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African Institute for Community-Driven Development

**An investigation into
the funding of
communities:
Volume 2: case
studies**

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Volume 1 is the main report of the study, with summaries of the case studies. Volume 2 has the detailed reports on the case studies.

Rashnee Parhanse 9 April 2007

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Contents

Acknowledgements	i
Glossary	iv
PART A: CASE STUDIES	6
1 Concern's Livelihood Security Programme, Malawi	6
1.1 Background.....	6
1.2 Objectives and main components	6
1.3 The type of funds provided.....	7
1.4 What the funds are used for and how are projects/activities selected.....	7
1.5 The target groups.....	8
1.6 The types of structures involved in the process and their main roles.....	8
1.7 How the target groups were selected	9
1.8 Planning process for the individual project/activity	10
1.9 Description of decision-making process around the funds.....	11
1.10 Description of implementation process.....	11
1.11 What accountability is there and how is it working?.....	13
1.12 Are disadvantaged groups able to access funds in practice?	13
1.13 How does this link to development plans at local government level and below?.....	13
1.14 What evidence is there of effective use/implementation?	14
1.15 What evidence is there for impact at community level?	15
1.16 What evidence is there for impacts on livelihoods at beneficiary level?	16
2 Concern's Food and Cash Transfer (FACT) project, Malawi	18
2.1 Background.....	18
2.2 Objectives and main components	18
2.3 The type of funds provided.....	19
2.4 What the funds are used for and how are projects/activities selected?.....	20
2.5 The target groups.....	20
2.6 The types of structures involved in the process and their main roles.....	20
2.7 How were the target groups selected?	21
2.8 Planning process for the individual project/activity	21
2.9 Description of decision-making process around the funds.....	22
2.10 Description of implementation process.....	22
2.11 What accountability is there and how is it working?.....	22
2.12 Are disadvantaged groups able to access funds in practice?	23
2.13 How does this link to development plans at local government level and below?.....	24
2.14 What evidence is there of effective use/implementation?	25
2.15 What evidence is there for impacts at community level?	27
2.16 What evidence is there for impacts on livelihoods at beneficiary level?	27
3 Greater Rustenburg Community Foundation, South Africa	30
3.1 Background.....	30
3.2 Objectives and main components	30
3.3 Type of funds provided.....	31
3.4 What the funds are used for and how are projects/activities selected?.....	31
3.5 Target groups	32
3.6 The types of structures involved in the process and their main roles.....	32
3.7 How were target groups selected?	33
3.8 Planning process for the individual project/activity	33
3.9 Description of decision-making process around the funds.....	33
3.10 Description of implementation process.....	34
3.11 What accountability is there and how is it working?.....	34
3.12 Are disadvantaged groups able to access funds in practice?	35

3.13	How does this link to development plans at local government level and below?.....	35
3.14	What evidence is there of effective use/implementation?	35
3.15	What evidence is there for impacts at community level?	36
3.16	What evidence is there for impacts on livelihoods at beneficiary level?	36
4	The Communal Areas Management Programme for Indigenous Resources (Campfire), Zimbabwe	38
4.1	Background.....	38
4.2	Objectives and main components	39
4.3	The type of funds provided.....	40
4.4	What the funds are used for and how are projects/activities selected?.....	42
4.5	The target groups.....	44
4.6	Types of structures involved in the process and their main roles.....	44
4.7	How were the target groups selected?	45
4.8	Planning process for the individual project/activity	45
4.9	Description of decision-making process around the funds.....	46
4.10	Description of implementation process.....	47
4.11	What accountability is there and how is it working?.....	48
4.12	Are disadvantaged groups able to access funds in practice?	50
4.13	How does this link to development plans at local government level and below?.....	50
4.14	What evidence is there of effective use/implementation?	50
4.15	What evidence is there for impacts at community level?	51
4.16	What evidence is there for impacts on livelihoods at beneficiary level?	51
	PART B: SHORT CASE STUDIES.....	55
5	CBNRM Support Programme, Botswana.....	55
5.1	Project overview.....	55
5.2	Background.....	55
5.3	Objectives and components	55
5.4	Investment mechanism	56
5.5	Type of funds provided and issues of accountability	56
5.6	Impacts on the community	57
5.7	Lessons	57
6	Mangaung Community-Based Planning project, South Africa	58
6.1	Project overview.....	58
6.2	Background.....	58
6.3	Objectives and components	58
6.4	Investment Mechanism	59
6.5	Type of funds provided and issues of accountability	59
6.6	Impacts on the community	59
6.7	Lessons	60
7	Mayibuye Ndlovu Development Programme (Addo CBNRM), South Africa	61
7.1	Project overview.....	61
7.2	Background.....	61
7.3	Objectives and components	61
7.4	Investment Mechanism	62
7.5	Type of funds provided and issues of accountability	62
7.6	Impacts on the community	62
7.7	Lessons	63
8	Umzimkhulu Private Sector-Community Forestry Partnership, South Africa.....	64
8.1	Project overview.....	64
8.2	Background.....	64
8.3	Objectives and components	64
8.4	Investment Mechanism	65

