

Wildlife conservation in Zambia and the Landsafe Customary Commons

by

I. P. A. Manning

Thesis
submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy (Wildlife Management)

The Centre for Wildlife Management

Faculty of Natural & Agricultural Sciences
University of Pretoria
Pretoria

Supervisor: Professor Wouter van Hoven February 2011



Declaration:

I, *Ian Patrick Alexander Manning*, declare that the dissertation which I hereby submit for the degree of *Doctor of Philosophy (Wildlife Management)* at the University of Pretoria, is my own work and has not previously been submitted by me for a degree at this or any other tertiary institution.

SIGNATURE:

DATE: 25 Tanumy 2511



From the standpoint of a higher socio-economic formation, the private property of particular individuals in the earth will appear just as absurd as the private property of one man in other men. Even an entire society, a nation, or all simultaneously existing societies taken together, are not owners of the earth, they are simply its possessors, its beneficiaries, and have to bequeath it in an improved state to succeeding generations, as *boni patres familias* (good heads of the household).

Karl Marx – Capital

If Africa is to take her rightful place among the continents, we shall have to proceed on different lines and evolve a policy which will not force her institutions into an alien European mould, but which will preserve her unity with her own past, conserve what is precious in her past, and build her future progress and civilisation on specifically African foundations.

J.C. Smuts - Africa And Some World Problems



Wildlife Conservation in Zambia and the Landsafe Customary Commons

by

I. P. A. Manning

Supervisor: Professor Wouter van Hoven

The Centre for Wildlife Management

Faculty of Natural & Agricultural Sciences
University of Pretoria

Doctor of Philosophy (Wildlife Management)

ABSTRACT

This dissertation both proposes and records the ongoing implementation of a 'Landsafe' integrated conservation and development model for the customary commons of Zambia.

In Volume I, a geographical historical perspective of the country is presented which concentrates on wildlife conservation and rural people. The changes wrought successively on indigenous peoples by invading native Africans of the Bantu linguistic group, then in turn on them by Europeans in the form of Charter Companies and later by Imperial Protectorate rule, and finally, by self-rule, is explored. The country's evolution from Western colonialism and embedded liberalism, to exploitative neoliberalism and the concurrent emergence of the traditional patrimonial system - one modernised by its meeting with European capitalism, is the backdrop and basis for the construction of Landsafe and its current implementation in two chiefdoms.

Volume II presents the Landsafe ICDP model. This is based on the formation of chiefdom statutory trusts, with trustees elected by villagers of the customary commons; and the signing of comanagement agreements with government departments in respect of wildlife, Game Management Areas, and protected forest land, forests, fisheries and water. The local District Councils would be signatory to such agreements, and the chiefs and their headmen would vest selected customary land in these trusts. These vested lands are then protected, allowing for controlled exploitation by investors such that they do not impinge unnecessarily on traditional rights or on the re-establishment of traditional guardians of nature. Land may not, under any circumstances, be alienated from customary control. A log frame programme analysis procedure is adopted and a suggested formalisation methodology and procedures for implementing Landsafe included. Finally, the socio-ecology of the first project area in the Luangwa Valley is detailed, followed by a description of the implementation of the Landsafe programme; including a critical analysis comparing Landsafe theory to practice.



TABLE OF CONTENTS

D	eclaration	5
Al	bstract	7
Та	able of Contents	9
Pr	oject location – Map	18
A	cknowledgements	19
D	edication	21
In	troduction	23
	VOLUME I: WILDLIFE CONSERVATION IN ZAMBIA	
\mathbf{C}^{1}	HAPTER 1: Zambia before self-government in 1964	27
	cronyms	
1	Wild Country.	
2	Pre-colonial History	
3	Bantu Colonialism.	
٥	3.1 Early Bantu invaders, the Portuguese and the Arabs	
	3.2 Nineteenth century invaders	
	3.3 Bantu culture and custom	
	3.3.1 Survival strategies	
	3.3.2 Witchcraft	
	3.3.3 Customary law	
	3.4 The slave and ivory trade	
4	European Colonialism	36
	4.1 Explorers, missionaries, hunters, traders and miners	
	4.1.1 The pioneer concessionaires in the east of the territory	
	4.2 Charter companies	
	4.2.1 History	
	i) The North Charterland Exploration Company	
	ii) The British South Africa Chartered Company	
	4.2.2 Impacts on people	
	4.2.3 Blackbirding	
	4.3 British Imperial Protectorate	
	4.3.1 Indirect Rule	
	4.3.2 Provincial Administration	
	4.3.3 The Federation	
	4.4 Winds of change and Bandung	
5	The Environment and its Legal Framework	44
	5.1 Land tenure and population	
	5.2 Landuse and technical support	
	5.3 Wildlife conservation	
6	The Economy	49
7	Deferences	51

