COMMUNITY CONSERVATION RESEARCH IN AFRICA
Principles and Comparative Practice

Working Papers

Paper No 1

A FRAMEWORK FOR THE STUDY OF COMMUNITY CONSERVATION IN AFRICA

by

D. HULME

Research funded by the Global Environmental Change Programme, Phase IV (Grant No. L320 25 3211) of the Economic and Social Research Council, United Kingdom. This research is a collaborative project between IDPM, University of Manchester, African Wildlife Foundation, (Nairobi), Centre for Applied Social Sciences, University of Zimbabwe and the Department of Geography, University of Cambridge.

The views expressed in this paper are those of the author(s) and should not be attributed to any of the collaborating organisations. These are interim research results circulated to stimulate discussion and critical comments.

ISBN: 1 900728893
Published by: Institute for Development Policy and Management, University of Manchester,
Crawford House, Precinct Centre, Oxford Road, MANCHESTER M13 9GH
Tel: +44-161 275 2804/2800 Fax: +44-161 273 8829
Email: idpm@man.ac.uk Web: http://www.man.ac.uk/idpm/

I INTRODUCTION

The idea of `community conservation' (CC) is woolly in terms of community (a collective or a free-wheeling set of individual entrepreneurs; local or global; residents or non-residents) and in terms of conservation (of a species, or a habitat, or `biodiversity'). The term can infer dramatic changes in resource tenure policies and citizen empowerment; equally, it can mean `business as usual' but with occasional local level consultations (IIED 1994). The task of the ESRC-GEC project is to penetrate this woolliness so that we can push forward the understanding of the theory, policy, practice and outcomes of community conservation (for research questions see Appendix 1). While the ambiguity of the term makes analysis difficult it may well hold value for key actors who find it an attractive label for the initiatives and changes they wish to promote.

II ELEMENTS OF A FRAMEWORK

Community conservation seeks to change the ways in which resource users and state agencies interact so that conservation goals are achieved. It leads to the creation of strategies (deliberate attempts to plan and direct change) to modify resource use in dynamic environments. A complex web of **actors** (individuals, informal groups, organisations, networks of individuals, networks of organisations) are involved in the shift to CC and, when/if that shift occurs, in maintaining or modifying CC. The relationships between these actors involve complex exchanges in both material (money and products) and non-material (information and support) forms and substantial bargaining, negotiation and at times compromise. The high transaction costs of direct confrontation mean that most actors avoid it except in extreme circumstances.

Figure 1 attempts to capture the main actors and relationships. This views CC as being a global phenomena (ie people and environments in Africa are seen as having significance to people who live thousands of miles away in industrialised nations, while ideas and resources from the `north' are transferred to the `south' in an attempt to change the contemporary natural resource management practices of Africans). As being only one, out of many, factors that influence resource use and the quality of the environment. Other social, economic and political factors may reinforce or negate CC strategies. Even where CC strategies are effective then other

environmental factors (eg animal disease, climatic change, deforestation hundreds of kilometres away) may mean that conservation goals are not achieved.

While the main research question - `does the active involvement of local resource users enhance the achievement of conservation goals?' - focuses attention on conservation, the study will also focus on **developmental benefits and costs** as these are the main device by which CC is believed to perform better than earlier strategies. These may be material (more meat or money) or non-material (greater involvement in decision-making, strengthened democracy, a feeling of stewardship).

Figure 1 here

The literature on community conservation constantly uses the term **institution**, at least in part because institutional development and strengthening are important contemporary ideas in the theory and practice of both conservation and development. Uphoff (1986:9) defines institutions as `...complexes of norms and behaviours that persist over time by serving collectively valued purposes', and usefully distinguishes between institutions that are organisations (`structures of recognised and accepted roles') and those that are not (eg rules and systems of relationships). The breadth of this concept means that we may confuse each other by using it too extensively and so wherever possible we should use more precise terms eg formal law, customary law, social norm, market, (valued) organisation.

The ESRC-GEC project has have 5 main foci.

1 The rise of CC as an ideology and the analysis of its theoretical underpinnings.
2 The absorption of CC into national policies, laws and organisations.
3 The implementation of CC in the field.
4 The changes in institutions, behaviours and resource utilisation that are associated with CC.
5 The impacts of CC on conservation resources and the wider environment.

Each of these foci requires detailed internal analysis, but equally important is the analysis of the ways in which these elements interact. They can be visualised as a (potential) causal chain (Figure 2). There is a danger, however, that this could lead to treating CC as a hierarchical transmission process. To avoid this equal attention must be paid to the `feedback loops' (these are discussed later).

The bottom of Figure 2 illustrates the way in which different parts of the study will concentrate on the collection and analysis of data on different elements so that ultimately a comprehensive analysis of the way in which the ideology and concept of CC act on specific environments will be developed, and of the counterflow of influences.

The following sections look in turn at each link in the chain of Figure 2.

Figure 2 here

III LINK 1 - FROM CC IDEOLOGY TO CC POLICY

This involves charting the rise of CC as the dominant discourse about conservation strategies and its ascendancy over protectionist ideologies. This can be viewed as a `paradigm shift' from protectionism (Figure 3) to CC (Figure 4). Analysis needs to summarise the evolution and diffusion of CC, the normative theory that underpins CC and examine the key actors and `political economy' within which CC, as a concept, has prospered. A typology could be produced as part of this work (eg IIED 1994). The main methods used for data collection at this stage are from the academic, professional and grey literatures and elite interviews.

The specification (or lack of specification) of the meaning of `**community**' is of central importance, bearing in mind Shore's (1993:98-99) warning that this is `...one of the most vague and elusive concepts in social science... a shibboleth laden with emotive associations of wholeness, cohesion, communion, the public interest and all things good... [that] has also been appropriated by politicians, planners and architects to legitimise policies in the name of the public interest, however implausible the reality'. The criteria and processes by which member and non-member are determined is crucial, as are the principles on which association within the community is meant to occur. Community can be interpreted as meaning collective decision-making and action over common property or, alternatively, about the limited coordination of individual members activities on resources that they have private tenure over. These are two very different things and reveal the flexibility of the concept.

Figure 3 here

Figure 4 here

Conceptually CC is evidently compatible with the `grand' and dominant neo-liberal ideology of the late 20th century and with the more specific `New Policy Agenda' (Edwards and Hulme 1995:4-6; Robinson 1993) for development that comes from Washington. Its ambiguity places it at an intellectual crossroads where it can use both neo-liberal and neo-populist arguments to gain legitimacy. It fits well with neo-liberal notions of rolling back the state economically (in terms of both ownership and management) and politically (in terms of democratisation and

strengthening the role of civil society vis a vis the state). Public expenditure can be reduced and a customer-orientation achieved. CC also fits well with neo-populist ideas (eg Chambers 1993) in terms of returning `power to the people', participation, decentralisation and increasing the use of indigenous knowledge in decision-making.

