decision-making where most members felt ZAWA presents a predetermined agenda to communities with regard to human-wildlife conflicts and were not genuinely devoted to local participation. This feeling led to mistrust in the organization. Inequity that most participants felt in decision-making led to mistrust for ZAWA. Also, the local people perceived some other organizations especially those with money to have unfair influence on the agency and that ZAWA appeared to be conforming to the ideas and ideals of such organization at the expense of the local people.

6.5 Summary

In summary, tourism has offered some benefits to a small portion of local communities in the study area. The most important benefit has been increased employment, although only

a few people are full-time lodge/camp employees. Empowerment and self-enrichment have been particularly important benefits for those working directly in tourism although it has minimally affected the larger community. As argued by local communities tourism has neither helped to stabilize their local economy nor has it enhanced cultural exchanges between the local community and tourists. It has equally not been able to improve community recreation facilities. Anyhow, ZAWA argues that to a small extent tourism has improved the standard of living of some of the community members particularly those who are employed in the lodges and camps. They claim also that to some small degree, it has increased the availability of recreation and entertainment, promoted though insignificantly cultural exchanges and cultural identity of the local community through the revitalization of the malaila traditional ceremony. Many local communities feel that those who do work in the lodges and as village scouts are the "preferred" ones and they would like to see a more equitable distribution of benefits through a rotational employment system. The study found that although benefits differ in type and mode of distribution, financial dividends which trickled down to household level are more meaningful and can catalyze changes in local communities' attitudes towards conservation of wildlife. In whole, this study, found that tourism is a factor of change and has affected the traditions of the local people at the same time it has also contributed to the revitalization of the 'Malaila' ceremony. However, many people feel negatively impacted from tourism, due primarily to its small-scale nature. Therefore, it can be concluded that tourism has not been fully accepted by many local people because fewer than usual numbers of people are directly involved who expect to gain important socio-economic benefits from it. And tourism has not been effectively integrated into the local community.

CHAPTER SEVEN

7.0 HUMAN-WILDLIFE CONFLICTS

7.1 Introduction

The objective of this chapter is to examine sources of conflicts which may occur over natural resources in SLNP and adjacent Lupande GMA. It starts first, by presenting perceptions of causes of conflict as seen and experienced by local people. Second, it analyses the perceptions of crop damage and compensation. Third, it analyses the peoples' perceptions of state versus local controls. Finally, it presents perceptions of utility value of forest resources. All these issues are analyzed within the CBC framework.

7.2 Causes of Conflicts within National Parks

I started by asking all the respondents in their various categories about the causes of conflict. Once again, perceptions were wide ranging. Impressions of past, present and future causes coalesced along several broad lines, which included some of the following: hierarchical and patron–client social relations, the incompatibility of formal laws, conflicts of interest, perception and belief, competition over scarce resources, ambiguity over roles and responsibilities, the unwillingness of the state to respond to social, economic, political and technological changes, corruption, and bad governance. District ZAWA officers on their part identified the root causes of disputes in wildlife management to be related to issues of control over natural resources and decision-making processes discussed previously at section 6. 2. 1. While all focused group discussions (FG 1, 2 & 3), felt that conflicts with national park mainly arose due to restrictions placed over accessing the forest resources of the park and subsequent displacement of local communities from within the park to surrounding areas outside the park. Yet the Church and NGOs in the area related the discussion of conflicts in wildlife management to the broader political decentralization processes which is an ongoing process. Such processes include the formation or empowerment of ward-level governance structures, increasing levels of community control over local natural resources, and formalization of local rights through constitutional, land and local government laws.

In order to explain the causal connections behind the hostile attitude of the local communities towards the park and park officials (see table 7), I begin with describing some of the problems that are commonly faced by the local communities. With the

creation of the national park, restrictions were imposed on access to forest and other resources for the protection of the wild animals. Hunting of wild animals was strictly prohibited and any form of disturbance to the wild life was discouraged (see section 4.3.1). Due to these restrictions, the villages surrounding the buffer area of the park faced a number of problems. Since some of the villages are located adjacent to the park, a common problem faced by the villagers is crop loss as a result of wildlife interference.

I asked respondents to discuss and identify problem animals which ate and damaged their crops and/or are a threat to their lives. The common animals which ate crops and damaged harvest of the local people were mostly elephants (figure 13), hippo and baboons. Fifteen respondents from both chiefs Nsefu and Kakumbi reported incidences with elephants. While ten members of CRBs in the three chiefdoms reported that their crops were eaten by baboons. Bush pigs were also reported to be problem animals. Also, people from ZAWA identified the same animals to be problem animals per se. This was reported by six respondents. Both buffalo and leopard had insignificant number of respondents reporting recent incidences with them. The respondents also brought out the issues of loss of human life, claiming that lion, leopards, hippo and elephants were threats to human life. In both chiefs Kakumbi and Nsefu, the focused group discussions reported more incidences of crop damage experienced during the months of February through May. Most respondents reported that maize, sweet potato, sorghum, pumpkin, cotton, groundnuts and rice got damaged by problem animals. However, ZAWA officers reported that many of the problem animals have been culled in the valley, and that often people over reported cases of crop damage even where a few cobs of maize are damaged. The two opposing views show the extent of mistrust between ZAWA and local community. It also indicates a lack of management concern with regard to crop damage.

Figure 13: Elephants as problem animals

Further, ZAWA is showing lack of understanding about decisions over natural resources that should be made through complex interactions between actors and natural resource base at various levels. This has made it impossible for real solutions to emerge in the area because stakeholders do not see their own role in creating and perpetuating the conflict. However, if stakeholders come to recognize for themselves the common interests and strategic differences that connect them to each other, new opportunities are likely to emerge for turning conflict into collaboration. The mistrust that is inherent in the study area between ZAWA and the local people require building some forms of partnerships involving the church, NGOs who may act as intermediaries.

When respondents from the three chiefdoms were asked how they deal with problem animals, fifteen reported that they still take such cases to ZAWA offices for an action, while ten said that they avoided reporting such cases to ZAWA because they often got no response from them. However, many local respondents reported that when village scouts come, they only scare the animals away. Also, I asked respondents to discuss what action they expected from ZAWA concerning crop damage, loss of property and life. Interestingly, all respondents in exception of ZAWA officers reported that they expected either ZAWA officers or Village scouts to kill the animal. Further, they expected ZAWA to compensate them either by way of giving them the meat of the killed animal or with

money to replace their damaged crops, and property. One focused group discussion in chief Kakumbi openly disagreed over the issue of compensation especially with regard to loss of life. Some claimed that life was irreplaceable and compensation could not bring back their loved one. However, after much deliberation they agreed in principle that it was important that ZAWA takes responsibility and compensate such families. ZAWA officers too were divided between compensating families affected and or not compensating them because government had no capacity to meet such a huge task. One reason for ZAWA hiding their incapacity to deal with the problem was their claim that no guidelines on compensation existed in the wildlife policy. The other reason was that ZAWA was cash strapped and needed all the money to meet its many mandates.

Respondents also lamented that in the past, when problem animal were killed ether by scouts or villagers they were given the carcass as compensation for crops that were destroyed. But, today, such animals were rarely killed by scouts and that villagers are not allowed to kill any of the problem animals. Equally, ZAWA voiced out their concern about allowing villagers to kill the animals stating that killing was not the best solution in such cases. Further, some local respondents from Kakumbi chiefdom; claimed that ZAWA is not a good neighbor. 'It owns all wildlife (ZAWA is seen to own wildlife because it legislates as to what people can and cannot do in relation to wildlife), yet does not behave like a responsible owner, either by controlling the actions of its wildlife (preventing wildlife from entering farming areas) or paying compensation for crop damage caused by that wildlife'.

The evidence above suggests that when local people complain about wildlife causing damage to crops the issue is not just about the degree of damage they experience but more importantly they are making a collective statement about the fact which they consider that by no longer having the legal right to hunt wildlife, they have either lost their previous access to the available resource or they have lost the right to adopt a method of controlling crop raiding species which they consider effective. One chief said:
'People in the villages are angry because marauding animals are destroying crops and killing people. We effectively feed the animals and we receive no compensation. The Zambia wildlife Authority (ZAWA) has taken ownership of these animals away from us. In our tradition, land belongs to local people, and ZAWA cannot keep the Park without appeasing us the local people, although it lacks the funds to even sustain effective Park conservation let alone provide compensation. The carrot offered to local communities for conservation is not big enough.'

This view shows that illegal hunting of wildlife may continue to play a role in local people's livelihoods but they were being denied that chance by restrictions placed over

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use of park resources. What ZAWA fails to recognize is that the use of wildlife for many communities in the chiefdoms of Nsefu, Kakumbi and Munkhanya is not only important for them to secure enough food for their daily needs but more importantly it helps them to reserve their livestock and or crops for later use. This study found it to be necessary that ZAWA recognizes this trend and build on the existing local wild food uses and embraces it in its management and seek ways to minimize the negative effects of their restrictions placed on park resources more for poor community members.