\mathbb{C}	HAP	TER 2: Self-Government and wildlife conservation	53
		/ms	
1		Zambia and the Game Department (1964-1974)	
	1.1	Politics and wildlife conservation	
	1.2	Transitional and Natural Resource Development Fund	
	1.3	The Luangwa Valley Conservation and Development Project and Game cropping	
2		National Parks and Wildlife Service (1975-1999)	59
_	2.1	Introduction	
	2.2	ADMADE: Administrative Management Design for Game Management Areas	
	2.3	LIRDP: Luangwa Integrated Resource Development Project	
	2.4	Restructuring the administration of wildlife and National Parks (1992-2001)	
3		Zambia Wildlife Authority (1999- 2009)	67
3	3.1	Game Management Areas and The Lands Act of 1995	07
	3.2	Community Resource Boards	
	3.3		
		3.3.1 Quotas	
		3.3.2 Elephant poaching	
		3.3.3 Illegal acts	
		3.3.4 Human rights abuses	
	3.4		
	3.5	CITES: Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species	
		3.5.1 Ivory trade	
		Bushmeat trade	
		3.5.3 Ranching	
	3	3.5.4 Lusaka Agreement on Co-operative Enforcement Operations Directed	
		at Illegal Trade in Wild Fauna and Flora	
4	P	Partnerships in Conservation Development	83
	4.1	National Parks and public-private partnerships	
	4	4.1.1 Kasanka	
	4	4.1.2 North Luangwa	
	4	4.1.3 Liuwa	
	4	4.1.4 Luambe	
	4	4.1.5 South Luangwa	
	4	4.1.6 Lower Zambezi	
	4	4.1.7 West Lunga	
		1.1.8 The Kafue Flats and its protected areas	
5	N	Vational Park Concession Tourism Agreements (CTAs)	88
	5.1	Mosi oa Tunya	
	5.2	Kafue and Luangwa	
	5.3	Sioma Ngwezi	
6		Aid Projects	90
U	6.1	CONASA: Community Based Natural Resource Management and Sustainable	
	0.1	Agriculture (2001 – 2005)	
	6.2	COMACO: Community Markets for Conservation	
	6.3	SEED: Support for Economic Expansion and Diversification	
	6.4	REMNPAS: Reclassification and Effective Management of the National	
7		Protected Areas System	0.0
7		National and Local Organisations	96
	7.1	→	
	7.2		
	7.3	A	
		WPAZ: The Wildlife Producers Association of Zambia	= :
8		ZAWA Performance	
O	7	7AWA Incorporated	00