Both schools of thought agree that the role of the state is to enable conservation (and development) but not deliver them. However, the vague use of the term `community' hides some of the vast conceptual differences that separate neo-liberal and neo-populist thought. In particular, neo-populist thought has a relatively narrow conception of the community, as functioning collectively and taking democratic decisions about resource utilisation. Neo-liberal thought would broaden this to include communities of individual producers and consumers whose `collective' decisions are achieved by individual actions in markets for assets, goods and services, as well as occasional collective action. The neo-liberal view sees a key role for the market in defining the community - those who can purchase tenure become members of the community.

The reverse situation occurs in terms of the ways in which these two schools of thought value natural resources. A neo-liberal viewpoint is narrow and emphasises natural resources as scarce commodities the utilisation of which is shaped purely by supply and demand. The neo-populist position is broader: economic forces will significantly shape resource utilisation by the community, but locally-specific cultural and spiritual values mean that market forces will not be the sole determinant of utilisation (or non-utilisation) strategies.

The means by which conservation goals are to be achieved also differs markedly between the two schools of thought that underpin CC. Neo-liberal ideas argue that conservation will be achieved by deregulating natural resource ownership and management so that a market-based price on wildlife and natural resources will relate demand to supply. The hidden hand of the market will ensure that scarcity drives up prices so that demand for vulnerable species (and habitats) will reduce, and new entrants to the market (wildlife farms and developers of man-made `scarce habitats') will start up because of the high prices that can be charged. Competition between resource users, in a market setting, will ensure that the most efficient users control

scarce conservation resources and ensure the survival of the resource.[1] In neo-populist thought the economic value of species and habitats significantly influences management and utilisation practices but non-commodity considerations may, depending on local contexts, be of great significance. Cultural constructs about man-nature relationships, the rights of non-human species, social justice and equity, the conservation of `history' and the rights of the dead and future generations will influence behaviour. This is complex ground, but we need to be careful of the romantic notion of `traditional' practices having evolved to be in balance with the environment. Human-induced environmental simplification is surely an historical norm, not an exception.

Roe's (1995) work on development narratives and counterscenarios is of relevance in this Link 1 section. CC can be interpreted as a counterscenario that is challenging the previously dominant narrative that conservation was dependent on the state protecting wildlife from Africans. We might well ask whether CC has now become a development narrative in its own right? Is there now a need for a counternarrative to challenge the dominance of CC?

Finally, this part of our work will need to explore **the political economy and organisational politics** of the practice of CC as it has diffused as a concept and been adopted into policies and agencies. CC has given international and national level conservation and environmental interests (international NGOs and official bodies, regional and national NGOs, state agencies, conservation consultancies and individual consultants/researchers) a greatly enhanced capacity to capture foreign aid budgets and influence development policies and projects. Governments have adapted their policies to accommodate CC to different degrees and in different ways. In particular, letting communities be involved in the management of conservation resources has been easier for governments to accept than letting communities have tenure over resources (Murphree 1996). Official conservation agencies have absorbed CC in different ways: at one extreme making it the main thrust of their approach while at the other simply adding it on as a new activity. Whether CC has changed the relationships that state conservation agencies have

[1] A fuller discussion would need to cover the problems of monopoly, oligopoly, information asymmetry and imperfect markets.

with other state agencies (especially agricultural, forestry and livestock bureaucracies and environmental coordination agencies) will be of great interest. Does CC strengthen conservation agencies (by reducing their formerly anti-people image)? The competition and conflicts over the definition and the doing of CC also merit exploration. It is evident that there are efforts by individuals, organisations, and coalitions of interest within the `conservation community' to demonstrate their paternal rights over the concept of CC and argue the superiority of certain interpretations of CC over others. Ironically, community conservation may have empowered the international and national `conservation community' more than it has empowered rural Africans!

IV LINK 2 - FROM CC POLICY TO CC PRACTICE

This part of the ESRC-GEC project will trace the ways in which the concept of CC has led to changes in public policy, legislation and the operation of state agencies and other organisations in specific national contexts. It involves research in Kenya, Namibia, Tanzania, Uganda and Zimbabwe. While using materials from Link 1 about the global diffusion of CC as `the best' approach to conservation, this section also seeks out information about the endogenous roots of CC (likely to be especially strong in Zimbabwe) and about `grassroots' level diffusion of CC (as identified by James Murombedzi's work in Mozambique).

Changes in public policy, legislation and the operations of agencies can be conceptualised as the result of political processes (ie processes associated with the maintenance or modification of the distribution of power) of bargaining and negotiation between individuals, organisations and coalitions of individuals and organisations (Schaffer 1984). While `rational' analysis of policy options and predicted outcomes (in terms of social costs and benefits) influences choices, policy and organisational change is not about the selection of optimal strategies, but about reaching agreement on changes that the main players find acceptable.

Key elements of this approach are listed below.

(i) Individuals and agencies involved in the switch to CC (or opposing the switch) are viewed as being partisan or, at the very least, potentially partisan. Responses are determined not only in terms of stated objectives but also in terms of personal and

organisational self-interest (eg personal security and income, professional identity, risk avoidance, organisational survival, organisational growth).

(ii) There is often tension between the interests of different actors but bargaining and mutual adjustment, and the high costs and risks of open confrontation, means that this rarely becomes overt.

(iii) While actors publicly state what they are seeking to achieve there are commonly `hidden' objectives which significantly shape their motivations but are not documented or declared.

(iv) Different individuals and agencies have different levels of influence over events depending on the power they wield and the resources (material, finance, information, expertise, political networks) they control.

(v) The agencies involved in negotiating change are far from monolithic. Different individuals and groups within an organisation may have quite different interests and objectives than others within that organisation. They may collaborate about the need for change (or opposing change) with individuals or groups external to their organisation rather than with those within. Patterns of leadership (and changes in leadership) will be of great significance.

Much of the research in this section is about the public policy process and bureaucratic reform. Two common observations from empirical studies of these processes in Africa (and other continents) should inform our approach. The first is that rhetorical policy changes are not uncommon: that is changes in government documents and ministerial statements without corresponding changes in actual practice. The second is the considerable capacity that public sector organisations have to resist change (though this may be weakening with the global diffusion of the `new public management' (Gray and Jenkins 1995)). Studies of comprehensive civil service reforms (with the notable exception of Uganda) or ministry-specific reforms, such as the training and visit system for agricultural extension (Moris 1991), reveal the way in which major reforms can simply be absorbed. While change is claimed to have occurred the organisational culture is little effected: the new structures (organograms and pay) and systems (finance, links with clients, information etc) simply disguise the fact that pre-existing practices and behaviours continue. The ability of external agents (civil service reform units, NGOs,

donors, research centres) to catalyse change in reluctant public sector organisations must be carefully looked at. The roles of key individuals who can guide or obstruct change initiatives or who can influence other key actors must be identified. `Critical incidents' at which the processes of change are most clearly exposed should be identified and described.