7.3 Crop Damage and Compensation

The results above indicate a mixed feeling, and expressed different opinions and expectations. However, the general picture, which emerged from the interviews, was that people's attitude towards wildlife were largely influenced by their age, education, power relationship, and loss of ownership, including land and benefits obtaining in wildlife resource. The issue of problem animals seems to be a complicated one. Animals have their own natural routes or movement corridors, and if people settle in these corridors, then a conflict between humans and animals arise. The problem was explained by senior ZAWA officer who said, 'much of the current thinking about conservation strategies advocates a dual approach to conserving protected areas law enforcement combined with local communities to reduce their impacts on the protected areas'. The conventional approaches followed by ZAWA in managing wildlife resources are a source of conflicts. For instance, the crop raiding by wildlife is undoing initiatives which work with local people as it is a source of great friction. During focused group discussions with ZAWA at Chinzombo Camp, respondents agreed that; 'the problem of crop damage by wildlife is real. But we can never completely solve this problem. All we need to do is to weigh the loss and gains.' Another ZAWA official said, the colonial masters failed to put in place a comprehensive policy to control problem animals, until 1966. However, despite this lapse during the colonial era, the British South African Company (BSC), did not sit idle, it tried to address this issue. A senior officer also admitted that something has to be done to harmonize the situation. And he said, 'Government is trying its best to address the issue of human-wildlife conflicts. We are not just sitting idle. The community thinks that government is not doing anything. There is no way we can allow our people to be tormented by wildlife. The problem is that we are very thin on the ground the wildlife officers are few.' Similar concerns were raised in chief Kakumbi's area where it was reported that, "We are living in fear for our lives and crops," chief Kakumbi said. "We want to seek authority from ZAWA so that we can clear the elephants because following the ZAWA animal cropping procedures will not save us from starvation. By the time the people in Lusaka respond, our crops will be destroyed."

However, a former senior ZAWA officer bemoaned the status of the ZAWA ACT regarding compensation and concession agreements: in case of the church and non governmental organizations, they also stated that, 'The ZAWA legislation is like a table without legs. It is not anchored on anything. The ACT needs subsidiary legislation to support it. There should be clear guidelines by ZAWA for compensation of local people in terms of crop damage or loss of human life, by wildlife animals.'

When a local farmer's crop is destroyed by an elephant, the ZAWA ACT, No 12, of 1998, does not allow the affected farmer to kill the animal. If, in the interest of safety and self defense, the farmer kills the animal, he or she must report the incidence to the ZAWA Director of Conservation, within 48 hours. This view of perception was further reflected by a Community Resource Board member in Kakumbi chiefdom who said, 'the anomaly in the ACT is that 'no compensation' is given to the affected farmer.' The definition of 'proper officer' here means an honorary wildlife officer, or Game Scout. It does not include Village Scouts. Where a ZAWA officer kills a rampaging animal to safe-guard a human being, the meat of the animal could be given to the affected farmer. But the crux of the matter as one participant observed is that not all animals are edible. For instance, very few local people eat the meat of a monkey, which has been devastating the maize fields, even if it were given to them. The ZAWA ACT must therefore be reformed to include cultural aspects of the people and meet the needs and aspirations of local people, who are the custodians of the wildlife resource.

An agricultural extension officer in the Luangwa valley also said: 'If the issue of reducing farmer-wildlife conflict is to be addressed, it has to be considered from a conservation as well as agricultural development perspective. It would also be important to understand the social context in which crop raiding is occurring because crop raiding may not be a 'real' issue per se, instead, it may be used by people as a means of expressing their distress or dissatisfaction with separate or related issue.' Research findings also suggest that a common problem in resolving human-wildlife conflict in the study site is that most interventions that either ZAWA or other organizations had attempted had been planned from outside the valley without sometimes having clearly defined goals or objectives. It is felt that there is need to identify the goals of interventions to resolve the conflict not only to reduce crop loss but also to explore other avenues which could help in resolving the issue at hand. For instance, increasing farmers' tolerance to crop raiding by wildlife by developing ways in which local people themselves stand to benefit financially through living alongside wildlife. Additionally, many respondents felt that it was important to consider whether ZAWA officers were

interested in, or were able to provide a short or long term solution to a conflict situation. They were also of the view that solutions were actually to be found in the local people themselves. Respondents resented the consultative process that was more of a 'mock consultation' where local communities are merely informed of decisions already made by ZAWA. This practice brewed a sense of skepticism within local communities toward participation.

This failure of buffer zone initiatives to engender genuine community participation in wildlife conservation is partly related to the continuing centralized and top-down nature of land use planning in wildlife management (ODA, 1994). The study also found similar concerns from other chiefdoms where respondents said that before developing and implementing any interventions several other issues needed to be identified. First, the reasons for conflict were to be considered in the context of other issues of protected area management. Second, information needed to be gathered about the type of conflict like local peoples' perception of the situation, and perhaps their expectations regarding a potential intervention. Third, ZAWA were to understand the ecology of the pest species. Fourth, the goals of the intervention were to be clearly defined. Fifth, a decision was to be made regarding the removal of the crop pest and that local people needed to be involved to ensure their support and acceptance of the intervention.

Respondents further claimed that the people assigned to resolving human-wildlife conflict did not have the necessary expertise. Furthermore, focused group discussions raised other factors like whether the particular conflict could be described as a crisis creating great pressure to react, or whether such conflicts were linked politically to other issues regarding protected area management (e.g. poaching, hostility toward other aspects of conservation efforts). One respondent felt that it was important to know whether the local people felt powerless to deal with the problem, or whether they were using crop raiding issue to achieve other goals. These fears were also voiced by a senior chief in the area. Senior Chief Nsefu observed that Zambia Wildlife Authority (ZAWA) officers had a negative attitude towards the local people. The senior chief said: 'ZAWA officers value animals more than people, adding that officers should start working with the local people.'

The statement above shows the need for ZAWA to reduce its current focus on centralized control in favor of decentralized governance and user participation in the management process. In such an arrangement local resource users should play a pivotal role in

decision-making, implementation and enforcement. The premise according to Jentoft (1998, 425), is based on two issues: first, is that the knowledge accumulated by local communities over a period of time is complementary to more formal scientific knowledge producing more 'enlightened, effective and equitable remedies and solutions to management challenges.' Second, that the participation of resource users in various management stages legitimatize the arrangements, thereby contributing to their compliance with regulations, which may in turn result in more effective conservation strategies.

All key respondents including the Church and some local NGOs identified lack of compensation for wildlife damage and loss of life as influencing the peoples' negative attitudes to wildlife conservation and management. As stated in chapter 5, there is no legislative instrument in place to facilitate compensation for losses incurred by local communities. Further, several participants including members of community resource boards in the three chiefdoms claimed that the costs which people incur but never received any form of compensation for such damages was much higher considering that the area experiences persistent spells of droughts? This finding shows serious flaws in the wildlife policy as discussed in chapter 5. Although concern over negative attitudes of local people towards wildlife led government to make significant efforts to improve the situation through greater community involvement in wildlife management, still, community-based natural resources management programs have not achieved much as originally expected. The impact at community level has been very insignificant. Largely, this is linked to poor design and governance issues of CBNRM programs. Similarly, there is inadequate technical assistance; low level of community participation; lack of information flow to local communities on generated revenue, lack of local participation in decision-making and inadequate devolution of powers to local level. All these factors were identified by many participants during interviews at both individual and group levels.

Additionally, many participants claimed that the institutional and ecological, cultural, economic and political changes have affected peoples' attitudes towards wildlife. The failing agricultural policies in the past ten years, liberalization of the economy drastically impacted a heavily depressed local economy. The pattern of interaction between people and wildlife has also changed and become more intense. These changes reflect the

changing population of both human and predator and are a direct reflection of changes in the livelihood systems and in their interaction with wildlife. Some women in the study area have taken new forms of income generating ventures (figure 11).

Human-wildlife conflict as pointed out leads to the loss of human life. Participants reported one case of human loss arising from elephant tramping. Many of the respondents were agreed that while elephants rarely kill people in the area, its potential for such tragedy scares people and intensifies negative attitudes toward wildlife. Putting a value on a human life is both difficult and, according to some, immoral. Paying too little for a human death or injury may have no effect on reducing negative attitudes toward wildlife. Despite these obstacles, several nations have attempted to compensate families for the loss of human life (e.g. Zimbabwe and Malaysia). Ultimately, a compensation program must ensure that local people are part of the overall management of the problem and participate in determining what constitutes appropriate compensation. A female respondent from chief Nsefu commented that attempting to "buy" community compliance with conservation will not work unless decisions related to wildlife and money are made by the communities themselves. Of course, participatory approaches are easier said than done. Focused group discussions were all agreed that local people have an incentive to inflate their claims and, unlike participants in a competitive commodity market, conservationists cannot simply walk away and find a more reasonable seller.