	9.1 Live animal translocation	
	9.2 Game meat	
10	0 References	102
1	1 Appendices	106
	Appendix 1: Précis of five evaluations of ADMADE carried out between 1992 and 1998 (Clarke 2000).	
	Appendix 2: Principal conclusions from a review of Kasanka (Pope, 2006).	
	Appendix 3: CITES 15 th CoP	
C	CHAPTER 3: Safari Hunting and wildlife-based tourism	115
	cronyms	
	art I: Safari hunting	
1	Hunting Concessions.	
	1.1 The first 25 concessions: 2003 – 2012	
	1.1.1 Hunting Concession Agreements (HCAs)	
	1.2 The next 13 concessions: 2005 – 2010	
	1.3 Proposed protected area hunting concessions	
2		120
_	2.1 2003	
	2.2 2004	
	2.3 2005	
	2.4 2006	
	2.5 2007	
	2.5.1 Quota utilisation	
	2.5.2 Licencing	
	2.6 Summary of Zambia's safari quotas: 2003 – 2007	
3		126
J	3.1 African Experience Safaris	120
	3.2 Leopard Ridge Safaris	
	3.3 Sable Transport	
	3.4 Mbeza Safaris	
	3.5 NAMAC v ZAWA	
4		130
_	4.1 Legal	130
	4.2 Conservation	
	4.3 Customary community partners	
	4.4 Safari hunting operators	
	4.5 Changes to the Hunting Concession Agreement	
D	Part II: Game ranching	133
D	art II. Game ranching	13/
5		
6		
U	Appendix 1: The 25 concessions (2003-2007)	139
	Appendix 2: The next 13 hunting concessions as awarded Appendix 3: Synthesis of the Draft National Policy of May 2003 on Private	
	Wildlife Estates and Other Novel Uses of Wildlife	
	Whathe Estates and Other Nover Oses of Whathe	
_	TIADTED A. The Enemoty only for Congentration and Development	1 45
	CHAPTER 4: The Framework for Conservation and Rural Development	
	Cronyms	
1		149
	1.1 Economics	
	1.2 Population	
	1.3 Investing and doing business in Zambia	
	1.4 Investment protection	



	1.5	Foreign aid
2		The International and Regional Framework for Conservation
	2.1	The World Conservation Strategy
	2.2	
	2.3	
	2.4	
	2.5	i i
	2.6	
	2.7	1
	2.8	
3		
3		Zambia's Natural Resources Framework affecting Customary Communities and
_		Wildlife Conservation
3.	1	Current state of the customary commons
		3.1.1 Introduction
		3.1.2 Strategies for customary community ownership
		3.1.3 The customary authority
		3.1.4 Customary land
4		Legal and institutional framework for natural resources
4	.1	Introduction
4	.2	Policy and legislative formulation process
		4.2.1 Environmental Protection and Pollution Control Act (EPPCA) of 1990
		4.2.2 Tourism and Hospitality Bill
		4.2.3 The Forestry Act No. 39 of 1973
		4.2.4 The Fisheries Act of 2007
		4.2.5 The Water Act No. 34 of 1948
		4.2.6 National Biodiversity Strategy and Action Plan (NBSAP)
		4.2.7 National Conservation Strategy (NCS) 1985
		4.2.8 National Environmental Action Plan (NEAP) 1994
		4.2.9 National Policy on Environment (2005)
		4.2.10 Zambia Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PRSP) - Fifth National Development Plan,
		2006 – 2010
		4.2.11 Zambia National Action Plan (NAP) for Combating Desertification (2002)
		4.2.12 Climate change
		4.2.13 Forest and carbon protection
		4.2.14 Genetic resources
		4.2.15 Malaria
5		Government Policy and Chiefdoms
	5.1	Public-private partnerships (PPP)
	5.2	Decentralisation
	5.3	Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) Bill
	5.4	Freedom of Information Bill
	5.5	Bio-safety Act
	5.6	·
	5.7	
6		Parastatals (Quangos), Chiefdoms and Investors
0	6.1	Zambia Development Agency
	6.2	* * *
	6.3	
		A.
	6.4	e e e e e e e e e e e e e e e e e e e
	6.5	A .
7	6.6	
7		Government, Chiefdoms and Investors
	7.1	Legislation Supporting Primary Stakeholders
		7.1.1 The Co-operative Act