In each country it is necessary to consider the nature of the state and national leaderships. In particular the relative strength of government, the relative power of politicians and bureaucrats, the degree of centralisation or decentralisation in government systems and the significance of `personality' within the state apparatus must be explored. The feedback loop will explore whether implementation activities can lead to policy modification and, if this is the case, whether it should be understood in terms of rational models of organisations and governments `learning from experience' from programme monitoring and evaluation or in terms of more political models of key actors learning how to reshape policy to their advantage.

The data collection methods used at this stage are likely to be twofold. Initially the emphasis is on official documentation to create country profiles of CC activity and to reconstruct official accounts of the shift to CC from policy papers, annual reports, agency organograms, donor reports, parliamentary discussions and official files (where available). The second method is to focus on elite interviews (ministers, directors and senior managers of conservation agencies, donor representatives, NGO leaders, community leaders, politicians, other researchers) in an attempt to record `what actually happened and why'. Relating the official and unofficial histories of the shift to CC in each country will be an important analytical activity as it will contribute greatly to our understanding of processes at more local levels. The elite interviews must be carefully selected (some may be `desirable' but best avoided), sensitively conducted, treated confidentially and, when possible, subjected to triangulation and validation. Elite interviews may need to be conducted in stages with initial interviews capturing the official line and a few anecdotes and later interviews being more probing. A listing of `key informants' and a strategy for contact (when, who interviews, how many interviews) is needed for each case study country.

V CC IMPLEMENTATION: CREATING NEW RESOURCE MANAGEMENT REGIMES?

At this stage the focus is on the ways in which the implementation of a CC approach changes (or does not change) local institutional frameworks and the behaviour of resource users. Two parts of our activity feed into this stage. The national experience papers will review the literature on CC implementation and summarise the broad experience of CC implementation within each country. This will be extended by a detailed case study of CC implementation at a specific location in each country (with the probable exception of Zimbabwe).

Case study locations are selected on the following criteria.

(i) A CC initiative has been underway for at least 4 years (so that some changes could be expected to have occurred).

(ii) A key goal of the CC initiative is to conserve one or more animal species that have economic value for some resource users (through use, sale or tourism).

(iii) The availability of information about the nature of the pre-CC initiative resource management regime and the status of key species and the wider environment.

(iv) The availability of information about the process of implementation and about the achievements of the initiative.

(v) Permissions to conduct the research.

The way in which we conceptualise **individual and group behaviour**, and changes in behaviour, will be of fundamental importance to our work. While it is not necessary for us to explore the intricacies of structuration theory (Giddens 1984) these ideas provide a basis for research. Social behaviour is viewed as neither being purely determined by social structures (Marxist, neo-Marxist and elite theories) nor by individual computations of costs and benefits (rational choice theory and the new institutional economics). While repeating established patterns of behaviour and pursuing economic self-interest are of great importance in understanding behaviour and social and economic change we should adopt a cognitive approach that `...see(s) people's behaviour as variable, as something probabilistic, rather than as something fixed, predetermined by some hierarchically ranked set of objectives' (Uphoff

1992:337). Social structural forces may shape individual behaviour but there is also a possibility that individuals (and groups) will use their human agency in ways that lead to the reshaping of social structures. This is closely related to Long's (1992) proposals for an `actor oriented approach' to the study of development. While Uphoff and Long have different views about the opportunity for behavioural probabilities to be shaped by interventions in ways that make the achievement of development goals more likely, both recognise `participation' and `empowerment' as central to intervention.

BOX 1: STAKEHOLDER ANALYSIS

Definitions

Stakeholders are persons, groups or organisations with interests in a specific project, programme or policy.

Primary stakeholders are those who directly benefit or suffer from a specific project, programme or policy.

Secondary stakeholders are those who indirectly benefit or suffer from a specific project, programme or policy.

Influence is the power which stakeholders have over a specific project, programme, or policy - to control what decisions are made, facilitate implementation, or affect its results negatively. The degree of power is dependent on the extent to which a stakeholder is able to persuade or coerce others into making decisions and following certain courses of action.

Keys Steps in Stakeholder Analysis

1 Draw up a list of stakeholders
- list all stakeholders whether supportive or antagonistic to the initiative and whether powerful or marginal
- divide primary stakeholders up in terms of resource user groups, occupational groups or income groups
- for formal organisations decide whether sub-groups should be considered as separate stakeholders
- are there emerging or nascent stakeholders who should be included?
- conduct a gender analysis: do specific types of female stakeholder need to be identified?

2 Assess each stakeholder's interests in the specific project, programme or policy. This may be in terms of benefits, costs, investment of time or resources in the initiative, social and political status, health, the achievement of organisational goals, public image.

3 Assess each stakeholder's main forms of interaction with the initiative - direct beneficiary, indirect beneficiary, active partner, passive partner, consulted, informed, not contacted, indirect loser, direct loser.

4 Assess the relative influence and power that stakeholders have been able to exert over the initiative.

5 Construct matrices to analyse this information (see Tables 1, 2, 3 and 4 for examples).

Describing project histories, the changes in local institutional frameworks, management structures and resource tenure is an essential first step in case study work. Detailed information in changes to economic incentive systems is also be important. Subsequently we shall need to describe and analyse the interactions of those involved in the use of resources both directly and indirectly. This includes `external' interveners, the `community'[2] and other actors. **Stakeholder analysis** (Box 1) provides us with a relatively straightforward device for ensuring that we gather the relevant materials. Although commonly used for *ex ante* project appraisal (Montgomery 1995) it can also be used for *ex post* and contemporary experiences. By examining the forms of involvement of differing stakeholders in an initiative we should be able to describe the nature of `participation' in that initiative, compare it with plans for participation and explore the ways in which stakeholder involvement has contributed to implementation processes (see Tables 1, 2, 3 and 4 for hypothetical examples of an *ex post* stakeholder analysis).

However, stakeholder analysis will not allow us to capture some of the finer detail that may be of significance to our study. In particular, additional qualitative analysis will be required to explore the ways in which differing elements of social structure (class, race, ethnicity, age, clan, lineage, gender, religion) influence behaviour and to examine the nature and actions of key individuals, particularly formal and informal leaders. At times the interests of a group, the form of involvement or their power and influence may be too varied or too complex to assess in such a simple form. Still, such tables can facilitate the initial analysis of case study findings.

[2] We should not assume that the `community', as defined by a CC policy or project, includes all major resource users. Nor should we assume that these entities have a common identity or cohesion.

Table 1: Stakeholders, Interests and Impacts of Kamani Community Conservation Project (Hypothetical)*

STAKEHOLDERS	INTERESTS	SUMMARY OF IMPACT
Primary		
Group Ranch Committee	• Dividend share • Status • Patronage from dividend share-out	+
Group Ranch Members	• Dividends • Increased cattle disturbance and loss of pasture	+ and -
Guides and Gatekeepers	• Employment • Regular income	+
Secondary		
Irrigators	• Wildlife disturbance	-
Local Traders/Shopkeepers	• Increased sales	+
Non-GR pastoralists	• Increased disturbance and loss of pasture	-
Tour Operators	• Increased choice of tour sites • Lower entrance fees	+
Lodge Operators	• Not clear	?
National Wildlife Service	• Achievement of targets • Competition for Nat Park entrance fees	+ and -
NWF (NGO)	• Achievement of targets • Raised likelihood of new activity • Increased consultancy	+
USAID	• Achievement of targets • Disbursement of targets • Favourable evaluation	+
Tourists	• Better services	+

.