7.4 State versus Local controls of Wildlife

All key respondents that were interviewed identified the central stand-off as being whether protected areas should be inviolate and managed by the state, or whether local communities should have a bigger say in management of protected areas including, if need be, access to resources within these areas. Two contrasting views were presented by respondents in the study area. First, local participants claimed that the employment of village scouts in community resource boards and the posting of such officers in strategic areas of the park and continuous patrols in the park have increased resentments that local people feel towards the scouts. Second, both ZAWA and community resource boards in the three chiefdoms felt that the employment of village scouts recruited from the chiefdoms was done in good faith to help curb poaching. The finding can be interpreted as being in part, an expression of the alienation that local people felt from conservation that denied them access to basic necessities. In turn, as one focused group (FG 3) in Kakumbi chiefdom observed, the animosity translated into heightened support for

poaching, an activity that was most effective by poachers' local contacts. Whether the state or the poacher captured the support of the local communities largely depended on the latter's degree of alienation from the resources and the state.

In addition, local chiefs (Nsefu and Kakumbi) viewed the divided nature of the state (due to many line ministries with their uncoordinated mandates to conserve natural resources) to be another reason for its ineffectiveness in controlling local access to resources. As the ZAWA regional manager observed, rarely did the agendas of the lowest functionaries of the state align with those of policy makers and neither did they carry the same messages nor presented a collaborated front on issues of conservation. Some key local officers of ZAWA and most local participants claimed that village scouts recruited from local villages were likely to have sympathies with the local communities among whom they have kin or other long standing ties. Also, village scouts may choose or ignore to enforce restrictions on some members of the community. This was a potential source for low support of Community Resource Boards by ZAWA and resentment by local communities as discussed in chapter 6.

As stated in chapter 5, under section 5.3 there are also horizontal divisions within the state, in part a manifestation of conflicting mandates to different departments. Furthermore, all key participants emphasized that the differences in agendas of politicians and bureaucrats heavily impacted local communities. The politicians were thought to respond most favorably during election time than any other time. For instance they would respond to voter demands for the lifting of restrictions on access to wildlife and forest resources as United National Independence Party (UNIP) & Movement for Multi-party Democracy (MMD) did in the early 1980s and 1990s respectively. It was claimed by all the focused group discussions (FG 1, 2 & 3) that politicians in the area often jostled for voters with the view to gaining sufficient support and importance. This in turn ultimately strips the protected areas of wildlife and other forest resources. Local politicians that were interviewed within the selected sample viewed it differently by trivializing the matter by simply saying, 'our people are difficult'. Political interference arose for two reasons: first, politicians benefit personally by allowing foreign Safari operators/ giving preferential access to the wildlife through hunting concessions within these areas, and they benefit politically from fulfilling electoral promises. As a result, the use of wildlife and other resources is determined more by local community leaders with connection to

powerful politicians and less by ZAWA or local communities. Thus there is a political problem associated with the exclusionist conservation policy of ZAWA whose long-term implementation borders on the impossible. Sometimes those appointed to head MTENR unilaterally overturn decisions passed by ZAWA.

7.5 Conflicts within the Community

When participants were probed on whether all protected areas should be in the sole care of the local people, or the state, participants were divided. Some local people and community resource board members in Kakumbi viewed the sole care of the protected areas in the hands of either the state or local communities as a myth. The Church and local NGOs on their part suggested integration or eco-development which they felt would encourage eco-friendly development within villages whose aim would be to improve the financial status of villagers, thereby reducing their dependence on resources within protected areas. Participants were in short agitating a convergence of local and state interests, with the latter's interests being served by the political mobilization of the local communities. As mentioned in chapter 4 section 4.3.5, the approach of increasing local participation, posits a problem of defining the concept of 'local community'. For instance, it was observed as earlier pointed that there was a coincidence of interests of ZAWA, Forest department, local politicians, local elites and local communities in the desire to reduce the presence of poachers. Although poachers did not want to be identified, local people's arguments during interviews showed a strong presence among them. These poachers would also argue that they were part of the 'local community', and that their rights to use of the resources in the area were as good as any other user.

In this regard, all key participants whom I interviewed found it difficult to identify the limits of the 'local community' that should control access to resources. The call to hand over control of wildlife and tourism development to local communities, therefore, may have a moral authority that is incontestable; however, findings from the study area suggest that those who believe in it must deconstruct the category of community. In this vein, romanticizing local community with regard to the ecological harmony as suggested in chapter 4, under section 4.3.2 because of their lifestyles and the egalitarian and equitable functioning of their institutions will not lead to sustainable wildlife management and tourism development.

Also, community resource board members in the three chiefdoms identified local power structures as being responsible than the state for creating conditions of dependency and poverty. This finding shows that simple shifting of control from the state to the local level may ultimately do little more than reinforce unequal relations of power at the local level. Nonetheless, local representation and fairness are important for effective wildlife management. When it is fully embraced, it can play a major role in building trust and accountability in management decisions.

Altogether, key respondents were agreed that ZAWA and not the local people controlled the natural resources. Local control in wildlife management was perceived as critical to the people of the area. One focused group discussion in chief Kakumbi's area (FG 3) said, 'ZAWA has failed to manage wildlife with the local people.' Also, local communities described ZAWA as unskilled conservationists, who preferred animals to the people.' ZAWA therefore, needs to improve the poor communication, ambiguity, inconsistency, and insensitivity, whether intended or not, which spoils any attempt to build a positive relationship with all stakeholders. Further, ZAWA needs to clearly communicate to the local people who are most affected by its objectives, policies, and management strategies.

7.6 Conflict over used Forest Resources

All the participants that I interviewed including ZAWA officers agreed that restrictions arising from the ACT No 12 of 1998 limited people's livelihood strategies. Focused group discussions (FG 1, 2 & 3) observed that forest resources comprised a major source of income among the local inhabitants. They said, 'local people depend on forest resources. They collect firewood (fuel wood), thatch grass, tubers, fruits and nuts, wild vegetables, mushroom and mopane caterpillar.' This is the main stay of livelihood for most non working local people either in informal or formal employment sectors. Many tribes in Zambia prefer winged termites to meat of animals, birds and fish. It is claimed that insects have a considerable potential for alleviating nutritional inadequacies in poor rural communities and can be used as a vehicle for economic empowerment. According to Posey (1978, 225)…'insects offer a rich supply of protein and fats readily available throughout the year.' Insects also, are noted for their ability to survive under a variety of ecological conditions, have a high reproductive capacity, short life cycles, cost little to source and give rural communities a vested interest in the survival of species. But when

access is denied, then local people develop resentment feelings towards those charged with responsibility of overseeing resources on behalf of the state.

I observed that the dependence on fuel wood was much higher compared to most of the other resources which are collected from forest. This is mainly because firewood is used for many purposes. It is the main source of domestic energy and is utilized by every household except for those households, which are reliant on electricity and kerosene. The large number of 'Tuntemba' (makeshift shops/ restaurants along the road to the park and some tourist lodges all rely on firewood for cooking and other related activities. Firewood is also used for heating purposes in winter. This explains why many respondents said that local people collected firewood, because all households located in the study area living in close proximity to the park used it as a source of fuel.

All respondents including the Church and NGOs stated that they rely on firewood for cooking purposes on a daily basis. There is no other alternative method for heating and other domestic purposes; wood is the only resource available for heating not only in winter but also in summer. Other domestic needs include construction of houses, wooden furniture or wooden doors. Besides firewood, thatch grass is also collected to a large extent for building roofs of traditional houses, making fences for their houses and other domestic purposes. Although income from forest products did not account for a large share of the households, it acted as a supplement source of income to many local people due to lack of alternative sources of income in the area. According to Arnold (1997), income from forestry resources are important in filling seasonal or cash flows gaps, and also in helping households to cope with particular expenses or respond to unusual opportunities. As discussed in chapter 2 under section 2.2.3, 83% of rural households are poor. Therefore, when access to forest products is denied, large numbers of people are affected with such entry restrictions into the park as all of them depend on the forest resources. Further, the local people are likely to have discontented feelings with the creation of the park and the imposition of park rules and regulations. The main reason being the denial of access rights for resources on which they previously depended on meeting their subsistence needs as well as earning their livelihoods.

Other collections made by the local people included wild vegetables, fruits and nuts. All participants viewed the collection of wild vegetables, fruits and nuts as critical. 'We eat

nshima with mostly vegetables or mopane caterpillar. It is our main relish here. We can neither afford beef nor chicken on a daily basis. We eat beef and chicken mostly on special occasions (e.g., Christmas and New Year's Eve)'. The incidence of collection of forest products is a frequented activity for many of the local people. The point shows the levels of poverty in many of the households. Lower income groups (i.e. without formal work) have less of an incentive not to access resources in the absence of alternative sources of income compared to higher income groups (with formal work). Therefore, they are more likely to resist park rules and regulations and access park resources illegally.