8.5	Type of funds provided and issues of accountability	65
8.6	Impacts on the community	65
8.7	Lessons	66
9	Village Banks, South Africa.....	67
9.1	Project overview.....	67
9.2	Background.....	67
9.3	Objectives and components	67
9.4	Investment Mechanism	68
9.5	Type of funds provided and issues of accountability	68
9.6	Impacts on the community	68
9.7	Lessons	68
10	Gemi Diriya Village Organisations, Sri Lanka	69
10.1	Project overview.....	69
10.2	Background.....	69
10.3	Objectives and components	69
10.4	Investment Mechanism	70
10.5	Type of funds provided and issues of accountability	70
10.6	Impacts on the community	70
11	Mangaung University-Community Partnership Programme (MUCPP), South Africa	71
11.1	Project overview.....	71
11.2	Background.....	71
11.3	Objectives and components	71
11.4	Investment Mechanism	72
11.5	Type of funds provided and issues of accountability	72
11.6	Impacts on the community	72
11.7	Lessons	72
12	Madikwe Initiative, South Africa	73
12.1	Project overview.....	73
12.2	Background.....	73
12.3	Objectives and components	73
12.4	Investment Mechanism	73
12.5	Type of funds provided and issues of accountability	74
12.6	Impacts on the community	74
12.7	Lessons	74
13	Kalomo Pilot Social Cash Transfer Scheme, Zambia	75
13.1	Project overview.....	75
13.2	Background.....	75
13.3	Objectives and components	75
13.4	Investment Mechanism	75
13.5	Type of funds provided and issues of accountability	75
13.6	Impacts on the community	76
13.7	Lessons	76
14	Aga Khan Rural Support Programme, Pakistan	78
14.1	Project overview.....	78
14.2	Background.....	78
14.3	Objectives and components	78
14.4	Investment Mechanism	79
14.5	Type of funds provided and issues of accountability	79
14.6	Impacts on the community	79
14.7	Lessons	80
Annex 1	References	81

Glossary

AGM	Annual General Meeting
AIDS	Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome
AKRSP	Aga Khan Rural Support Programme (Pakistan)
ART	anti-retroviral therapy
Campfire	Communal Areas Management Programme for Indigenous Resources (Zimbabwe)
CASS	Centre for Applied Social Studies (Zimbabwe)
CBNRM	community-based natural resource management
CBO	community-based organisation
CBP	community-based planning
CECT	Chobe Enclave Conservation Trust (Botswana)
CHA	controlled hunting area
CISANET	Civil Society Agricultural Network (Malawi)
CSR	corporate social responsibility
CWW	Concern Worldwide
DA	District Authority
DFID	Department for International Development (UK)
DWNP	Department of Wildlife and National Parks (Zimbabwe)
ECDC	Eastern Cape Development Corporation (South Africa)
FACT	Food and Cash Transfer Project (Malawi)
FSA	Financial Services Association (South Africa)
GDF	Gemi Diriya Foundation (Sri Lanka)
GoM	Government of Malawi
GoZ	Government of Zambia
GRCF	Greater Rustenburg Community Foundation (South Africa)
GoSL	Government of Sri Lanka
HBC	home-based care
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
IDA	International Development Association
IDP	Integrated Development Plan
IFAD	International Fund for Agricultural Development
JVA	Joint Venture Agreement
LSP	Livelihoods Security Programme (Malawi)
M&E	monitoring and evaluation
MAICC	Mponela AIDS Information and Counselling Centre (Malawi)
MALEZA	Malawi Enterprise Development Zone
MCDSS	Ministry of Community Development and Social Services (Zambia)
MDG	Millennium Development Goals
MGR	Madikwe Game Reserve (South Africa)
MI	Madikwe Initiative (South Africa)
MUCPP	Mangaung University-Community Partnership Programme (South Africa)
MVAC	Malawi Vulnerability Assessment Committee
NGO	non-government organisation
MNDP	Mayibuye Ndlovu Development Programme (South Africa)
NPO	non-profit organisation
NRC	Natural Resources Committees (Zimbabwe)
NRM	natural resource management
NWNVAW	North West Network on Violence against Women (South Africa)
NWPB	North West Parks and Tourism Board (South Africa)
OTP	Outpatient Therapeutic Programme (Malawi)

OVC	orphans and vulnerable children
PRA	participatory rural appraisal
PWAS	Department of Social Welfare's Public Welfare Assistance Scheme (Zambia)
PWP	public works programme
RDCs	rural district councils
RFM	Rural Forestry Management cc (South Africa)
RTUF	ready-to-use therapeutic foods
SAGA	South African Grantmaker's Association
SANParks	South African National Parks
SLAG	Settlement/Land Acquisition Grant
SMME	small, medium and micro enterprise
TA	Tribal Authority
UFS	University of the Free State (South Africa)
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
VDF	village development fund
VIDCOs	Village Development Committees (Malawi, Zimbabwe)
VO	village organisation
VLSP	Village Livelihood Security Planning
VSHLI	Village Self-Help Learning Initiative (Sri Lanka)
V/WOs	village/women's organisations
WADCO	Ward Development Committee (Zimbabwe)
WDR	World Development Report
WO	women's organisation

PART A: CASE STUDIES

1 Concern's Livelihood Security Programme, Malawi

1.1 Background

Malawi's rural economy largely depends on rain-fed agriculture and as such insufficient rains increase the vulnerability of rural populations. Since 2002, more than 70% of rural Malawi has experienced below average agricultural production. Poor organisation among smallholder and subsistence producers also means that producers are unable to take advantage of market opportunities (Acacia Consultants, 2005). According to the Malawi Vulnerability Assessment Committee (MVAC), worsened terms of trade for primary commodities, lost employment opportunities and a depreciating local currency, coupled with degraded soils, shrinking land holdings and HIV/AIDS have increased poverty levels, exacerbated by the unfavourable climatic conditions. These conditions have reduced the ability of poor households to produce and secure sufficient income and food (MVAC, 2005). Yet collective efforts to utilise their entitlements or even demand their livelihood rights are almost non-existent.

Concern Worldwide (CWW) began work in Malawi in March 2002 with an emergency intervention encompassing agricultural input distribution, food aid and nutritional support for malnourished children in the four central districts of Lilongwe, Mchinji, Dowa and Nkhosakota. As the emergency abated, Concern introduced communal gardens which were used as demonstration grounds for farming technologies as well as providing a safety net for the most disadvantaged groups in the community. In March-April 2003, CWW conducted strategic planning to formulate a longer-term development strategy to strengthen local community institutions and mobilise communities to improve their livelihoods. The Livelihood Security Programme (LSP) began implementation in January 2004 and finished in December 2005 (Acacia Consultants, 2005).