	7.1.2 Societies Act	
	7.1.3 Lands (perpetual succession) Act	
	7.1.4 The Companies Act (limited by guarantee)	
8	International community, chiefdoms and investors	
9	Zambian NGOs, chiefdoms and investors	196
	9.1 The Zambia Land Alliance	
	9.2 Transparency International Zambia	
	9.3 The Human Rights Commission	
10		
11		202
	Appendix 1: Corruption in Ministries affecting customary residents	
Cl	HAPTER 5: Integrated Conservation and Development Partnerships in Zambia	209
	cronyms	
1	Regional integrated community-based conservation and development	212
	1.1 Rhodesia/Zimbabwe	
	1.2 Namibia (Appendix 1)	
	1.3 Malawi	
	1.4 Botswana	
	1.5 Tanzania	
2	Zambia	215
	2.1 Customary Areas Investor Partnerships	
	2.1.1 Nyawa Community Trust	
	2.1.2 Luembe Conservancy Trust	
	2.1.3 Royal Empowerment Foundation	
	2.1.4 Itumbi-Kaingu Community Trust	
	2.1.5 West Lunga Trust	
	2.1.6 Mwanachingwala Conservation Trust	
	2.1.7 Nyakolwe Trust	
	2.1.8 Shinganda-Lumba Conservancy	
	2.1.9 Royal Luembe Trust	
	2.1.10 Nyakaulu Mwape Community Trust	
	2.1.11 Sioma Falls PPP	
2	2.1.12 Nyalugwe Conservation Trust	222
3	International Donor Funding	
	3.2 Mpumba Conservancy Trust3.3 Chikuni Community Partnership Park	
	3.4 Chiawa Community Partnership Park	
	3.5 Kazungula Heartland Trusts	
	3.5.1 Mukuni Trust	
	3.5.2 Sekutu Development Trust	
	3.5.3 Siluwe Trust	
	3.5.4 Other Trusts	
	3.6 Joint Forest Management Areas (JFMAs)	
4	Mafunta CBNRM Project	227
5	Transfrontier Conservation Areas.	
	5.1 Kazangula and Zambezi Heartlands	
	5.2 Malawi/Zambia TFCA	
	5.3 Kaza (Kavango – Zambezi TFCA)	
6	References	229
7	Appendices	
	Appendix 1: The CBNRM policy and legislation for Namibia	
	Appendix 2: Objectives of the Luembe Conservancy Trust Limited	



VOLUME II: THE LANDSAFE COMMONS DEVELOPMENT MODEL

		TER 6: The Landsafe Model	
A	Acronyms		
1		The evolution of Landsafe	241
		The Chipuna investment model for chiefdoms	
	1.2	The Chipuna partners	
2		Landsafe	242
	2.1	The focused objectives	
	2.2	The expected general outcomes	
	2.3	The expected benefits	
	2.4	The expected constraints	
	2.5	Outputs and activities to implement Landsafe	
3		Towards Investor/Chiefdom Trusts equitable financial solutions	245
	3.1	Introduction	
	3.2	Landsafe Land lease	
	3.3	Comparative lease cost in Zambia	
	3	3.3.1 Agricultural land	
	3	3.3.2 Concession Tourism Agreements	
	3	3.3.3 Hunting Concession Agreements	
4		The formalisation and implementation of Landsafe	249
	4.1	Statutory institutional structures for natural resource management	
	4.2	Facilitation	
	4.3	The land	
	4.4	Wildlife	
	4.5	Game Management Areas	
	4.6	National Parks	
	4.7	Local forests and forest on customary land	
	4.8	National Forests	
	4.9	Fisheries	
	4.10) Water	
	4.11	Chiefdom landuser rights (usufruct)	
	4.12	2 Business development	
	4.13	B Appointment of chiefdom advisory committee	
5		Conclusion.	259
6		References	261
7		Appendices	262
		Appendix 1: Introduction for chiefs to Chipuna conservancy development for	
		customary and protected land in Zambia	
		Appendix 2: Chipuna main partners	
		Appendix 3: The Chipuna roadmap	
		TER 7: The Three-rifts Landsafe Project Area	
	•	/ms	
	rt I:		
1		ntroduction	
2]	Γhe Environmental Framework	271
	2.1	Physiography and climate	
	2.2	Geology and soils	
	2.3	Three-rifts rivers	
		2.3.1 Lunsemfwa	
		2.3.2 Lukusashi	
		2.3.3 Luangwa	
	2.4	Vegetation	