This finding shows that lack of awareness and education is responsible for creating an ambivalent feeling towards the park and park officers including village scouts who are supposed to look after the endangered wildlife within the park. In addition, respondents raised the issue of corrupt practices by both ZAWA and village scouts. These practices brings out the frustration and indignation of the communities who felt deprived and exploited because they are unable to access resources within their reach that once belonged to them. Accordingly, this leads to a kind of resistance and hostility within the local communities who often express their discontentment by simply violating park rules on a daily basis where they feel justified in breaking the rules and illegally accessing them.

Table 9: Positive and Negative views as lived and experienced by various interest groups in SLNP & GMA

POSITIVE ATTRIBUTES	NEGATIVE ATTRIBUTES
• We see animals as typically village mediums; central to a village; as an open space and as a public good. We value them for their own good.	• ZAWA officers values animals more than people
• Wild animals raise feelings of sense of place, they support and sustain us.	• People in the surrounding villages are angry because marauding animals are destroying crops and killing people. We effectively feed the animals and receive no compensation
• Wildlife is our whole life. We use some animal skins, brain and some other parts as medicine. We also make sacrifices to our ancestral spirits using animals. We see spiritual value in our animals.	• ZAWA has taken ownership of the animals away from local people. In our tradition, land belongs to the people, and ZAWA cannot keep the park without appeasing the local people
• Wildlife is attracting a magnitude of both local and foreign tourists in our area. This has created various opportunities for our local communities to set up businesses and find employment in the tourism industry.	• The carrot offered to local people for conservation is not big enough • The experience of many people is that benefits from animals largely accrue to ZAWA, CRBs and the chiefs
• We hunt for subsistence to raise some money for medical and school fees. Many people are dying because they cannot afford medical fees.	• The chiefs are not represented in ZAWA per se. there is no person who is appointed by the chiefs to look after and defend their interests
• I only care about whether my family can eat. It does not matter who is in power, in control of wildlife. These animals have actually helped me to raise some money for my boys. I find work as a tour guide and sometimes I am hired as an interpreter of Kunda culture	• The problem of crop damage by wild animals is real. We cannot completely solve this problem. All we need to do is weigh the loss and gains.
• Some community members have formed cooperatives to engage in ecotourism.	• If the issue of reducing farmer-wildlife conflict is to be addressed, it has to be considered from a conservation as well as agricultural development perspective
• Wildlife has helped to create a sense of community.	• It would also be important to understand the social context in which crop raiding is occurring because crop raiding may not be a 'real' issue per se.

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7.7 Summary

The study found the causes of conflict in south Luangwa national park and Lupande GMA to be related to first, restrictions placed over accessing the forest resources of the park and the subsequent displacement of the local populations from within the park to the fringe. Second, conflicts were also related to lack of meaningful decentralisation process in ZAWA and local district council. The majority of respondents said that local people report crop damage and loss of property to ZAWA, but action from ZAWA is always delayed, and whenever it came, it was only to scare away the problem animals. This was different from the expectations of local community who advocated immediate killing of such animals. In addition, local farmers are never compensated. The respondents reported their alienation and frustration which they felt from conservation which denied them access to basic necessities. This translated into the so called poaching. Also, respondents felt that they should actively participate in all decisions that affected their lives especially with regard to finding workable solutions acceptable to all stakeholders. Frictions within the communities were found to be related to heterogeneous nature of communities. The study also found that the majority of local people with less of an incentive or alternative sources of income resist park rules and regulations and access park resources illegally. Further, lack of awareness and education was found to be responsible for creating an ambivalent feeling towards the park and ZAWA/village scouts who look after the endangered wildlife within the park. Finally, respondents felt that devolution in ZAWA and local government (that is council) should be speeded up to encourage local people to use the resources sustainably. These findings suggest that policies to address human-wildlife conflict need to be conceived within the context of overall national development policy and its application to the areas where conflict is occurring. They also illustrate the importance of adopting conceptual frameworks such as political ecology and protected area paradigm (i.e. CBNRM). This choice proved worthwhile in this study.

CHAPTER EIGHT

8.0 CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

8.1 Introduction

This chapter provides an overview of the research aim, objectives, findings, conclusions, and recommendations of this study. The emphasis of this chapter is on meeting the overall objective of this study, namely to explore whether wildlife in south Luangwa national park is managed in a way that contributes to a sustainable development process that combine conservation and tourism as well as actively engage communities to participate in conservation and small scale tourism activities. I begin this chapter by summarizing the background to the research, and the research purpose, methodology and findings. I also go on to state the contribution of this research with regard to the discipline of geography in Zambia including international academia. This research also is important to many of Zambia's line ministries with mandates to conserve natural resources. I then make some recommendations for future research based on the theme that I presented in this study.

8.2 Review of the Overall Aim and Objectives

The aim of this study was stated as being to explore whether wildlife in south Luangwa national park is managed in a way that contributes to a sustainable development process that combine conservation and tourism as well as actively engage communities to participate in conservation and small scale tourism activities. I assumed, firstly, that through participation in the management of wildlife, local people will come to have a more positive orientation to the park and the resources contained within the boundaries. As a result, they are more likely to stop using these resources profligately. Secondly, that poverty forces local people to use park resources beyond sustainable levels. Thirdly, communities' in Zambia tended to be passive participants in wildlife management, conservation and tourism activities, partly because the government retains high degree of control. In order to find out about the assumptions as envisaged in this study I drew three specific objectives to meet the stated overall aim of the study.

8.3 Summary of Findings according to Objectives

The first objective was to assess whether the legal provisions for community participation in wildlife management spelt out in the wildlife policy take into account various factors which enhances the effectiveness of local participation in CBNRM & CBWM. The following findings were drawn: The study found that despite the rhetoric on decentralization and community involvement, ZAWA ACT still, stands out for its lack of significant provisions to accommodate key CBNRM principles. There is no CBNRM policy in place and CBNRM issues operate as a pilot testing only. The study also found, that communities in the study area do not have the power to decide and control over the wildlife resource and that ZAWA is not transferring or sharing this with communities. Government still retains control and unilaterally makes decisions without the involvement of local communities. ZAWA does not trust the communities to make the right decisions and in the process has failed to provide management training to communities. The implication of the above findings is that communities in the study area still do not see wildlife as their own property as they are not involved in decision-making. The policy in its current wording, simply proposes participation without powers. The study found that the regulations and rules spelt out in ZAWA ACT do not adequately address the question of varying actors. The ACT does not reflect the existence of groups with different interests and socio-economic and political influence over wildlife resource. Also, the study found that the mode of adopting elections does not necessarily lead to democracy. For instance, communities cannot determine benefit distribution. Finally, many respondents felt that the success of CBNRM is directly dependent on community members experiencing direct economic and social benefits. The above findings show that the ACT has failed to provide an enabling environment for effective community participation at three levels: first, the policy/Act does not provide ownership over wildlife resources to local communities; second, ZAWA does not provide education and training to local communities, and third, ZAWA has not been able to raise in local communities a desire for self-mobilization to initiate wildlife-based tourism activities due to lack of devolution in the organization.

The second objective was to examine various forms of community participation in wildlife management and small scale tourism activities. Accordingly, the following findings came out strongly: The study found that the expected nature of community participation in wildlife management and tourism development differed among various

groups with different interests. Their relationships also differed markedly; sometimes actors worked as a team while at other times they were in competition. Even though support for local institutions to make decisions was much higher as compared to central organs, local people also desired lower levels of Pretty's typology of participation. This may be interpreted as requiring stakeholders to manage wildlife in partnership where they treat each other equally rather than taking others underdogs. But collaboration is lacking. The study also found that principles of CBNRM were not being adhered to by ZAWA. Government through ZAWA closely followed the conventional management systems which alienated local communities in the management of wildlife resource. The study further found that many respondents reported that there was a lack of food in many households. This drastically affected local people's attitudes towards wildlife and ZAWA/village scouts who looked after wildlife in the park. This showed that wildlife utilization land-use as an option did not deliver the needed economic benefits promised to local communities by CBNRM (ADMADE- LIRDP). The study further found that conflicts over decision-making were not adequately addressed by ZAWA. The study found that tourism was neither accepted nor fully integrated into the community. Some could not see social service and infrastructure provision as benefits accruing to them. However, the study found that employment arising from tourism was an important benefit even though on a small scale. The effect it had on people's livelihoods was encouraging. There was also an increase in entertainment especially with the revitalization of the malaila traditional ceremony. These findings indicate that 'community' and 'participation' are contested and will mean many different things to different actors who may change their positions with changes in technologies.