1.2 Objectives and main components

The LSP aimed to increase and diversify household food production and improve household food resource management by working through community structures and with the government of Malawi (GoM) at district and sub-district levels.

The long-term **strategic goal** of the programme was to reduce the proportion of households in the Central Region living in absolute poverty, with a particular focus on reducing levels of chronic malnutrition. The strategic objective of the LSP was to increase the technical and institutional capacity of the most vulnerable households living in rural communities in selected traditional authorities of the Central Region to improve livelihood security.

Expected **outputs** included: 1) increased and diversified production of food; 2) improved food resource management at household level; 3) increased integration of agricultural and health aspects of nutrition; 4) increased household incomes; 5) natural resources used more sustainably; 6) increased access to formal and informal safety nets; and 7) decision makers influenced to take into account civil society perspectives on livelihoods issues (Acacia Consultants, 2005).

In terms of its relevance to funding communities the LSP is an example of a community level structure established to manage and establish local grain banks, revolving loans and the use of inputs provided.

1.3 The type of funds provided

Moving from a relief and recovery intervention to a development-based programme focusing on the formation of social capital requires a versatile funding strategy. When CWW began implementing the LSP, it was faced with high dependency on external solutions and resources. Yet the LSP is based on the premise that locally available community resources, as opposed to external resources, are the basis for sustainable changes. The challenge, therefore, was to address community expectations of external resources, while at the same time emphasising plans based primarily on locally available resources. Given the precarious food security situation, it was also vital that the LSP was able to shift between short-term interventions to address transient food insecurity conditions and long-term initiatives aimed at addressing chronic food and livelihood insecurity (CWW, 2005a).

CWW's solution was an **integrated funding strategy**, which included a combination of grants, loans and extensive training. Widespread capacity building was provided to local development committees and a network of community volunteers in leadership development, institutional strengthening and organisational development at local level (Acacia Consultants, 2005). Community members were also trained in areas such as crop diversification, natural resource management, livestock management and/or business management according to community needs assessments. Grants provided through the LSP were limited to those needed to demonstrate technologies and to catalyse community action (CWW, 2005a). Examples were seeds and fertiliser for community gardens; iron sheets and planks for building grain banks; and start-up capital for some small businesses. Communities, meanwhile provided the land, labour and local resources (bricks, straw, etc) for these activities.

Wherever possible, CWW provided the start-up capital in the form of revolving loans. For winter cropping activities, for example, CWW provided the initial maize, bean, rice, soya and other seeds to the first lot of beneficiaries. Upon harvest, the equivalent amount of seed would be returned to the village committee who would store it in the grain bank until the next lot of beneficiaries was ready to sow. Similarly, those interested in rearing small livestock (eg rabbits, chickens and guinea fowl) were provided with a small number of these animals to get started. Once established, they would then provide the next lot of beneficiaries with the same number of animals (Kachoka, 2005). In other instances, CWW would simply facilitate the purchase by providing transportation and marketing assistance.

1.4 What the funds are used for and how are projects/activities selected

In the case of the LSP, livelihood security was narrowed to agricultural livelihoods to reflect the most common types of livelihoods in rural Malawi, while at the same time providing a feasible technical focus for the programme (Acacia Consultants, 2005). Complementary nutritional and advocacy activities were also included as they pertain to agricultural livelihoods. LSP activities related to one or more of the following focus areas:

- **Crop production** - diversifying and increasing overall production and improving processing and storage through: provision of new varieties of seed and fertiliser for winter and main season cropping; farmer training in agricultural techniques; and provision of extension services;
- **Livestock production** - increasing and diversifying the types of livestock kept by households both for sale and consumption through: introduction of new livestock species and breeds, livestock management training; and provision of extension services;

- **Linking agriculture and nutrition** - diversifying rural diets and increasing awareness of agricultural and health aspects of nutrition through: awareness campaigns; promotion of non-traditional crops; and training in food processing and storage;
- **Income generation** - including increased sale of cash crops and support to small rural business groups through: business management training; assistance in obtaining start-up capital; and provision of appropriate extension services;
- **Natural resource management** - improving soil fertility, water utilisation, and increasing the tree population through: training on how to make and use compost; promotion of gully control methods; provision of treadle pumps, and training on agro-forestry techniques;
- **Appropriate safety nets** - promoting appropriate safety nets through promotion of communal property such as grain/seed banks and community gardens; awareness raising on community responsibility toward its poorest members; and linking community structures with national safety net programme (Acacia Consultants, 2005);
- **Policy influence and advocacy** – influencing policy-makers to consider community-level concerns by: conducting widespread community consultations; participating in national policy development; and supporting the institutional development of local advocacy groups.

Due to the relatively weak local institutions and civil society in Malawi, the LSP also planned to engage in building social capital and the capacity of local organisations to better organise themselves and become a more effective voice for the poor (CWW, 2005a).

1.5 The target groups

The target group of the LSP consisted predominantly of rural subsistence agricultural producers in the four central districts of Lilongwe, Mchinji, Dowa and Nkhotakota until May 2005, and thereafter only in Lilongwe, Dowa and Nkhotakota. These four districts were among the worst affected by the food crisis in 2002 and since then were exposed to repeated shocks, primarily due to inconsistent rainfall and subsequent food insecurity. The effect of the shocks left most households unable to produce enough with their available resources to meet basic nutritional requirements. According to the MVAC's June 2005 Food Security Monitoring Report, rural farmers in these districts were found to have very low incomes, with 70% of them living on less than US\$1 per day (MVAC, 2005). These low incomes mean that households have virtually no cash to fall back on in the event of a production failure. It also means that they are very severely limited in terms of the choices they can make for their basic needs. The need for other basic goods apart from staples has meant farmers are regularly forced to sell some of their crop at harvest time, when prices are low. Later on, when prices have risen, they are forced to buy back again. This becomes a vicious circle, reinforcing their poverty (Acacia Consultants, 2005).