	2.4.1	Soil associations	
	2.4.2	Physiographic associations	
	2.5 Agric	• • •	
	•	ife and hunting	
3		ironmental Issues	274
	3.1 Fire		
	3.2 Tsetse	e flv	
		al predation on villagers	
		an predation on wildlife	
	3.5 HIV/A		
		ng and hydro-electric generation	
Ря		ibe	279
4			
_		be Open Area (Luangwa east bank)	21)
		section (Luangwa west bank)	
		Mvuvye National Forest	
5		oo Tribe	200
3			.200
	5.2 Histor	·	
		uembe chiefdom	
		tenure	
		omary land alienations	
		Introduction	
		Mbizi ranch	
		Nyamadzi ranch	
6		a Open Area Section.	
7		l Areas	284
		be section: West Mvuvye National forest	
		Petauke GMA	
8		al Issues	.285
		be CRB	
9		e of Luembe	
Pa	ırt III: Nyal	ugwe	287
10	The Chie	efdom	287
11	Customa	ry Land Alienations	287
12	Key Lega	al Issues	288
	12.1 Nyalu	igwe CRB	
	12.2 Nyalu	agwe Conservation Trust	
13			.289
	13.1 Educa	ation	
	13.2 Agric	ulture	
	13.3 Healtl	h	
	13.4 Wildl	ife	
	13.5 Forest		
	13.6 Justic		
		sion services	
		t availability	
	13.0 Crean	t uvunuonity	
Pο	art IV. State	of the Three-rifts and GRZ services	290
14		the President – Eastern Province.	
15		the Fresident – Eastern Frovince.	
16		ıral and Cooperatives	
17		eses.	
18	Appendic	ces	.294



Appendix 1: Common game species and hunting quotas for 2007 in the West Petauke GMA and the Nyamadzi

CH	APTER 8: Implementing Landsate in Luembe and Nyalugwe Chiefdoms	
Plat	te 1: Three-rifts Landsafe Project Area	297
Acr	onyms	298
1	The objectives	299
2	Respective responsibilities of partners	299
3	Stakeholders involved in Project	300
3	.1 Primary stakeholders	
3	.2 Secondary stakeholders	
3	.3 Key stakeholders	
4	The expected general outcomes	300
5	The expected benefits	301
6	Ongoing and achieved general outputs	301
7	Proposed Landsafe outputs for the chiefdoms	303
8	Natural resources protection	305
9	Agriculture	305
10	Hunting Safaris	305
Par	t I: Luembe Chiefdom	306
11	Background	306
12	Present Outputs	
13	Projected Investment Outputs	307
14	Constraints to progress	
Par	t II: Nyalugwe Chiefdom	
15	Background	
16	Expected Outcomes	
17	Planned Outputs and Activities to Achieve Outcomes	308
18	Constraints to progress	309
Par	et III: Conservancy expansion: the Central African Transfrontier	309
19	Background.	
20	Expected Outcomes	
Par	t IV: Critical analysis comparing Landsafe theory to practice	310
21	References	
22	Appendices	314
	Appendix 1: Nyalugwe hunting block quotas, fees and potential earnings	
	Appendix 2: Landsafe Njinga reports	
PRI	INCIPAL RECOMMENDATIONS	317
1	Common-Property Trusts (The Chiefdoms)	
2	The Zambia Permanent Fund.	
-		