The third objective was to examine sources of conflict which may occur over natural resources in south Luangwa national park and the adjacent Lupande GMA. The following findings obtained: The study found the causes of conflict to be related to first, restrictions placed over accessing the forest resources of the park and the subsequent displacement of the local populations from within the park to the fringe. Second, conflicts were also related to lack of meaningful decentralisation process in ZAWA and local district council. The majority of respondents said that local people report crop damage and loss of property to ZAWA, but people from ZAWA had to wait for authority from head office on what action to take, this process is long and is always delayed, and whenever it came, it was only to scare away the problem animals. This was different

from the expectations of local people who preferred immediate killing of such animals. In addition, local farmers are never compensated. The respondents reported their alienation and frustration which they felt from conservation which denied them access to basic necessities. This translated into the so called poaching. Also, respondents felt that they should actively participate in all decisions that affected their lives especially with regard to finding workable solutions over HWC that were acceptable to all stakeholders. Frictions within the communities were equally found to be related to varying nature of communities. The study found the majority of local people with less of an incentive or alternative sources of income resist park rules and regulations and access park resources illegally. Finally, lack of awareness and education was found to be responsible for creating an ambivalent feeling towards the park and ZAWA/village scouts who look after the endangered wildlife within the park. The findings show that as long as ZAWA continued using conventional management systems that alienates local communities and took too long to find solutions and worked in isolation from communities, conflicts over natural resources will continue.

The aim of this study was to explore whether wildlife in south Luangwa national park is managed in a way that contributes to a sustainable development process that combine conservation and tourism as well as actively engage communities to participate in conservation and small-scale tourism activities. The results from this study show that wildlife is neither managed in a way that leads to either sustainable development or sustainable tourism development. This is because neither the principles of sustainable development nor those of sustainable tourism development are adhered to.

In selecting a suitable methodology for this study, the benefits and shortcomings of various methodologies were considered and I made a decision to employ methodological triangulation, which allowed the use of a multi-purpose method. Limitations of one method were compensated for by the strengths of a complementary one. This was the unique strength of adopting a case study discussed at section 3.2.2, which has the ability to deal with a full variety of evidence: documents, observations, focus groups and interviews. I used these to assess the local people's perceived perceptions about wildlife management, tourism development and conflicts over natural resources as lived and experienced by the local people. A total sample of 35 respondents represented the local community in south Luangwa and surrounding Lupande game management area although

I took into consideration the views of the Church and NGOs whom I did not take as primary respondents.

Political ecology provided the theoretical background for this study. As discussed in chapter 4, sections 4.1, 4.2 and 4.2.1; the field of political ecology examines the socio-political context, conflicts, and consequences of resource use and environmental change. As stated in those sections, the environmental changes and conflicts, as well as their consequences, are interpreted and experienced in different social groupings. By way of adopting a political ecology, the study became inherently a geographical one. Geography is the discipline in which political ecology has been fervently argued. However, political ecology has close ties with sociology and anthropology. But geography and political ecology share a common interest in the complexities of human-environment interactions. Geography is concerned with how the lived dimensions of social life are constructed continuously through both material and practices and discursive processes. Also, both are distinct in that they view the environment as politicized, environmental change as inherently political, and pay particular attention to the roles of and power relations between varieties of actors at multiple scales. I used this approach to examine the "interests, characteristics and actions of different types of actors in understanding political ecological conflict related to wildlife management and tourism development. It was assumed that actors conceive of environmental problems variously, and their interpretations and conceptions give rise to discourses that operate to sanction certain actions while condemning others, and to benefit certain actors while disadvantaging others. The theory was adopted in order to contextualize and discover the underlying contests and politics embedded within the concepts of 'community', 'participation' and 'sustainable tourism development' within wildlife management and tourism development as lived and experienced by various actors in the study area.

The literature surrounding community-based natural resource management often refers to an idealized notion of community and characterizes it as small organizational units comprised of individuals sharing similar norms and values codified in long standing institutions with which resources are managed effectively and sustainably. However, in this thesis, it has been argued that although community has been defined by Zambian laws as a small, homogenous entity with shared norms which works towards achieving common goals; the reality on the ground is that few communities (e.g., Kawaza cultural

Village) are characterized by such functional uniformity. I argued that understanding the differences and conflicts within the community is important as these processes have an impact on the ability of a community to reach conservation goals. Further, the degree to which these differences define or affect interactions between resource users also has important design implications. Community-based natural resource management regimes deal with resource user communities, that is, groups of individuals who share access to a common pool resource.

It was argued that resource user communities in the study area differ from one another in their history, experience, physical setting and ecology. Additionally, it was found that relationships within communities were not static either. They were influenced by the economic or political changes taking place regionally or nationally. The relationships between various actors in the study area are complex, at times actors formed alliances (e.g., Kawaza with Safari operators) at other times becoming competitive (government versus donor agencies). Also, it was argued that individuals sharing resources may or may not experience a feeling of 'community' as a result of sharing that resource. In fact, individuals in SLNP and Lupande GMA saw other resource users as a threat to their livelihoods. In this regard, the concept of 'community' can be viewed as a contested one. But as defined by CBNRM in the Zambian laws, it is presented as a homogenous which is different from what is obtaining on the ground in the study area. Community was found to be dynamic, changing over time and was characterized by internal conflicts. Some resource user communities demonstrated a greater ability than others to endure alterations to the environment in which they existed.

In discussing the concept of 'participation', I argued that it is a diverse term and has many definitions and can be understood in as many different ways as possible. Participation can be seen as a strategy of devolution of authority and power, resources, distribution of rights and duties to local governance. This involves transferring policy formulation and policy implementation powers from central to local levels. However, I argued that participation in community conservation and park management in SLNP and Lupande GMA following ADMADE-LIRDP principles that is: allowing people living near the protected lands to participate in land-use policy and management decisions; giving people proprietorship or ownership over wildlife resources; and, giving local

people economic benefits from wildlife conservation does not hold since, participation is used only as a means to procure donor funds.

I also argued that although the principles of community-based conservation aim at empowering and actively involving local communities in the whole process of wildlife conservation, participation in the study area is viewed with suspicion by ZAWA and ZAWA does not involve local communities the whole way in wildlife management or tourism development. The contestation is found to lie in the two schools of thought as presented by Pretty shown in table 8. One views local participation as a means to increase efficiency; if you involve people, they are more likely to agree with and support the conservation effort. If participation is understood as a means to an end, then it is understood as a process which unfolds overtime and its purpose is to develop and strengthen the capabilities of the rural communities in their direct interventions in wildlife and tourism development. When understood as such, local communities are empowered to mobilize their own capacities, be social actors, rather than passive subjects, manage the resources, make decisions and control the activities which affect their lives. However, what obtains on the ground in the study area is that the current system favors ZAWA because local people cannot identify measures and instruments in order to bring meaningful local changes. ZAWA overly ignores this key principle of CBNRM.

The other perspective sees local participation as a right, in which the main aim is to initiate mobilization for local and collective action, empowerment and institution building. But as argued in this study, ZAWA does not see local participation as a right for other stakeholders. Respondents argued that ZAWA lacked a broad unending, inclusive, reflective and open dialogue between it and local institutions over wildlife resource. But as Pretty (1995) has argued local participation is supposed to be both a goal in itself and be seen as a means to reach other goals, such as increased conservation of wildlife. However, ZAWA seem to lack abilities and are not willing to understand local participation as a both policy measure and part of a process for social change and empowerment. ZAWA has not yet developed a mechanism to understand, nurture, and develop such local institutions. The contest is also in the levels presented in Pretty's typology whether it is the highest or lowest that is desirable or both. This study shows that it is not necessarily the highest level of local participation but rather it is seeing the

level relative to the issue at hand. This is the crux of the mater and hence the contests and politics of the concept of participation. Various levels of involvement were present and differentiated, ranging from a minimal participation of local stakeholders to active negotiation and transfer of responsibilities. however, neither understanding participation as an end, nor focusing on local demands were guarantees for sustainable development processes when local reality as reported in this study were complex and not readily understood. Involvement of local groups in early planning stages would prove to be important measure to assure local ownership over wildlife resources and a continuation of conservation.

In chapter 4, sub-section 4.4.1; I argued that sustainable development hinges on three approaches and concerns, namely social, economic, and ecological sustainability. This is reflected in table 8. As discussed in chapter 4, sustainable development involves sustainable use of the resources. Tourism is used as an instrument in sustainable development of a region and its protected area. The idea is to link STD to social and ecological carrying capacity of an area in order to maintain ecological and socio-cultural sustainability. In the study area the ecological sustainability represented SLNP while socio-cultural sustainability reflected local communities and their way of living. It was also stated that these were important and formed the basis for economic sustainability; and that STD should take into account the tourism potential of the area. However, I argued, that even though tourism product in the study area might in some ways be compatible with the principles of sustainable development, there are many other issues which are contrary to the definition of the concept. For instance, tourism planning does not involve local communities; in fact, planning is centrally based (chapter 6). Other issues include local ownership, participation and stakeholder involvement.