1.6 The types of structures involved in the process and their main roles

During the implementation period in question, the main partners of the LSP at community level were the local Concern committees that were created for this purpose. Having already been involved in the pre-LSP communal gardens and given extensive training in leadership skills, group dynamics, activity planning, constitution development and conflict resolution, as well as LSP objectives, these committees were key to the smooth operation of the programme. They were responsible for managing grain banks and revolving loans and monitoring the use of LSP inputs. CWW looked to community leaders for assistance in organising community members and facilitating meetings.

In some villages, known as 'focus villages', CWW extension workers were employed in addition to the material, training, advisory and financial support provided. Other villages

received the same level of support except that the Ministry of Agriculture and Food Security instead of CWW provided extension services (Acacia Consultants, 2005).

Government extension workers played a key role in facilitating the communities' selection of activities and beneficiaries and in training and follow-up for LSP activities. For example, agriculture officers provided training and follow-up in crop diversification, winter cropping and natural resource management while veterinarian officers provided training and follow-up for those beneficiaries involved in livestock rearing.

In addition to the GoM staff, the LSP also trained extension volunteers to sensitise communities on new agricultural techniques and management of new livestock species or breeds.

It is important to note that when CWW began working in the target areas, the Village Development Committees (VIDCOs) were not yet functional. Since then, however, the government has intensified its efforts at decentralisation, charging the VIDCOs with responsibility for facilitating planning and development at the grassroots level. The LSP supports the emergence of VIDCOs and staff members are actively merging local Concern Committees with existing VIDCOs (CWW, 2005a). However, rather than replace the Concern Committees with VIDCOs and lose the institutional knowledge and skills base gained thus far, CWW decided to promote the Concern committees as technical arms of the VIDCOs (Kachoka, 2005).

At the sub-district and district level, CWW worked closely with the Traditional Authorities (TAs) and District Assemblies (DAs), to ensure that information and concerns expressed at community levels were heard and incorporated into the district planning process.

At national level, the LSP worked closely with the Ministry of Agriculture and Food Security and other relevant ministries. It also actively supported the growth and development of the national level Civil Society Agriculture Network (CISANET), which promotes agricultural development and sustainable livelihoods through advocacy with policy makers; and the Malawi Enterprise Zone Association (MALEZA), which promotes sustainable agricultural technologies and market strategies among member organisations.

1.7 How the target groups were selected

LSP beneficiaries can be divided into three main categories:

- **Direct beneficiaries** are those individuals who received LSP farm, livestock and irrigation inputs and associated training, as well as those who participated in communal garden activities;
- **Indirect beneficiaries** are the members of the wider community in the TAs where the programme was operating who were not specifically targeted but nevertheless benefited from the implementation of LSP activities in their communities (eg by exchanging labour with beneficiaries, selling or buying commodities produced by beneficiaries, or through water well protection activities and/or general community extension education);
- **Intermediate beneficiaries** are those government extension workers and local CBO staff who benefited from the training and other support.

Table 1: Number of beneficiaries by category

Centre	Direct beneficiaries	Indirect beneficiaries	Intermediate beneficiaries
Chitukula	4,228	19,322	24
Dzoole	2,911	33,930	27
Kayembe	2,761	28,204	37
Madisi	611	8,008	16
Mponela	985	14,328	49
Mwadzama	2,150	30,524	
Total	13,646	134,316	153

Source: Monitoring & Evaluation Unit, Concern Malawi; Acacia Consultants, 2005

Direct beneficiaries were selected using a community triangulation method. LSP objectives, principles and limitations were explained to community representatives who then translated the information into easily understood concepts for discussion and refinement by the wider community. Communities were then divided into three groups and asked to come up with a list of households that could benefit from the LSP. The three lists were then compared and any discrepancies discussed in a public forum until consensus was reached (Acacia Consultants, 2005). Given the nature of the project, it was decided that the first round of beneficiaries should comprise able-bodied, hard-working households who are unable to produce enough due to lack of inputs or insufficient know-how. Since most of the activities were in the form of revolving loans, beneficiary targeting would be redone annually, thus allowing more vulnerable households (eg those caring for aged or sick) to benefit in subsequent rounds (Kachoka, 2005). In order to help communities to determine who the most vulnerable were, how they were identified and how their participation could be ensured, CWW conducted continuous analyses utilising the Village Livelihood Security Planning (VLSP) approach (wealth ranking, social mapping and seasonal calendars among other methods) (CWW, 2005a). Community groups were also encouraged to acknowledge HIV/AIDS as one of the main factors in vulnerability (Acacia Consultants, 2005).

Intermediate beneficiaries, on the other hand, were identified by the LSP in collaboration with the Government of Malawi (GoM) and included members of district committees, government departments, traditional authorities, village committees, etc in order to build the capacity of these institutions to continue to provide services to primary beneficiaries after Concern had left (Acacia Consultants 2005). The determination of indirect beneficiaries, meanwhile, was a function of the location and nature of LSP activities.