ADDENDA		.321
Addendum 1: I	Landsafe formalisation documents	
Form 1:	MOU: Establishment of a Landsafe Chiefdom Conservancy	
Form 2:	Landuser rights cession: customary authority to chiefdom society	
Form 3:	Petition to the Minister of Lands	
Form 4:	Community application for a CRB to the Zambia Wildlife Authority	
Form 5:	MOU: wildlife co-management agreement between a Chiefdom	
	Landsafe Trust and a Community Resource Board	
Form 6:	Community Resource Board game quota application to ZAWA	
Form 7:	Game quota cession by CRB to a Trust	
Form 8:	Application for registration of a Community Game Ranch by a Chiefdom	
Form 9:	Conservancy land-use planning template	
Form 10:	Game Management Area co-management agreement between a chiefdom Trust and a	
	Community Resource Board	
Form 11:	Application for the co-management of an adjoining National Park by a CRB to	
	ZAWA	
Form 12:	MOU for a Joint Management Agreement for chiefdom forests	
Form 13:	MOU for a Joint Management Agreement for gazetted forest	
Form 14:	MOU for a Joint Management Agreement with the Fisheries Department	
Form 15:	Community application for a Fisheries Management Committee	
Form 16:	MOU for a co-management agreement with the Department of Water Affairs	
Form 17:	Chiefdom landuser rights assignment under Lands (perpetual succession) Act	
Form 18:	Chiefdom landuser cession to Trust Company (limited by guarantee)	
Form 19:	Project proposal template	





Google Map showing the area of the Landsafe Conservancy Project



ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am massively indebted to my family: to my wife, partner and friend in all things, Cathlin, in particular for her unwavering courage in the face of threats by the state; to my son, Brendan who struggled on with us and who was unjustly deported; to my eldest son, Hamish, for his very generous support and management of our project's hunting operation; and to our daughter Bronwen for coming to our assistance in the eye of an administrative storm.

Rolf Shenton (and Penroy Morris early on) made Zambia for a time a vibrant place for debate and inquiry as to the way forward for the villagers and wildlife of Zambia; and Judy Carr and Martha Potgieter have kindly stood in the breech for us during our enforced absence from the country. Also, we are exceedingly fortunate to have found in Japher Mbewe, a son of the Luembe people, an outstanding individual prepared to carry on bravely with the Landsafe campaign.

There are others who gave their support: Roy Clark (Kalaki) and Sarah Longwe, Wynter Kabimba, and Ali Shenton, Margaret Whitehead and Claire Mateke- with whom I joined in the battle for the Mosi oa Tunya National Park - and Allistair Gellately who has remained our friend through thick and thin. In addition, I thank my friend and former Game Department colleague, Peter de Vere Moss, for his advice to our Zambian team. And I am grateful that Chief Nyalugwe was finally prevailed upon by Brendan to take up a constructive role in guiding his people forward with Landsafe, and also that Francis Kalunga Njobvu, the sitting Senior Chief Luembe, initially supported the first Landsafe project.

To our partner, Khalid Al Tajir, I can only marvel at his good faith in giving financial backing to what he must surely have thought were merely quixotic dreams. That we persevere has much to do with his tenacity and forbearance, as well as the critical support that Nicola Jones gives us. Without Khalid none of this would have been possible.

I am also extremely grateful to the late Professor Emeritus Donald Dodds, and his wife Pearl, for their long friendship and guidance, and for encouraging my move long ago from Luangwa to Acadia University in Nova Scotia - from whence all the best things in my life have come. Also I remember with great fondness the late Lydia MacMillan – mother of Cathlin, who welcomed me far from home during two 'study tours' and made possible the writing-up of my work on sitatunga.

I am greatly indebted to Professor Wouter van Hoven for agreeing to take in to his cellar of academia an old partly corked wine; and to his wife, Suzanne, for encouragement on the map front; and to Liset for her kindly welcome to the University of Pretoria's Centre for Wildlife Management. And I thank the American academics: Professor Delwin Benson, for his insightful critique of this dissertation; and Professor Stuart Marks - whom I have known from the time he began his seminal study in the Luangwa in the 1960s - for some very wise, generous and trenchant advice and comment. And finally, I must thank our editor at Gamefields Press, Debbie Coetzee, for attending to the minutiae of the dissertation itself.



For Cathlin, Hamish, Brendan and Bronwen.