Tourism development has neither provided adequate employment for communities nor provided full benefits to individual households. Further, tourism development in the study area has lacked a broad based community input. As reported in chapter 6, local communities are not in charge of tourism activities and in this way sustainable tourism has failed to provide an intergenerational equity. Communities reported that equitable distribution of costs and benefits of tourism development in their area did not flow to local households because ZAWA controlled safari hunting and it was cash strapped and did not release such benefits on time.

Furthermore, even if sustainable tourism embraced a community-oriented approach, which encourages community involvement and participation, respondents argued that nearly all the lodges and camps are run by foreign investors. The private sector, in particular the safari operators, are interested in profits from trophy hunting, while ZAWA is interested in wildlife-derived revenues accruing to their department and so does the local government. Politicians too also exert their influence for their own purposes. This situation catches the local communities in an intricate web of struggle over wildlife resource which is supposed to improve their livelihoods. This produces contested relationships and views over tourism development between the various actors. The donor agencies equally push for the acceptability of their policy agendas using aid funds as a carrot while the national government craves for donor funds. In trying to get to the root of such struggles over wildlife resources I chose to analyze the emerging issues within the frameworks of political ecology and protected area management paradigm using principles of CBNRM as discussed chapter 3.

8.4 Recommendations

Based on the study findings summarized in this chapter the following policy considerations must be considered if sustainable tourism development and active local community participation are to be achieved.

- The study is recommending for a speedy adoption and implementation of decentralization policy in ZAWA. This study noted that people from ZAWA at Chinzombo-Mfuwe and provincial levels lacked authority to make decisions. It is strongly recommending that authority and decision making be devolved to these levels to reduce bureaucratic bottlenecks that impede PA management.

- It is also recommending that government develops an overarching and unifying policy wherein updated versions of sub-sector policies and Acts (e.g., forestry and wildlife) are included.

- Also, this study is recommending that ZAWA should begin providing management training to local communities and the entire leadership of CRBs.

- This study recommends that people from ZAWA, private Safari operators who work in isolation from local communities and often disassociated themselves from development activities work together with local people. It is felt that this shortsightedness on the part of these key stakeholders leads to boundary problems,

which include a failure by ZAWA officers to adequately address human-wildlife conflicts, illegal hunting, and encroachment. This could be addressed by offering clear benefits and incentives to local communities through CBNRM initiatives where private-public-community relationships exist. This is only possible where NGOs who are agents of development for the poor are involved focusing on capacity development.

- It is also recommending that ZAWA ensures that there is wide participation in benefit distribution, planning, and decision making. There is need for clear guidelines identifying key principles relating to equitable distribution and participation in decision making processes. These must be distributed among CRBs, and then CRBs can agree their own policies relating to distribution.

- The MTENR should generate through research an HWC policy document to clarify the roles and responsibilities of government staff. The policy should include devolving responsibility for problem animal control to regions. In short-term, ZAWA should speed up the process for declaring problem animals for control. There is also a need to develop an integrated multi-stakeholder and multi-dimensional strategy to deal with HWC. This should be specific to each region or district and should involve representatives from CRBs and traditional authorities and representatives from communities.

- The study is further recommending that the rights over wildlife and tourism should be vested in the community as defined by local criteria of inclusion and exclusion and not with ZAWA/CRBs. Further; government should clarity the policy relating to the position of communities in regard to existing and proposed concessions and leaseholds.

- Government is also called upon to establish an appropriate national tourism concession framework to devolve rights and assist in the long-term financial viability of CRBs who lack legal backing.

- Government through ZAWA should increase budgetary allocation and improve financial management at national and local level to minimize conflicts and mistrust. One of the causes of conflict and tension that this study found between ZAWA and CRB communities was lack of transparency on sharing of revenue.

- This study found that local people gain few or almost no rights to manage wildlife or other natural resources. Nor are they involved in the creation of rules that can

allow them to control the use of the resources in the protected area. There is need for the policy regime to allow for the sustainable utilization of some of the park zones. It is therefore recommending that some of these areas are demarcated to allow for uses like hunting, collecting of grass, wild foods and firewood which community members strongly argued for during in-depth interviews.

This research is of value to policy makers, educationists, conservationists, resource managers, planning officers in ZAWA, and other bodies with interest in wildlife conservation and tourism development whose efforts are directed at developing and promoting co-management systems that embrace all key stakeholders and provide room for proactive participation for local people.

8.5 Suggestion for Future Research

The responses of respondents reveal a pervasive mistrust for government agencies on the one hand, and on the other hand, private tour operators. This is driven by two factors: first, local peoples' perceptions about the existing patron-agent clientelistic development process; and second, the existence of poor interactions among local ZAWA, private tour operators and local communities and also among community members themselves. These factors are also confounded by assumptions related to in-group/out-group stereotypes, perceived and actual socio-economic boundaries and value clashes between community members and ZAWA officers and structural limitations of the current over-centralized system of governance which inhibit relationship building and genuine collaboration in decision-making. In this regard, future research should concentrate on how these factors influence trust in agencies and what strategies can be used to address them in management decisions and decision-making processes. There is need for more research in eco-tourism area to exploit the new area for the benefit of local communities. Also, it would be useful to combine the protected area management paradigm as used in this thesis with other approaches in political ecology in order to develop a research based policy for wildlife and tourism development. Further, there is need to conduct research on relationships between views and impacts at both a local and regional level to better understand the factors encouraging and preventing community participation in wildlife and tourism activities. It would be interesting to include local people in the analysis. This would help to understand the extent to which differences in practice (i.e. participation in wildlife and tourism activities) can be understood as differences in views. In addition, research should be undertaken to determine how best the written and oral systems of law

coexisting in sub-Saharan countries can be used to promote community progress and sound wildlife management.

8.6 Summary

On the whole, basing the conclusion on CBC framework, this study is concluding that wildlife in SLNP is not sustainably being managed towards sustainable tourism development because of three issues: first, ZAWA management does not allow many of the local people living near the park to actively participate in land-use policy and management decisions; second, it does not give local people ownership over wildlife resources and finally, it does not give local people the expected economic benefits arising from tourism on time. Due to these shortcomings the conflicts over natural resources will remain intense because tourism which is supposed to be changing the livelihoods of the people is only benefiting a few people. Therefore, as long as peoples' livelihood options are not increased through employment or better alternatives in agriculture, poverty will continue to force local people with fewer alternatives to access Park and other natural resources illegally. However, the solution lies in making local people own, plan, and make decisions over the wildlife resources themselves.

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10. APPENDICES (A)

(a) INDIVIDUAL INTERVIEW GUIDE

2005 Sustainable Tourism Development Study Interview Guide

Personal Details

Name

Sex (male/female)

Age

Size of household

Occupation

Connection to tourism

First, I am going to begin by asking you some general questions about the role of tourism in your life.

1. How did you come to know about tourism industry?

   - What event stands out to you as being particularly important or special about tourism?

2. What does tourism mean to you today?

   - What do you value about wildlife?

3. What activities are you involved in that are associated with tourism?

4. How important is tourism to you compared to other facets of your life?

5. How does tourism contribute to the economic development in Malambo?

Conflicts in South Luangwa National Park

Now I would like to ask a few questions about your perceptions of conflicts in South Luangwa National Park

6. Does the current management of wildlife encourage local participation?

7. What kinds of conflicts exist in the park because of lack of community participation?

8. Why do communities treat wildlife as a free natural resource?

9. Does the wildlife authority have enough capacity to deal with problem animals?

10. How would you characterize the role of different groups involved in wildlife management?

11. Are conflicts resolved, if so, how, if not, why not?

12. How does the present political system affect wildlife management?

- How will the policy of decentralization improve wildlife management?

Vision for the future

Finally, I am going to ask you some questions about the future of tourism

13. What is your vision for tourism in 5 years?

    - What would you like to see change or remain the same?

14. Do others share your perceptions and vision for the future? Are there people who have a very different vision than you do?

15. What are critical steps that need to happen to make sustainable tourism development a reality?

    - Who should be responsible for these steps and wildlife management in the future?

16. Are there ways to embrace key stakeholders for sustainable wildlife management?

    - How would you like local communities participate in sustainable tourism development?

17. How do you fit in wildlife management?

    - What has been your role?

    - What will it be in the future?

18. Is there anything else I should know about your perspective or experiences related to wildlife management /tourism?

(b) INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR KEY INFORMANT

ZAWA- Headquarters (Chilanga)

1 What is the general state of south Luangwa national park and surrounding game management area?

2 Does the wildlife policy/wildlife Act meets the general requirements for CBNRM principles of:

- Allowing people living near the park to participate in land-use policy and management decisions;

- Giving people ownership over wildlife resources; and

- Giving local people economic benefit from wildlife conservation?