1.8 Planning process for the individual project/activity

CWW adopted the VLSP approach to sustainability, which promotes and facilitates participatory planning processes, based on the understanding that external experiences, technologies and institutions are hard to sustain. As such, it included social mapping, wealth ranking, and seasonal calendars among other methods for understanding the nature of vulnerability in a particular community. In this way, communities, in collaboration with CWW field staff and government extension workers, were able to analyse the problems facing their communities and to discuss possible short- and longer-term solutions as in the examples below:

- Where low agricultural production was articulated as a major problem, CWW staff and government extension workers helped sensitise communities about possible solutions including: winter cropping to augment main season cropping; grain banks to ensure

- grains are saved for seed rather than consumed; crop diversification to reduce dependency on maize alone; composting to increase soil fertility; etc;
- Where lack of timber (for firewood, house construction and traditional medicine) was articulated as a problem, communities were encouraged to undertake tree planting activities with technical support from CWW and GoM;
- If communities identified “chasing *ganyu*” (casual work) in order to meet non-food needs as a major constraint, beneficiaries were informed about other income-generating possibilities such as rearing livestock, egg-production, bakeries, etc

The livelihood approach helped communities to better understand the many facets of their vulnerability and to analyse possible strategies for improving their livelihood security. The actual selection of activities depended on the level of interest and particular circumstances of that community. In some communities, village committees (VIDCOs) were approached by groups with small business ideas such as egg production. As a result each community was implementing a unique set of activities according to their strengths and weaknesses.

1.9 Description of decision-making process around the funds

Once activities and beneficiaries were identified, communities were responsible for defining the terms of participation in LSP activities. For example, communities formulated constitutions for use of the grain bank. As Mr. Fungulani Matiyasi (CWW, 2005b), a local farmer from Mchifuwa village in Mchinji District explained”

“Nobody is to open the bank without the approval of the committee and the bank will only be opened when the first rains come, i.e. for seeds, or when the people have agreed that most households have run short of food that is for grain.”

Similarly, it was up to the communities to decide what to do with the proceeds from the communal gardens. In some villages it might be distributed to needy households for consumption, in others it might be reserved for social events such as funerals and in still others it might be distributed for use as seed. In order to reduce the risk of theft from communal grain banks, communities decided that a locally identified treasurer would keep the keys and would only open the grain banks on specified days with at least three other community members in attendance.

1.10 Description of implementation process

The strategy for implementing activities under the livelihood security programme was shaped by Concern’s core values of community participation, working with government, developing and strengthening linkages with partners through capacity building and ensuring sustainability of programme outputs by having a clear exit strategy. All input provisions were taken through a cycle of management issues as well as repayment structures and resource management to ensure the multiplier effect of each resource was thought through and realised. This process took time and energy with communities and is sometimes difficult to balance the immediate need for input with longer term process management issues around resources in the community. Actual implementation of activities is described below according to focus area:

Crop production

Activities aimed at crop diversification formed a major investment component of the LSP. The LSP provided seed, fertiliser and chemicals as well as planting materials for cassava, sweet potato vines, early maturing rice and Irish potatoes to start-up winter gardens. Beneficiaries were trained in agricultural techniques and post-harvest food management (eg soya

preparation, vegetable preservation, hygienic food storage and preparation) (Acacia Consultants, 2005).

Livestock production

Activities aimed at increasing animal production and diversifying the types of animals kept included: transport and marketing assistance for farmers to purchase 9,600 dual-purpose chickens; provision and use of revolving drug boxes in 11 areas; livestock training for 800 men and 570 women in local feed formulation, multiplication techniques, housing construction, disease control and vaccination; introduction of poultry, rabbits, guinea fowl, goats and pigs; and vaccinations against diseases such as Newcastle disease (Acacia Consultants, 2005).

Linking agriculture to nutrition

Activities aimed at increasing awareness of agricultural and health aspects of nutrition included: field staff training health and agricultural extension officers on diet evaluation, meal planning based on local foods and production of nutritious local food for children held at 17 health centres; community-level education in post-harvest food management in subjects including soya preparation, vegetable preservation, hygienic food storage and preparation, and food hygiene for a total of 994 men and 898 women; and district level stakeholders' consultative meetings to discuss applicability and management of cross-sect oral approaches to community nutrition (Acacia Consultants, 2005).

Income generation

Training in business planning and marketing was conducted for over 700 smallholder farmers who were organised into local business associations and co-operatives (CWW, 2005a). Six predominantly women's groups were supported with 1,000 young pullets on a grant basis to begin egg production businesses. Ten drum ovens and bakery supplies were provided as grants to ten bakery groups (CWW, 2005a).

Natural resource management

Training in community-based natural resource management was conducted for more than 5,500 men and 10,828 women (eg, composting, use of treadle pumps in irrigation, agro-forestry and gully control). Over 640 treadle pumps were provided as demonstrations to generate interest among other communities. A training manual on managing community grain banks was produced for use by field staff and constitutions for all community seed and grain banks were completed. Tree-planting campaigns were conducted both through a fertiliser-for-work scheme and on a volunteer basis (Acacia Consultants, 2005).

Access to formal and informal safety nets

Iron sheets and planks were provided for the construction of 90 grain banks. Communities were trained in food processing and storage techniques. LSP staff helped link communities with the national safety nets programme's distribution of subsidised fertilizer.

Policy influence and advocacy

CWW participated in community consultations and policy development regarding: national food and nutrition security policy; national review of support for irrigation; integration of food security with community therapeutic care; and national policy on biotechnology. Institutional support was provided to the national level Civil Society Agricultural Network (CISANET) in its efforts to influence national policies related to agricultural development and sustainable livelihoods. An institutional capacity assessment and formulation of capacity building strategy was undertaken for the Malawi Enterprise Zone Association (MALEZA), a local NGO promoting sustainable agricultural technologies and market strategies among member organisations (CWW, 2005a).

1.11 What accountability is there and how is it working?

The communities themselves form the main mechanism for ensuring the appropriate use of resources at the household level. One of the benefits of using a community-based targeting method is that the community then has a stake in the beneficiaries' successful use of project resources. This helps create an informal monitoring system to complement more formal monitoring tools. Beneficiaries themselves are also encouraged to report any obstacles to success (eg seeds failing to germinate, livestock succumbing to disease) to the local Concern committees as soon as they occur. In order to reduce the risk of theft from communal grain banks, the keys are kept by a locally identified treasurer who opens the grain banks only on specified days with at least three other community members in attendance.