* Gender is not well covered in this example

Table 2: Stakeholder Involvement in Kamani Community Conservation Project (Hypothetical)

STAKEHOLDERS	**INVOLVEMENT**						
	Material B>C (ie winner)	**Active Partner**	**Passive Partner**	**Consulted**	**Informed**	**Not Informed or Consulted**	**Material C>B (ie loser)**
Primary							
Group Ranch Committee	√	√		√	√		
Group Ranch Members	√		√		√		
Guides and Gatekeepers	√			√	√		
Secondary							
Irrigators					√		√
Traders and Shopkeepers	√					√	
Non-GR Pastoralists						√	√
Tour Operators	√			√			
Lodge Operators	?				√		?
National Wildlife Service	?	√					?
NWF (NGO)		√					
USAID		√					
Tourists						√	

B = Material Benefits
C = Material Costs

NB: 1.This table could be constructed for `as planned' and `as implemented' to contrast plan and practice)
2 The headings are initial thoughts only.

Table 3: Stakeholder Interactions in Kamani Community Conservation Project (Hypothetical)

	Primary			**Secondary**		
	Group Ranch C'tee	**Group Ranch Members**	**Guides and G/keepers**	**Irrigators**	**Traders**	**etc**
Group Ranch C'tee	-	• Comm elected by members • Comm does not account to members	• Comm makes all appts	• Irriga-tors complain to comm about cattle damage	• No formal link • Two Comm members are traders	
Group Ranch Members		-	• Guides and gate-keepers must be members	• Con-flict over cattle access to water	• Pur-chasing	
Guides and Gkeepers			-	• No inter-action	• Pur-chasing	
Irrigators				-	• Pur-chasing	
Traders					-	
etc						

(NB: Each cell would record the key forms of interaction covering financial and material exchanges and relations, including conflict)

Insert Table 4 here

To explore such issues the following methods could be used: focus groups, participatory rural appraisal (Appendix 2), structured interviews, simple questionnaires and the use of readily available aerial and terrestrial photographs.

Finally, in this section, we should consider whether the ideology of CC encounters an identifiable local ideology about man-nature relationships. If it does, then this will no doubt be contested and changing: but it would allow us to explore the assumption that CC is more in tune with local level conceptualisations of sustainable man-nature relationships, than were earlier preservationist ideologies.

VI LINK 4 - FROM BEHAVIOUR TO CONSERVATION OUTCOMES

The final link in the chain relates CC induced changes in local institutional framework and resource user behaviour to outcomes in terms of the status of the conservation resource(s) targeted by CC and the wider environment. The latter is essential as the successful conservation of a species may have deleterious effects on the wider environment (eg elephants and tree cover). As with Link 3 information on outcomes can be acquired from a review of existing materials (from national experience studies) and from our own case studies. Given the evidence that most CC studies have had little information about outcomes, and may have looked at them through rose-tinted spectacles, we must strive to acquire `hard' information on outcomes.

Conservation can be defined as: ‘The sustainable use and management of natural resources, which include organisms or ecosystems. To achieve sustainable use, conservation may need to include protection, maintenance, rehabilitation and enhancement of populations and ecosystems' (pers comm, Barrow and Kangwana).

Ideally, in case study locations we should locate a baseline measurement of the state of the conservation resource and the wider environment before CC intervention and a second measurement at the time of our study. Table 5 provides an initial specification for some of the measures and indicators that could be used. Problems with direct measurement (eg change in population size) are likely to be particularly difficult and so we may need to use indicators (eg

change in resource user behaviour so that hunting has declined). Where we use indicators we must establish and validate an inferential chain to support the substitution of indicators for direct measurements.

All our judgements about positive or negative outcomes will need to be tempered with an assessment of whether the change is attributable to a CC initiative or other factors (Figure 1). Recognition of the `new ecology' and of the non-equilibrium nature of many African habitats will not make such assessments easy (Zimmerer 1994)!

Table 5: Some Methods, Ideas of Measuring Whether Conservation is Occurring

Conservation Field	Indicator	How to Measure	Ease of Use	Comments
Fauna	Decrease in problem animal incidents	Park, district PA records; people's attitudes	Depends on access to records; and use of KAP type surveys	
Fauna	Decrease in illegal acts of poaching	Numbers of animals poached, level of effort into anti-poaching	Access to records and levels of effort put into anti-poaching	
Fauna	Increased diversity and numbers of wildlife both inside and outside PA	Wildlife monitoring surveys (aerial, ground)	Done by others (ex of Kenya DSRS counts from 1977 to 1994)	
Social	Decreased conflict incidents between park and people	PA and CC reports. Nos of incidents, perceptions of (survey PRA)	Access to records; use of surveys	
Social	Functioning conservation related community enterprises	Nos of assessment of benefit flows; local perceptions	Difficulties of linking to conservation; understanding real flows of benefits	Sustainability of initiatives
Social	Increased economic benefits to people	Economic analysis; quality of life (access to services)	Local level economic analysis may be difficult. May be little baseline to ascertain quality of live improvement	
Social	Increased positive attitude towards conservation	KAP surveys, PRA repeated	Difficulties of linking `feel good' to conservation sustainability or improvement	
Social	Better educational results	Better educational results due to conservation benefit sharing improving nos of schools etc	Difficult to tie directly to conservation value improvement	
Social	Increased nos of groups organised around a conservation related activity	No of groups over time, MOUs signed, eg PMAC/PRMC in Uganda	Some such groups may have tenuous link to conservation	What activities do these groups carry out? Links to Con?
Social	Increasing positive attitude towards conservation as a result of benefit sharing	KAP surveys, PRA work	Fostering positive attitude good early on, but does it foster responsibility	
Social	Does Conservation Authority have good strategic plans for CC	Plans exist, in use being updated based on experience?	Difficulties of `fate of all good plans'!	
Social	Increased community and local people involvement in conservation meetings	Nos of such meetings, who participates, do they implement agreed to actions	Difficulties of tracking over time	

Social	Local people visits to conservation areas	Do they visit, why, indicative of improving attitude	Maybe, on its own, tenuous link to conservation value	
Flora	Improved crop yields	Agriculture records. Link to reducing PA incidents	Difficult one - many areas crop production under threat from PA	Look at in context of improved yield per ha, not increasing ha
Flora	Increased no of trees for people to use	Attitudes concerning trees; trees actually planted or conserved and used	Difficulties of measuring trees planted and natural regeneration encouraged	
Flora	Improved natural vegetation coverage and diversity	Ecological surveys. Also can use KAP surveys	Depends on others and extent of such work	
Flora	Decreased tree loss (esp of important trees) and soil erosion	Agriculture, forestry records; KAP surveys	Symptom of changing land use, but may be difficult to link to conservation value	
Flora	Increased resource substitution at local level. Extent to which people are changing resource use	Surveys, reduced incursions to gain access to certain resources. MOUs concerning such resources	Of particular concern in Mt parks with respect to in particular plants, trees and produce	

Source: Ed Barrow and Kadzo Kangwana (5/96)

The modified flows of benefits (and costs) back to `the community' and other stakeholders is a central element in the normative theory of CC. To understand the nature of these flows, and their influence on stakeholder behaviour, we must measure the aggregate scale and distribution of benefits and costs before CC intervention and at the time of study. Wherever possible such assessments should be quantified. At times this may be by `crude' estimation. Detailed matrices of stakeholders and the benefits and costs they derive from CC initiatives (both quantitative and qualitative) will again be useful (Table 6).