3 Are there any gaps in Wildlife Policy and Wildlife Act?

4 Does the current policy allow compensation for crop damage, loss of property and life?

5 What is the relationship like between private safari operators and ZAWA/communities?

6 Do national parks/game management areas develop management plans or is there a single plan for all of them?

7 Are local people involved in the distribution of benefits from wildlife-based tourism?

8 How does ZAWA deal with political interferences in wildlife management?

9 What is the vision of ZAWA with regard to tourism development and decentralization policy?

(c) INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR KEY INFORMANT

ZAWA Regional Office (Chinzombo Camp-Mfuwe)

1 What is the general state of south Luangwa national park and surrounding game management area?

2 Does the wildlife policy/wildlife Act meets the general requirements for CBNRM principles of:

- Allowing people living near the park to participate in land-use policy and management decisions;
- Giving people ownership over wildlife resources; and
- Giving local people economic benefit from wildlife conservation?

3 Are there any gaps in Wildlife Policy and Wildlife Act?

4 Does the current policy allow compensation for crop damage, loss of property/or life?

5 What is the relationship like between private safari operators and ZAWA/communities?

6 Do national parks/game management areas develop management plans or is there a single plan for all of them?

7 Are local people involved in the distribution of benefits from wildlife-based tourism?

8 How does ZAWA deal with political interferences in wildlife management?

9 What is the vision of ZAWA with regard to tourism development and decentralization policy?

(d) GROUP DISCUSSION TOPICS

(a) Local community

1 Importance of wildlife and other natural resources

2 Problem Animals

3 Compensation for crop damage, loss of property or life

4 Views about Safari Operators

5 Communities Participation in wildlife management

6 Participation in Tourism related activities

7 Distribution of benefits from Tourism

8 Views about eco-tourism

9 Relationships with ZAWA/Village Scouts

10 Participation in formulation of policy

(e) GROUP DISCUSSION TOPICS

(b) District Development Coordinating Committee

1 District Development Plan in relation to tourism

2 Tourism developments in Malambo/ Tourism Credit Funds

3 Wildlife Policy/Wildlife Act

4 South Luangwa Area Management Unit

5 Community Resource Boards

6 Political Interferences

7 Community Participation in Tourism related activities

8 Privatization of Lodge and Camps in the national park

9 Participation in Wildlife Policy formulation

10 Decentralization (in local government and ZAWA)

Appendix B

Box 2: Some of the Community Projects

Mnkhanya	Nsefu	Kakumbi
1. 12 new water wells constructed in different VAGs 2. 2 water wells rehabilitated 3. 3 new teachers' houses constructed in different VAGs 4. 1 new classroom block under construction 5. 4 classroom blocks renovated 6. 1 clinic electrified 7. 1 CRB office block constructed and in use 8. 10 Village Scouts recruited and working with ZAWA wildlife police.	1. 1 clinic block constructed and in use 2. 2 clinic staff houses constructed and in use. 3. 1 new teacher's house constructed. 4. 2 teachers' houses renovated. 5. 10 Village Scouts recruited and working with ZAWA wildlife police.	1. 3 new water wells constructed 2. 3 old water wells rehabilitated. 3. 1 teacher's house renovated. 4. 1 teacher's house constructed. 5. 10 Village Scouts recruited and working with ZAWA wildlife police.

Box 1: Administrative Management Design (ADMADE)

Administrative Management Design (ADMADE)

ADMADE is strictly a wildlife resource based programme with a focus on wildlife management with community involvement. The basic premise for the ADMADE programme is that communities in GMAs will interact responsibly with wildlife so long there are tangible benefits accruing to them from the exploitation of the wildlife resource. This 'philosophy', as it came to be referred, has been implemented in more than 30 of Zambia's 36 GMAs.

The ADMADE initiative is based on two principles:

- that revenues generated from wildlife resources return to local communities in form of cash for community development initiatives and direct employment in wildlife utilization related activities within GMAs; and

- establishing a system of user rights with defined rights of access to wildlife resources for the communities inhabiting GMAs or living around national parks.

ADMADE's objectives are:

- to provide an effective network of buffer zones for National Parks and a self-supporting wildlife management units;

- to provide a self-sustained management programme for long term protection of wildlife resources in GMAs;

- to develop an improved and sustainable basis for supporting local community projects;

- to foster a closer and more cooperative relationship between the NPWS and local communities on wildlife affairs;

- to earn foreign exchange from the wildlife estate for the government central treasury; and

- to stimulate the development of entrepreneurship and skills among residents needed to support the management of renewable wildlife resources.

ADMADE Resource Base

- Safari hunting and concession and hunting fees provide over 90 percent of ADMADE revenues. Quotas for safari, national and resident hunting are set annually by the NPWS. Revenue generated within GMAs is administered by the Wildlife Conservation Revolving Fund (WCRF) a unit within the NPWS System created in 1984 with the objective to supplement government funding to National Parks and Wildlife Service (NPWS) in the conservation of wildlife in the country, by generating revenue from wildlife based activities such as safari hunting and game viewing.

- Donor assistance has also been used especially in initial investments. Donors to ADMADE included, New York Zoological Society, USAID, and WWF.

Revenue Distribution Mechanism

The WCRF collects and disburses all revenues derived from safari hunting concession fees

and licenses paid for at NPWS. The system of distribution of revenues determined by the NPWS at the inception of the ADMADE programme is as follows:

- 50% goes directly to Government Central Treasury;

The remaining 50% is distributed as follows:

- 40% for game management in the earning area and is supposed to be disbursed monthly;
- 35% goes to the GMA's Community fund for development projects; and
- 25% retained within the NPWS for WCRF overheads and ADMADE administration at national level.

No cash dividends go to individuals or households.

Not all GMAs operating an ADMADE programme are able to generate sufficient revenue. Only about 10 GMAs rich in wildlife have been able to generate a 'satisfactory' level of income. The rest of the GMAs classified as "depleted" receive little or no income at all. The "depleted" GMAs have been serviced through the 25% revenues retained by the NPWS for ADMADE administration at national level.

Organisational Structure

- ADMADE as a programme is administered through a number of structures. These are: the headquarters based in Chilanga; Wildlife Management Authorities (WMAs); Wildlife Management Units; and Wildlife Management Sub-Authorities.

- Wildlife Management Authorities (WMAs): these are district level structures were supposed to be composed of area Chief(s); the District Development Secretary designated as its Chairperson; Wildlife Warden of the area supposed to act as its Secretary; local politicians (Member of Parliament and elected Councillors) and directors of commercial companies with interests in wildlife in the area. Since the inception of ADMADE the WMAs have hardly functioned and have been quite irrelevant to the ADMADE programme.

- Wildlife Management Unit: are administrative wildlife management units. In most cases a Unit corresponds to an existing GMA, which is also a site of a traditional chiefdom. In some situations, one Unit will share two chiefdoms. The Unit consists of a Unit leader - an NPWS civil servant specially trained to implement community-based wildlife management; NPWS Scouts; village scouts, and other staff. The Unit's responsibilities include, inter alia: anti-poaching activities; collection of wildlife data; community conservation education; and health education.

- Wildlife Management Sub-Authority (or Sub-Authority for short): established for every chiefdom with an ADMADE project. It is composed of the area chief (its chairperson), village headmen, elected councillors, head teachers, a district council representative and the unit leader (its secretary). The responsibilities of the Sub-Authority included, inter alia: making decisions regarding the allocation of 35% share of funds to community projects; resolution of resource management problems within chiefdoms; and approval of local resident hunting permits.

Policy and Legal Framework

It was not until 1993 that the government through its revised *Policy for Wildlife in Zambia 1993* endorsed a community-based approach to wildlife management. This policy 'recognised' communities in GMAs as 'custodians of wildlife.'

For about a decade, ADMADE had no legal recognition. It operated largely as a framework of administrative arrangements. The legal authority of wildlife management in the GMAs, thus, remained effectively with the NPWS.