The committees also monitor progress through regular visits to project sites eg winter gardens, communal gardens, animal pens, etc Similarly local extension workers and extension volunteers, whether from CWW or the GoM, track progress during their regular extension work. The conduct of the committees is monitored by the VIDCOs in collaboration with CWW staff and any problems addressed to District Assemblies (Kachoka, 2005).

1.12 Are disadvantaged groups able to access funds in practice?

In the first round of targeting, only those who were in a position to take advantage of the funds were selected (eg able-bodied households). By definition, therefore, disadvantaged households were excluded from receiving direct benefits of the LSP, at least initially. Nevertheless, there were many opportunities for disadvantaged groups to benefit either indirectly or at a later stage. One of the implicit objectives of the LSP was to engender community responsibility toward its poorest members. The creation of communal property in the form of communal gardens and community grain banks, combined with the potential for revolving funds to multiply helped create an informal safety net for the poorest households. In many villages, the community decided to distribute produce from community gardens directly to the most vulnerable households for consumption. Disadvantaged groups also have the potential of being considered as beneficiaries in the second tier of targeting when the loans from the first round are repaid in the form of seeds or livestock. In the village of Maenje in Lilongwe district, the winter production of rice and Irish potatoes was so successful that the entire village was able to benefit from seed in the second round (Kachoka, 2005).

1.13 How does this link to development plans at local government level and below?

The LSP's implementation strategy was centred on the development of a diverse network of partners with capacity to implement planned activities together with communities. These partners included local authority institutions, village-level committees, local NGOs and CBOs as well as district and national level government institutions. The role of the LSP was to develop and improve approaches and technologies which could then be replicated by GoM services. To this end, its main partner was the government, specifically the Ministry of Agriculture and Food Security. Government workers were trained and involved in regular LSP review and planning meetings (Acacia Consultants, 2005).

The LSP works closely with district offices and supports district development objectives. Partnership was formalised with Dowa District through a memorandum of understanding in December 2004, enabling direct support to Dowa District Development Plans (CWW, 2005a). CWW hopes to set up similar agreements with the remaining two districts of operation in the future. With respect to the national decentralisation policy, the LSP supported the emergence of VIDCOs, with LSP staff working actively to merge local committees with existing VIDCOs. Since most VIDCOs are still in their infancy, CWW staff were able to help facilitate

communication by ensuring that concerns expressed at community level were heard and incorporated into the district planning process.

1.14 What evidence is there of effective use/implementation?

The effectiveness of LSP interventions is described below according to focus area:

Crop production

The introduction of different crops eg Irish potatoes, soya, groundnuts, cassava, sweet potatoes and rice has had a positive effect on the capacity of communities and households to diversify food crops. Field observations and anecdotal evidence from participating communities indicate that the rate of adoption of the new crops among farmers is high and the interest is strong. The re-establishment of soya bean production has been particularly successful due to growing demand for the manufacture of ready-to-use therapeutic foods (RTUFs), which continues to be used for the treatment of malnutrition among children.

Winter cropping is a new approach to farming that large numbers of farmers are adopting very fast. By the end of June 2005, over 1,000ha of off-season crop had been planted using farming and irrigation techniques promoted by the LSP. Promotion of winter cropping has led to increased availability of fresh vegetables and maize during the dry season thus contributing to income generation and diet diversification (Acacia Consultants, 2005).

Livestock production

The promotion of livestock diversification, through training and the provision of start-up capital, has resulted in an increasing number of poor farmers who own at least one species of livestock with capacity to multiply the species. Poultry, rabbit, guinea fowl, goat and pig production have been adapted to varying degrees (Acacia Consultants, 2005).

Linking agriculture to nutrition

Field staff training on locally appropriate nutrition strategies has resulted in an increased understanding among extension workers of interventions required to address malnutrition in an integrated manner. Training of community members in post-harvest food management has resulted in increased availability of skills needed for better nutrition and food management at the household and community levels (Acacia Consultants, 2005).

Income generation

LSP support in crop and livestock production and marketing has resulted in business group members being able to save money and reinvest in business growth as opposed to becoming credit dependent. LSP training has effectively encouraged business groups to change the type of commodities they invest in according to seasonal needs. Farmers are now able to form groups and identify productive commodities to grow and market. Additional results included better managed businesses, resulting in increased turnover and savings. Business groups are becoming more cohesive as a result of group business development training supported by the LSP (Acacia Consultants, 2005).

Natural resource management

Over 1,500 households planted more than 60,000 agro-forestry and 20,600 fruit trees, which should provide income in 3-5 years. As a result of LSP training and extension work, 23% of participating households are now practicing soil and water conservation and 50% of households are using manure for crop production. Where technologies have been applied, there has been increased soil fertility and water retention, which has generated interest from new farmers. Promotion of appropriate irrigation technologies has helped to improve production of the different crops grown by farmers. Over 20km of marker ridge has been

constructed and gully control undertaken across three villages. In addition, the provision of 640 treadle pumps for demonstration has led to an increasing number of farmers purchasing more pumps from the government loan scheme (Acacia Consultants, 2005).

Access to formal and informal safety nets

Community grain and seed banks (both newly constructed and temporarily housed in existing structures) enabled villages to manage and develop support for their most vulnerable households using local resources. These have also turned out to be a focus for other activities by galvanizing interest and discussion among village groups around a physical asset. Promotion of linkages with the national safety nets programme's subsidised fertiliser initiative helped benefit some 220 farmers in the target area (Acacia Consultants, 2005).