INTRODUCTION

At the start of this Zambian project seven years ago the author still held patently Eurocentric views regarding the previously named Northern Rhodesia, and Zambia: that the country was a Western-style state within the Western club of nations requiring assistance and effort to safeguard its institutions and to further its modernisation. In such a country, wildlife would be conserved, the poor enfranchised and safeguarded, and democratic freedoms assured. Later on in the project, the author gained an insight into the neoliberal effects of restructuring, foreign aid, and of the control exerted by the West over the political and economic realms, and of their impact on the elite and on the urban and rural poor. These were, after all, the same forces that had destroyed the embedded liberalism of the post-war years in the West, replacing it with the cult of individualism and the withdrawal of the state from social provision. And added to this, anti-globalist forces now increasingly object to excessive corporate greed and its negative externalities. Harvey analysed the forces at work within capitalism, noting how prone it is to crisis, calling for remedial social action by setting out 'some loosely agreed-upon common objectives'. These objectives resonate with African communal culture and with Landsafe:

These might include respect for nature, radical egalitarianism in social relations, institutional arrangements based in some sense of common interests, democratic administrative procedures (as opposed to the monetised shams that now exist), labour processes organised by the direct producers, daily life as the free exploration of new kinds of social revelations and living arrangements, mental conceptions that focus on self-realisation in service to others and technological and organizational innovations orientated to the pursuit of the common good rather than to supporting militarised power and corporate greed. These could be the co-revolutionary points around which social action could converge and rotate.¹

An Africanist called for something similar - for an autochthonous model for Africa's development:

It would be found, rather, in devolving executive power to a multiplicity of locally representative bodies. It would be found in re-establishing 'vital inner links' within the fabric of society. Democratic participation would have to be 'mass participation' And 'mass participation, patiently evolved and applied, would be able to produce its own version of a strong state: the kind of state, in other words, that would be able to promote and *protect civil society*.²

These, in essence, are objectives and views of the way forward that are in harmony with African culture, certainly with the people of the chiefdom commons. Yet, it is questionable that the reform of capitalism and any neoliberal reversal would make much difference to Zambia. The author's experience gained during the Landsafe project reveals that Zambia is not a Western state in waiting, or a state wishing to modernise - as Europeans would wish. It is, in fact, a country of many 'nations' run by 'Big Men' and their networks of 'clients', a country occupied by people who - perhaps because they did not experience the Industrial or Mesopotamian revolutions - have little interest in Western notions of development. What motivates Zambians is social wealth – and the material wealth to assure that status's continuance, for they are a deeply communal culture, who do not act at the individual level as do Westerners. While the institutions and the administrative capacity to run a modern state appear to be in place, the reality is that they barely function, except as harvesting centres – as the Auditor-General's reports continually confirm. It is patrimonialism that 'runs' the country, a bewildering set of major and minor corruptions, of highly integrated social networks required to make it function, all of it inimical to Eurocentric modernisation:

¹ Harvey, D., 2010. The Enigma of Capital: And the Crises of Capitalism, Oxford University Press, USA, p. 231. ²Davidson, B. 1992. The Black Man's Burden: Africa and the curse of the nation-state. Times Books, New York, p. 294.



...what all African states share is a generalised system of patrimonialism and an acute degree of apparent disorder, as evidenced by a high level of governmental and administrative inefficiency, a lack of institutionalisation, a general disregard for the rules of the formal political and economic sectors, and a universal resort to personal(ised) and vertical solutions to societal problems.³

This statement describes Zambia, with a patrimonial system that impacts negatively on people (thus not surprising that Zambia's 2010 standing on the Human Development Index places it fourth from last in the world, with Liberia, Congo Republic and finally, Zimbabwe, following behind it by only a few points). This is the reality that this partly polemical Eurocentric history contained in Volume I hints at. But does this belated conclusion mean that the author's efforts so far – as laid out in Volume II –will not deliver any improvement to villager livelihoods or to wildlife? Upon review, the author concludes that by providing the statutory institutional shape for the chiefdoms of Zambia, and by the attempts to implement it in two chiefdoms, some minor accretion of modernisation will - and already has, occurred. But it needs to be taken up by other chiefdoms, without being a mere fleeting addition to the patrimonial food chain, and without becoming a curse, rather than a blessing.

_

³ Chabal, Patrick. & Daloz, Jean-Pascal. 1999. Africa Works: disorder as political instrument. James Currey, Oxford, p. xix.