We should explore the possibility of creating a `filiere' to estimate at what level, and to whom, the benefits of CC accrue. This is a device used by French researchers to estimate who gets the greatest rewards from commodity production (ie grower, local trader, regional merchant, agro-processor, distributor or finished product). A tourism filiere would be of great interest as it might detail the ways in which non-local and international actors are the main beneficiaries of tourism.

Conway's proposal that sustainable development be assessed in terms of four criteria can provide a framework for conclusions about outcomes:

- changes in productivity
- changes in the degree of equity in terms of the distribution of natural resource based incomes
- stability of the production system
- sustainability of the system

Finally, in this section, we shall want to ask about the ways in which the measurement of outcomes, or the reporting of outcomes, has fed back into CC implementation and policy. Has CC been modified in the light of information on outcomes or has theory (or myth) been sufficient to sustain CC as practice and ideology?

Table 6: Distribution of Benefits and Costs Created by Kamani Community Conservation Project (Hypothetical)

Stakeholder	**Main Benefits**					**Main Costs**		
	Conser-vation	**Revenue Share**	**Employ-ment**	**Increased Business**	**Meat**	**Crop Destruction**	**Compt'n for Grazing**	**Increased Business Compt'n**
Group Ranch Committee	√	√	√	?	√	X	?	X
Group Ranch Members	√	√	X	X	√	?	?	X
Guides and Gatekeepers	√	√	√	X	√	X	?	X
Irrigators	?	X	X	X	X	√	X	X
Traders	?	X	X	√	X	X	X	X
Non-GR Pastoralists	?	X	X	X	X	X	√	X
Tour Operators	√	X	X	√	X	X	X	X
Lodge Operators	√	X	X	X	X	X	X	√
NWS	√	X	X	X	X	X	X	√

NWF	√	X	X	√	X	X	X	X
USAID	√	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Tourists	√	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Local MP	√	√	X	X	√	X	X	√

VII CONCLUSION

This paper suggests that we conceive of 5 main elements in our study and, in order to capture their dynamics, see our research as exploring the 4 links that convert the ascendant ideology of CC into outcomes in specific locations in rural Africa. While feedback mechanisms are identified and recognised as important there is a danger that this exaggerates the exogenous origins of CC. For our study to add to the understanding of CC then we need high quality case studies, contextualised by comprehensive national experience reviews and supported by an analysis of ideology and concepts. At the conclusion of our project these need to be synthesised into an account that explores the complexity of CC but produces clear conclusions for conservation theory and for those who take decisions about how to shape livelihoods in rural Africa.

Appendix 1: Research Questions

Main Question: **Does active involvement of local resource users enhance the achievement of conservation goals?**

Research Questions (Objectives)

1 What are the theoretical assumptions about CC and how has the ideology of CC evolved?

Method: Desk study of CC ideology globally

2 How and why have CC approaches evolved in practice?

3 To what extent do forms of CC, institutional context and other factors influence success?

Method: Desk study analysis of national experiences in Kenya, Tanzania, Uganda (AWF), and in Zimbabwe, Namibia and Mozambique (CASS), using common methodology

4 What difference does CC make to conservation goals in practice?

a) Do PA-related CC projects improve achievement of conservation goals?

b) Do non PA-based CC projects achieve conservation goals?

5 To what extent do forms of community conservation, institutional context and other factors influence success?

6 Is community conservation cost effective? [community, conservation authority government]

a) How do outside agents and communities relate to each other?

b) How do community conservation projects relate to other branches of government?

c) How important are non-material values in the success of community conservation projects?

Aim

What are the implications of these findings for policy, practise and theory?

Appendix 2: Methodology for Community Level Data Collection

A Selection of Communities

Identification of main 'types' of community and structured random selection of the 'community' (bearing accessibility in mind).

B Notification

Message sent to the community about date, time and purpose of meeting.

C Entry and Introduction

2 researchers and 2 research assistants enter community, meeting is convened - under tree, at primary school, in church hall or whatever.

We are a team conducting research for the University of Manchester in England. We are looking at the ways that people living in rural areas use the environment (water, soils, trees, fish, animals, grass, plants etc) and the changes that they see in the environment. We want to learn from the people what they think is happening to their environment and how this affects their livelihoods (how they get food, money, fuel and water). We are particularly looking at areas like XYZ district where lots of changes have been happening - growing population, changes in tenure, resettlement schemes, national park, expanding towns.

We are holding meetings with may people in XYZ and interviewing government officers, LC Chairmen and others. This information will be used for a book that will look at Uganda, Kenya, Tanzania, Zimbabwe and Namibia. We will send a copy of our report to relevant people in XYZ district - Cs, district secretaries, agriculture, national parks and anyone you think (would you like a copy) - to help them understand what people living in villages think is important.

We are working in many different parishes and the things that you talk about will be written up with that other information. So what we talk about here is confidential - it will not be identified as coming from here, but from XYZ district. We are not working for the tax or the police or the government!

Our names are David (from England), Kadzo (from Kenya), etc.

We do not want to ask you lots of boring questions. Instead, we want to work together with you making some maps and lists and pictures of your natural resources and what is happening. This will help us learn and hopefully it will also be lots of fun.

Before we start are there any questions you would like to ask us - any worries about us you have? Any information that you would like?

David and Kadzo apologise for not speaking the local language. Now everyone can take part in this work.

D Research Activities

(Think about whether some of these should be separate group - gender, age?)

1 Timeline of the Community

- What do you call yourselves?
- How long have you lived in this area?
- How many people are there in this village?
- What have been the key events over the years?