Policy influence and advocacy

As a result of LSP policy influencing and advocacy work, CWW is now acknowledged as a positive influence on policy and practice in rural livelihoods development in Malawi. LSP participation in relevant policy debates helped ensure that community perspectives on livelihoods issues were communicated to and addressed by national decision makers. With assistance from the LSP, CISANET has continued to track national budget expenditures, presenting results to the Budget Committee of Parliament (Acacia Consultants, 2005).

1.15 What evidence is there for impact at community level?

Over 320 village committees (CWW, 2005a) and as many as 10,000 participants at village, cluster and zone level were trained in group dynamics, objective setting, activity planning, constitution development and conflict resolution. The training has helped to establish strong local village management structures in the programme areas and increased the capacity of communities to plan, prioritise and manage activities without facilitation by outsiders (Acacia Consultants, 2005). As one government extension officer explained:

"This community received assistance for agricultural inputs including fertiliser, potato and bean seeds. As with many communities in the district, the people of Mphamba village did not have a good harvest due to the severe drought of 2005. However, through their enthusiasm and hard work, the village has managed to grow maize, beans, potatoes and green vegetables that are being harvested for their own food consumption as well as for sale." (Mr. Sulevelo, an Agriculture Extension and Development Officer in Dowa District, quoted in Acacia Consultants, 2005, 30)

At the same time, there is increased ownership of activities and increased confidence in possibilities for community action (Acacia Consultants, 2005). As one beneficiary from the village of Khongo explained:

"Before Concern, we were all working on an individual basis. If my neighbour had a problem, he had to find his own solution. Now we are working communally. If someone has a problem, we can work together to find a solution." (Frank, 2006)

The community gardens and grain and seed banks were successfully adopted as a means of supporting their most vulnerable households using local resources. Surpluses from winter crops and community gardens was stored in the grain bank and then reallocated within the community. As per the protocol for revolving loans, some seed would be given to the next round of beneficiaries. It was up to the village committee how to distribute the remainder and many times they decided to distribute surpluses to vulnerable households for consumption, effectively creating a community safety-net. In other instances, surplus produce was reserved for community functions such as funerals. Grain banks also turned out to be a focus for other

activities by galvanising interest and discussion among village groups around a physical asset. According to one farmer:

“With the grain banks we are now able to produce more food because our seeds are safely kept in the bank because of the constitution that restricts unauthorised removal. Another benefit is that the produce from community gardens is also kept there and used as food for funerals, whilst some is shared as seed (CWW, 2005a).

Environmental degradation, including soil fertility decline and deforestation, seriously affect the ability of poor small holder farmers in Malawi to progress out of poverty (Acacia Consultants, 2005). Thus many of the natural resource management strategies adopted by the communities are expected to have long-term benefits by reducing soil erosion and degradation and thereby increasing overall productivity.

1.16 What evidence is there for impacts on livelihoods at beneficiary level?

Agripina Mkomba, a community member from Kamkwenu village suggests that LSP activities such as winter cropping and associated training made the difference between life and death for some households: *“We have now stopped burying each other due to malnutrition and hunger. We can now harvest twice in a year”* (CWW, 2005c).

Rebuilding livelihoods without transformation of thinking and behaviour leads to a return of the traditional status quo and may serve to reproduce the same conditions of power that led to the original chronic vulnerability (Acacia Consultants, 2005). From this perspective, the best indicator of impact on household livelihoods may well be the extent to which households have grasped new approaches and changed their behaviour accordingly. Before the LSP, many households in the target communities were entirely dependent on production and consumption of maize alone. The introduction of new crops has reduced this dependence while at the same time increasing income generating possibilities and diversifying household diets. As Kennedy Chilembwe explains:

“My household has adopted processing of cassava roots and sweet potato tubers into flour which my wife learnt from a village training organised by Concern. This year I have planted more cassava and sweet potato because I have realised that it is real food.” (CWW, 2005d)

Similarly, many households simply did not know that winter cropping in the lowlands could be so successful. In the past only a small percentage of households took advantage of the damp conditions in the lowlands and even then it was only to grow certain crops. The introduction of gully controls and appropriate irrigation techniques have opened up a whole new set of possibilities for these rural subsistence communities. One of the village committee members of Mphamba village had this to say:

“My family and many others in our village are not starving because we have been able to harvest winter maize crop, potatoes and other green vegetables...Concern and agriculture staff in the area have trained us and equipped us with skills that we shall use for a long time to come producing our own food in the dry season. We are even exchanging potatoes for maize and cash. With the cash my family can now afford cooking oil, meat, fish and the surplus we have used to buy clothes for our children and ourselves. Being able to use the residual moisture along the stream has been a big discovery for our community” (Acacia Consultants, 2005).

Another encouraging sign is the way that LSP activities have reinforced each other. For example one community used the proceeds from the sale of winter vegetables to hire an ox-cart to carry the compost that households had made down to the fields¹. By increasing overall production while also providing alternate sources of food and income, the LSP has helped to prevent loss or sale of assets thus increasing the resilience of these households in the face of recurrent shocks.

¹ Interviews with beneficiaries during 20/11/06 field trip to Khongo village, Lilongwe district

2 Concern's Food and Cash Transfer (FACT) project, Malawi

2.1 Background

During the 2005–06 rainy season, Malawi suffered from severe dry spells that affected crop production, especially maize and key cash crops. The food crisis was exacerbated by poor socio-economic conditions and an already tenuous food security situation due to relatively poor harvests in previous years. In addition, AIDS has hit many households in Malawi, affecting labour availability on farms and reducing the flexibility and diversity of people's livelihood options (Keatinge and Amoaten, 2006). As early as December 2005 it was clear that many people in rural Malawi would face a food deficit during the next lean season and by October 2006 the President declared a state of disaster and a full emergency appeal was launched.