Legislative and policy reforms in the wildlife sector were undertaken, however, in 1998. These reforms facilitated for the establishment of the Zambia Wildlife Authority (ZAWA) and the community level institutions in the GMAs referred to as Community Resource Boards

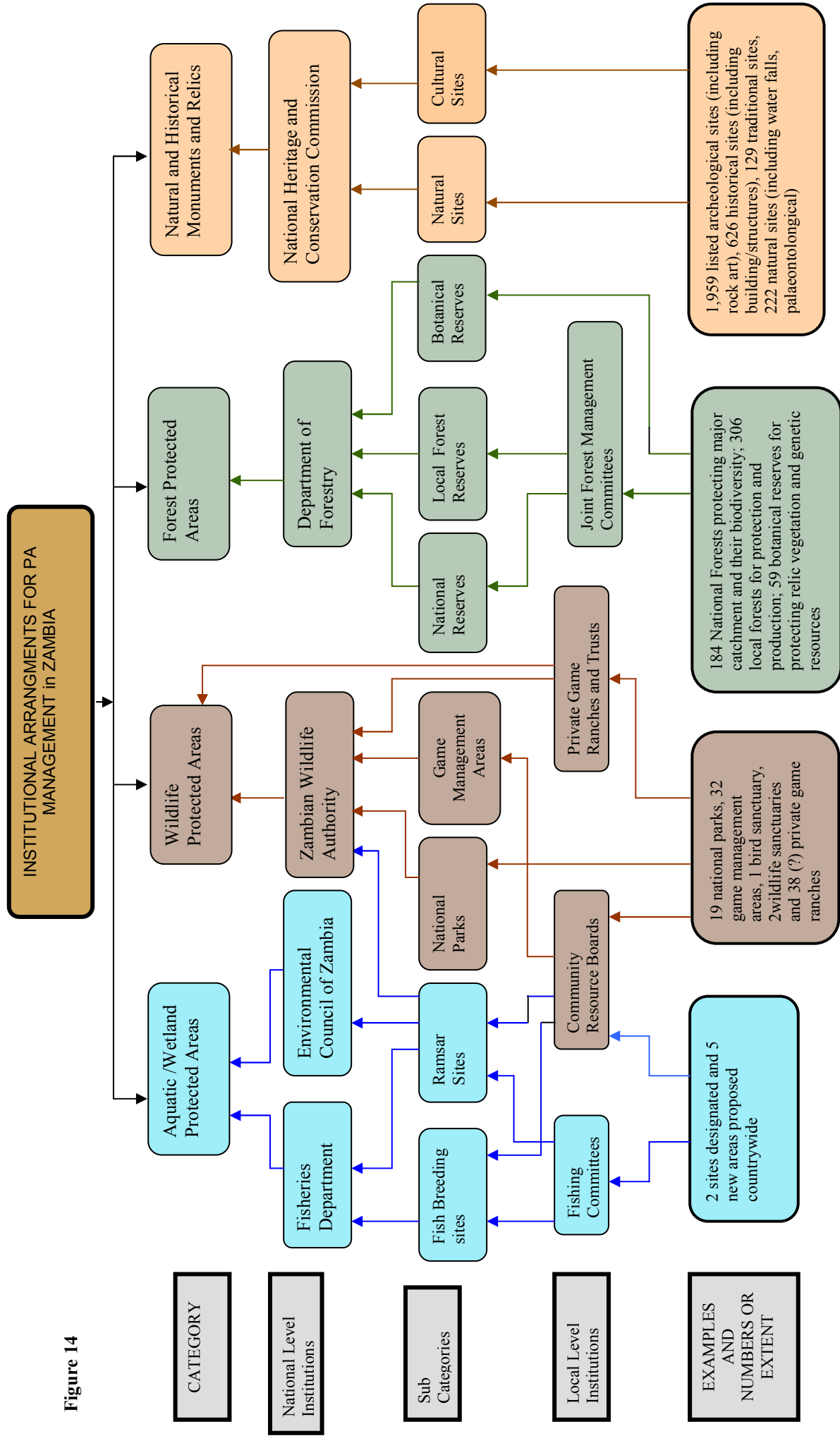*sources*: Mwenya et al (1990); Tilley (1995); Chisulo (1995); GRZ (1994).

Figure 14

INSTITUTIONAL ARRANGMENTS FOR PA MANAGEMENT in ZAMBIA

Natural and Historical Monuments and Relics

National Heritage and Conservation Commission

Cultural Sites

Natural Sites

1,959 listed archeological sites (including rock art), 626 historical sites (including building/structures), 129 traditional sites, 222 natural sites (including water falls, palaeontolongical)

Forest Protected Areas

Department of Forestry

Botanical Reserves

Local Forest Reserves

National Reserves

Joint Forest Management Committees

184 National Forests protecting major catchment and their biodiversity; 306 local forests for protection and production; 59 botanical reserves for protecting relic vegetation and genetic resources

Wildlife Protected Areas

Zambian Wildlife Authority

Private Game Ranches and Trusts

Game Management Areas

National Parks

Community Resource Boards

19 national parks, 32 game management areas, 1 bird sanctuary, 2 wildlife sanctuaries and 38 (?) private game ranches

Aquatic /Wetland Protected Areas

Environmental Council of Zambia

Fisheries Department

Ramsar Sites

Fish Breeding sites

Fishing Committees

2 sites designated and 5 new areas proposed countrywide

CATEGORY

National Level Institutions

Sub Categories

Local Level Institutions

EXAMPLES AND NUMBERS OR EXTENT

Table 10 Roles and Responsibilities of Key Institutions Involved in PA Management

STAKEHOLDERS	National Parks	GMAs	Forest Reserves	Heritage and Cultural Sites
Zambia Wildlife Authority	• Control, manage and protect ecosystem and biodiversity • Enforce park rules and regulations; formulate and interpret policies • Develop & maintain park infrastructure • Prepare and implement management plans • Promote tourism • Take stock of wildlife resources	• Control, manage and protect wildlife and habitats • Prepare and enforce hunting quotas • Facilitate stakeholder involvement in wildlife management • Take stock of wildlife resources • Formulate and interpret polices • Provide technical support in to CRB's.	• Protect and manage wildlife species • Participate in the preparation of management plans • Take stock of wildlife resources	• Protection of wildlife in natural heritage sites
Forestry Department		• Management and protection of forest resources • Preparation and execution of timber harvesting levels • Inventorying and monitoring • Enforcement of rules and regulations •	• Establishment and management • Conservation and protection of forests trees, ecosystem and biodiversity • Licensing and sale of rests produce • Inventories and monitoring • Enforcement of rules and regulations • Preparation of management plans • Interpretation of and guidance on policies issues	
Fisheries Department		• Development of commercial fishing • Enforcement of fishing		

Institution				
Department of Water Affairs	Provision of guidelines for protection of watershed and catchment areas	• regulations and laws • Registration of fishermen and their boats • Provision of guidelines for protection of watershed and catchment areas	• Provision of guidelines for protection of watershed and catchment areas	• Provision of guidelines for protection of watershed and catchment areas
National Heritage and Conservation Commission	• Provision of guidelines for protection and conservation of cultural and natural heritage and relics • Identification of new areas for declaration	• Provision of guidelines for protection and conservation of cultural and natural heritage and relics • Identification of new areas for declaration	Provision of guidelines for protection and conservation of cultural and natural heritage and relics • Identification of new areas for declaration	• Coordinate all activities connected to heritage • Carry out studies and surveys to identify new areas for protection and declaration • Prepare regional and national plans for conservation • Preserve, repair and restore heritage
Ministry of Tourism Env. Nat. Resources	• Formulating appropriate and review existing policy and legal frameworks • Co-ordination, monitoring and evaluation of the implementation of environmental and natural resources policies and legislation in order to ensure compliance and attainment of policy objectives. • Facilitation and promotion of research and development in environment, wildlife, forestry and cultural heritage in order to increase knowledge and its utilization. • Facilitation and monitoring implementation of international agreements and treaties in order to promote Zambia's interests and meet international obligations. • Promotion of investment in tourism, environment and natural resources in order to contribute to employment creation, poverty alleviation and supply of raw materials.			
Ministry of Lands	• The Chiefdoms are empowered under the Lands Act No. 29 of 1995 to dispose of land for up to 99 years on leasehold tenure.			
Ministry of Local Government	• Policy guidance on land utilization			
Environmental Council of Zambia	• Enforce of standards and regulations (water and air quality) • Enforcement of environmental impact assessments for developments in protected areas • To take stock of natural resources and its utilization			
District Councils	• Formulation and enforcement of bye-laws	• Formulation and enforcement of bye-laws	• Formulation and enforcement of bye-laws	

		• Preparation of land use plans • Coordination and preparation of district development plans	• Participation in the preparation of management plans	• Participation in the preparation of management plans
Traditional Leaders/Local Communities		• Participate in the co-management of resources • Participate in the preparation and enforcement of rules and regulations • Allocation of land for settlements, tourism agriculture and other uses	• Public awareness on conservation of forest resources	• Public awareness on conservation of cultural and natural heritage
Private Sector	• Conduct non-consumptive tourism activities • Contribute to revenue generation for park through payment of concession fees • Comply with National Park polices rules and regulations	• Create employment for local communities • Assist in the maintenance of roads • Assist in the management of GAM wildlife resources • Undertake consumptive tourism (safari hunting) • Contribute to revenue generation through safari hunting concessions	• Employment creation through investments • Contribution to revenue generation through payments of concessions fees • Adhere to rules and regulations • Assist in the management of forest resources	• Invest in infrastructure at sites
Non-Governmental Organizations	• Funding of support for programmes an d projects for effective protected areas management • Support for management planning • Support for anti-poaching and biodiversity inventories • Advocacy and lobbying for effective protected areas policies			
Donor Organizations	• Funding support for programs and projects for protected area management			