2 Seasonality line

3 List of the Main Natural Resources

4 Matrix of Uses of the Main Resources

Uses	A	B	C
Resources			
1			
2			
3			

5 Mapping of the Natural Resources Used by the Community

- Mark art main geographical features, on the ground (road, tour/settlements, rivers, lakes, swamps, hills)
- Community draw in resources - which/where important
- Boxes to illustrate use of distance resources

6 Ranking of Importance of Resources

Discussion and voting with seeds

7 List of the Main Changes that are Occuring in the Local Environment

Listing

8 List of the Main Problems that People Encounter in Using Natural Resources

List
Rank - votes with seeks

9 Venn Diagram of Different Organisations that People have Contact with (Governments, NGOs, Private)

Diagram
Importance

Accessibility

10 Feedback Summary From KK and DH and Discussion

11 Depart

Distribute soda
Farewell - commitment to copy report/diagrams/photos to them

REFERENCES

Chambers, R (1993) *Challenging the Professions: Frontiers for Rural Development*, London: IT

Edwards, M and Hulme, D (1995) *NGO Performance and Accountability: Beyond the Magic Bullet*, London: Earthscan

Gray, A and Jenkins, B (1995) `From public administration to public management: reassessing a revolution?', *Public Administration* 73, 75-99

Giddens, A (1984) *The Constitution of Society: an Outline of the Theory of Structuration*, Cambridge: Polity Press

IIED (1994) *Whose Eden? An Overview of Community Approaches to Wildlife Management*, London: IIED

Montgomery, R (1995) *Guidance Note on How to Do Stakeholder Analysis of Aid Projects and Programmes*, Swansea: Centre for Development Studies

Moris, J (1991) *Extension Alternatives in Tropical Africa*, London: Overseas Development Institute

Murphree, M (1996) 'Approaches to Community Participation', in ODA, *African Wildlife Policy Consultation: Final Report*, London: ODA, 155-188

Robinson, M (1993) `Governance, democracy and conditionality: NGOs and the new policy agenda', in Clayton, A (ed) *Governance, Democracy and Conditionality: What Role for NGOs?*, Oxford: INTRAC

Roe, E (1995) `Except-Africa: Postscript to a special section on development narratives', *World Development* 23(6), 1065-1070

Schaffer, B B (1984) `Towards responsibility: public policy in concept and practice', in Clay, E J and Schaffer, B B (eds) *Room for Manoeuvre: An Exploration of Public Policy in Agriculture and Rural Development*, London: Heinemann, 142-190

Shore, C (1993) `Community' in Outhwaite, W and Bottomore, T (eds) *The Blackwell Dictionary of Twentieth-Century Social Thought*, Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 98-99

Uphoff, N (1992) *Learning from Gal Oya: Possibilities for Participatory Development and Post-Newtonian Social Science*, Cornell: Cornell University Press

Uphoff, N (1986) *Local Institutional Development*, West Hartford: Kumarian Press

Figure 1
Community Conservation: Main Actors and Key Interactions

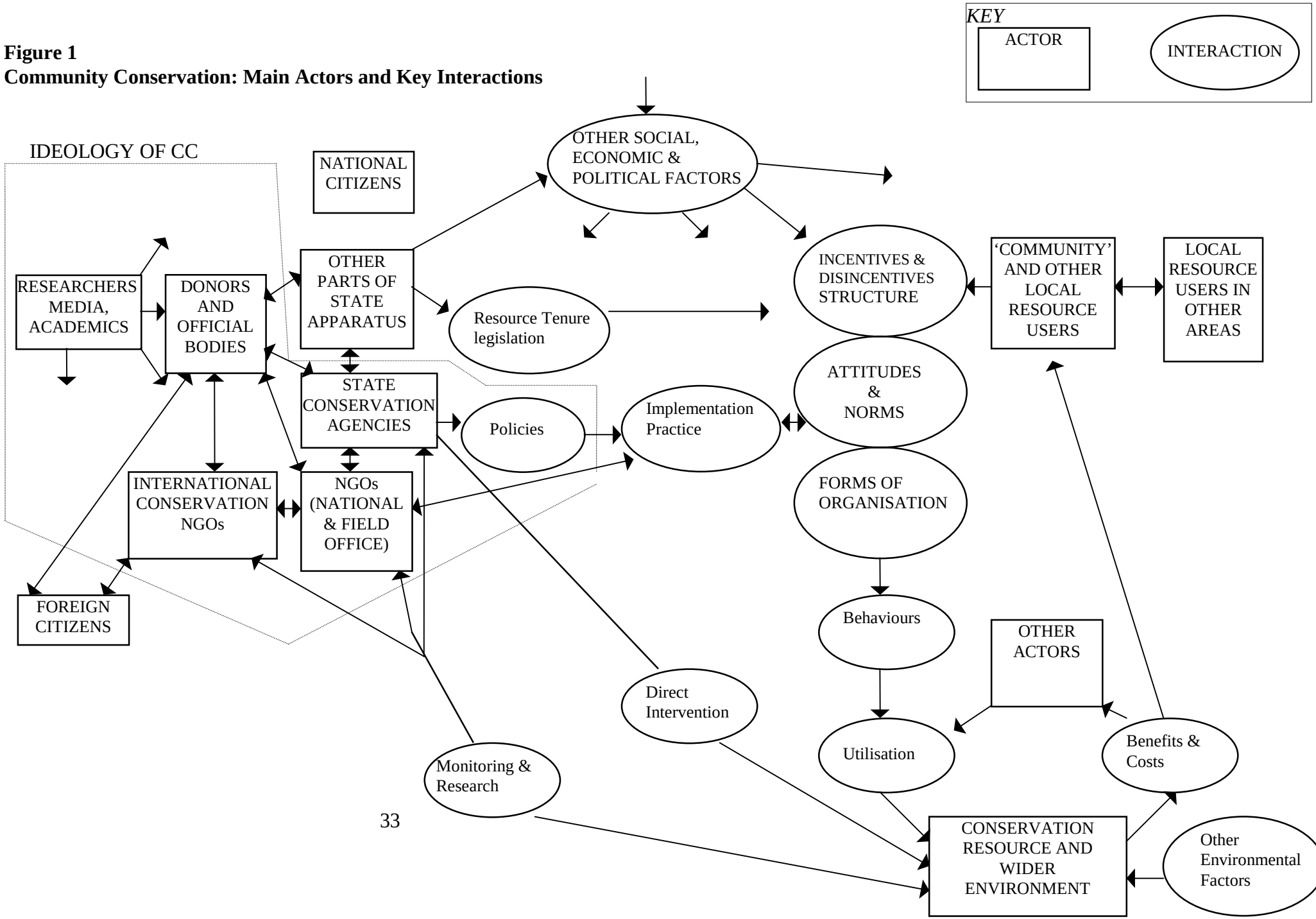
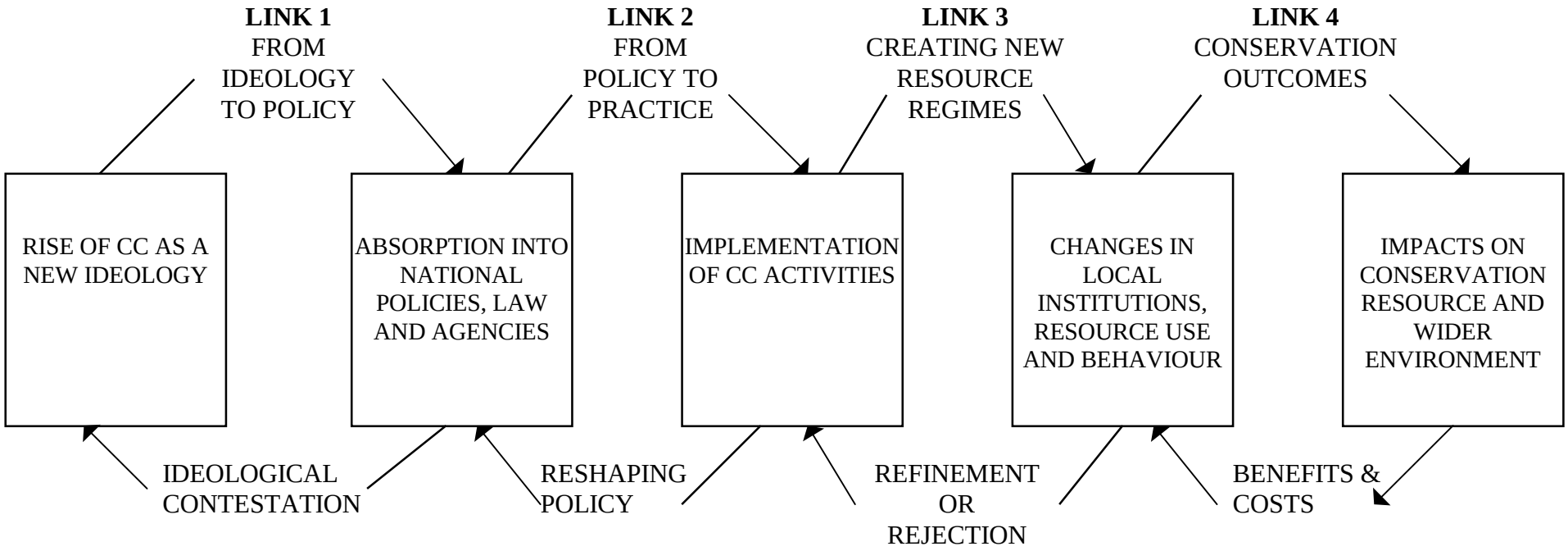


Figure 2: A Framework for the Study of Community Conservation (CC)



THEORY AND IDEOLOGY PAPER		
	NATIONAL EXPERIENCE STUDIES	
34		DETAILED CASE STUDIES
COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS, SYNTHESIS AND BOOK		

Figure 3: Conservation by Protection (T_1)

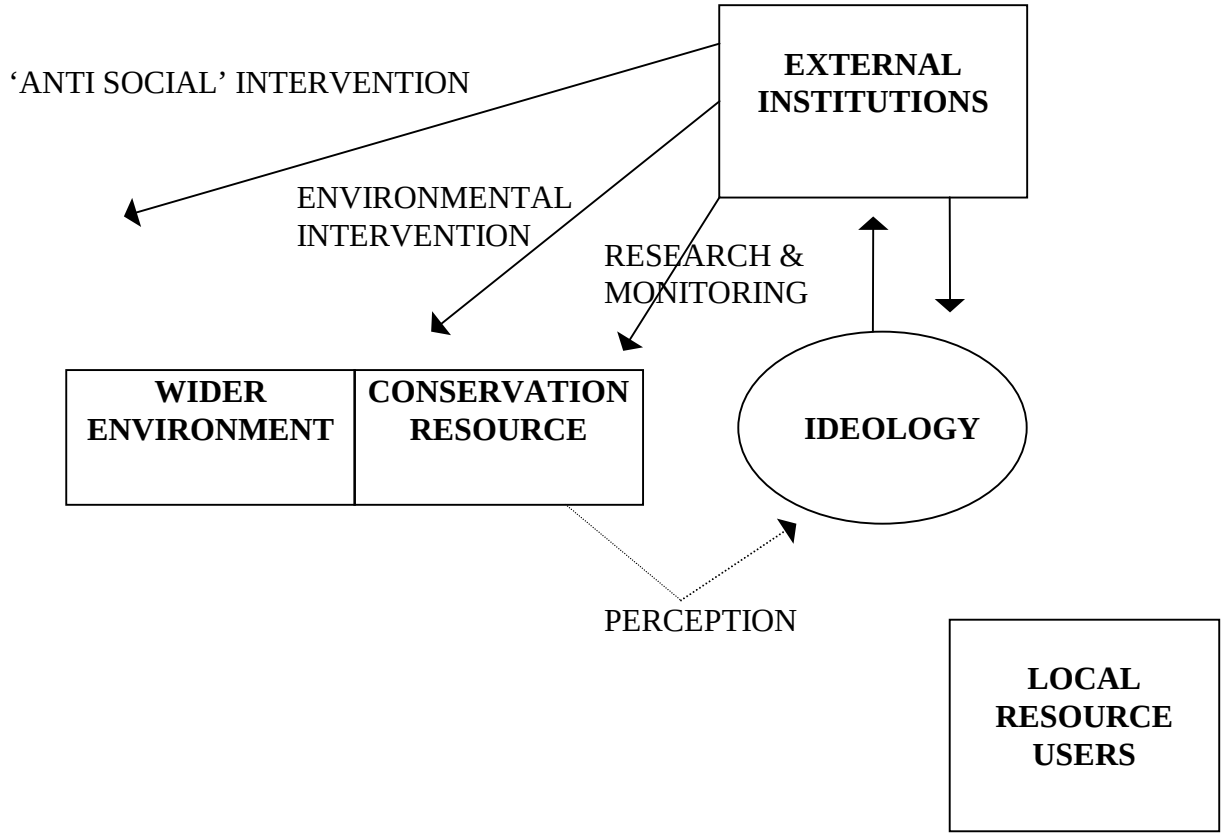


Figure 4: Community Conservation (T_2)

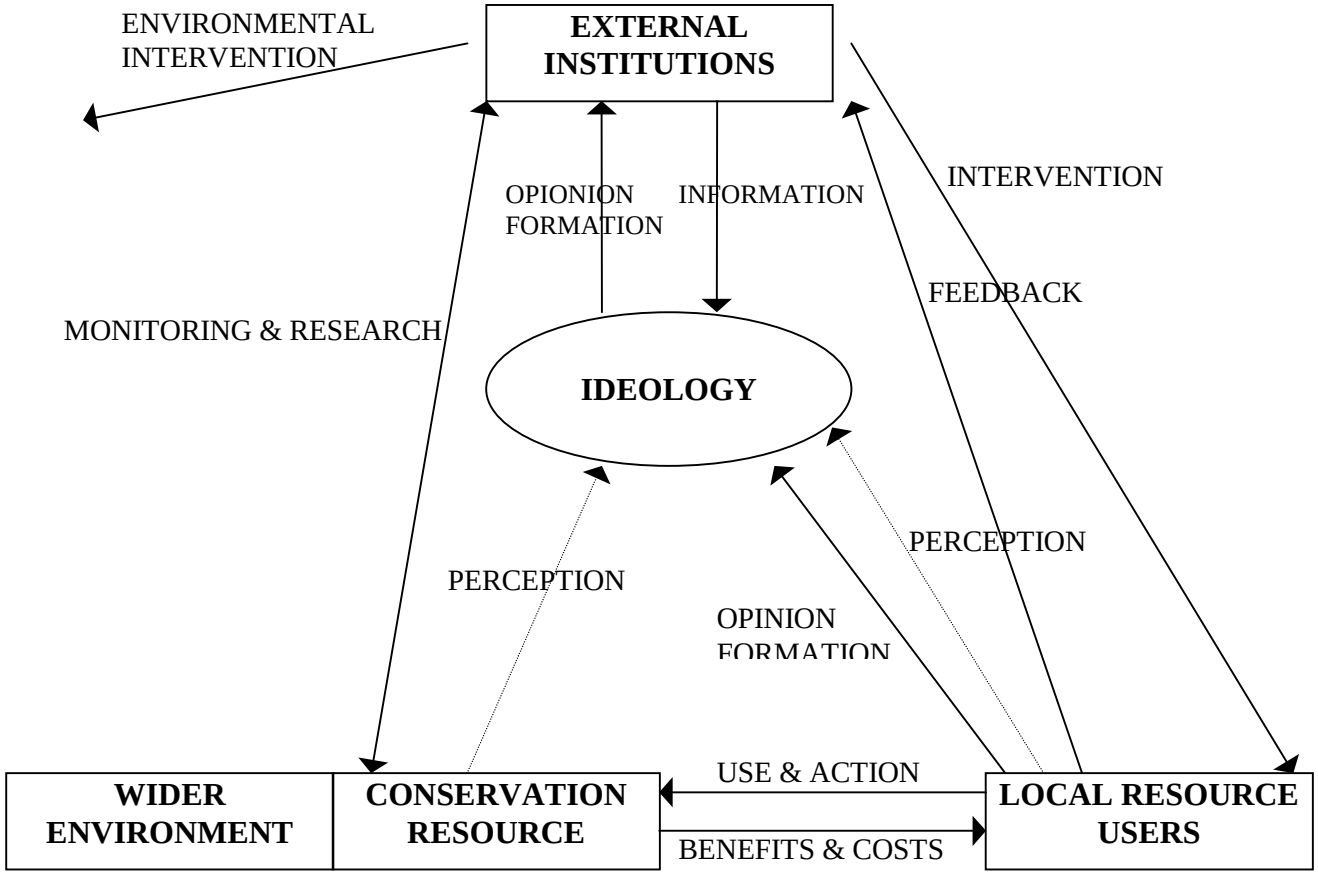
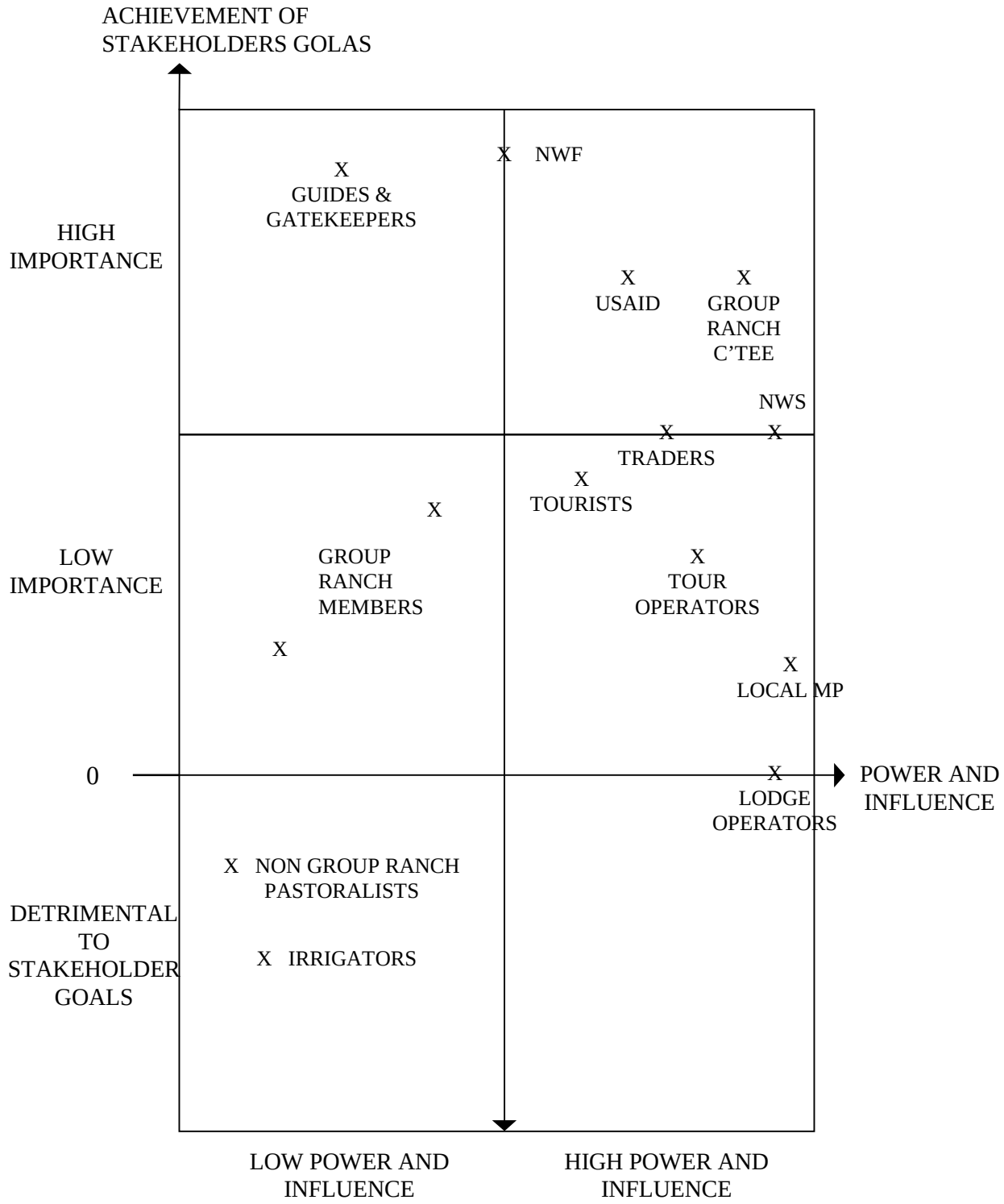


Table 4: Stakeholder Power and Influence Over Kamani Community Conservation Project and Importance of the Project to Achievement of Stakeholder Goals.



(NB: Even if we do not go public on these sorts of diagrams they would be a useful way to summarise information for each other)