The MVAC originally forecast that between 4.2 and 4.6 million Malawians would need food assistance amounting to 270–414,000 mt maize equivalents, but later revised the number of Malawians at risk upward to 5.5 million, roughly half the total population (Devereux, 2006). The Government of Malawi (GoM) set up a relief programme with support from the donor community and implementation by local and international NGOs.

By late 2005, however, CWW was increasingly convinced that the national relief programme was inadequate to address the magnitude of the food crisis in rural Malawi. After conducting its own Rapid Food Security Assessment in three districts where CWW was operational, CWW sought funding from the Irish Development Co-operation to implement its own Emergency Cash and Food Transfer for Livelihood Protection project, an experimental initiative that would later become known simply as the Food and Cash Transfer project, or FACT (Devereux, 2006²).

2.2 Objectives and main components

The aim of the FACT project was to protect beneficiary households from the impacts of the food security crisis, particularly malnutrition and distress sale of assets. The three main objectives of the project were:

- to provide nutritional support to targeted households who were overlooked by the government of Malawi's emergency response;
- to provide a temporary safety net to minimise the need of households to resort to destructive coping strategies during the lean period; and
- to explore the effectiveness of cash transfers in addressing food insecurity in humanitarian emergencies in Malawi.

² Devereux, S. P. Mvula and C. Solomon (2006) "After the FACT: An Evaluation of Concern World Wide's Food and Cash Transfers Project in Three Districts of Malawi". Concern Worldwide, Malawi

As an emergency relief intervention, the FACT project had three innovative **design features**:

- FACT delivered a combination of food and cash (rather than either cash or food alone);
- the value of the cash transfer was based on the number of members per household;
- the amount of cash was adjusted according to the value of the actual food ration as indicated by a monthly market survey in the targeted districts (Devereux, 2006).

As indicated in objective 3, the cash component was in part experimental in that neither CWW nor Malawi had previous experience in this area (although several other agencies were experimenting with cash concurrently). The argument for cash transfers is that it leads to increased personal and household empowerment by allowing beneficiaries to make their own choices about their food and non-food needs. Cash is also perceived to be more cost-effective than food aid at least in terms of transport and storage costs. Finally, cash transfers are seen as a possible catalyst for improvements in the market availability of important commodities (Achtell, 2006).

Given the severity of the food crisis, a food ration was also included in order to protect the subsistence consumption of FACT beneficiaries against the possibility of a complete market failure. In the event of non-availability of important commodities such as maize in the local market, CWW did not want to contribute to time and labour constraints of vulnerable households (eg chronically ill, elderly, orphans and female-headed households) by forcing those beneficiaries to travel long distances in order to purchase food. The food package was also expected to help ensure a balanced diet at a time when Malawians were under severe nutritional stress (Achtell, 2006). This project is therefore an example a combined food and cash transfer package to individual households.

2.3 The type of funds provided

The combined food and cash transfer package was designed to meet 50% of household food needs as per the MVAC recommendation that external interventions should aim to cover up to 50% of affected households' food needs. The assumption was that affected households could cover the remaining 50% of their food needs independently. Half of this transfer (25% of total food needs) would be provided in the form of food, and half would be provided in cash (Devereux, 2006).

The food ration was determined using Sphere standards (2,100k-cals/person including 10-12% derived from protein and 17% derived from fats) and adjusted slightly so as not to exceed the GoM ration. The final ration was established as 20kg maize, 4kg pulses and one litre of oil based on an average family size for Malawi of 5.5 (Devereux, 2006).

The amount of cash was based on the average cost of the above food ration in the seven TAs where the project was to be implemented. A market survey was conducted each month prior to distribution and the cash transfer was recalculated to reflect actual market price at the time of distribution (Devereux, 2006).

The cash transfer was then pro-rated according to the size of the recipient household. Households were divided into three bands of *small* (1-3 household members), *medium* (4-6 household members), and *large* (seven or more household members). Small families received 25% of the value of the transfer, medium families received 100% of the value, and large families received 175% of the value of the cash transfer (Devereux, 2006).

2.4 What the funds are used for and how are projects/activities selected?

Given the food crisis, the expectation was that the food ration would be consumed in its entirety and that the majority of the cash component would also be used toward the purchase of food. Other acceptable uses of cash endorsed by CWW and the communities involved were:

- Education eg school fees for their children, school supplies and uniforms;
- Healthcare eg purchase of medicines and payment of medical bills; and
- Agricultural inputs eg purchase of fertiliser and pesticide.

Unacceptable uses of cash from the point of view of CWW and the communities involved were:

- To purchase beer or alcohol;
- To pay for sex (either through prostitution or by facilitating polygamy); and
- To purchase luxury items (eg radios) (CWW, 2006).

2.5 The target groups

FACT targeted 5,050 beneficiaries in seven Tribal Authorities (TAs) within three districts of Malawi. Details of location and beneficiary numbers are shown in the Table 2 below.

Table 2: FACT beneficiaries by district and TA

District	TA	Beneficiaries per TA
Dowa	Chakhaza	454
	Kayembe	1015
	Dzoole	876
	Mponela	793
Nkhotakota	Mwadzama	900
Lilongwe	Chitukula	644
	Kabadula	368
Total		5050

The selection of these communities was determined by CWW's existing programming areas, which had been established based on the level of need during the 2002 food crisis, strategic geographic positioning of CWW in relation to other international NGOs and accessibility (Arcadia Consultants, 2005). CWW was already implementing a Livelihood Security Programme and/or a Nutrition Programme in the three districts of Dowa, Nkhotakota and Lilongwe. It was decided to implement FACT in those TAs and communities where the Livelihood Security Programme was ongoing – partly to provide support to these participants (Devereux, 2006).

2.6 The types of structures involved in the process and their main roles

As an emergency intervention of limited scope and duration, the main structures involved in the conceptualisation and implementation of FACT were Concern Worldwide and the communities themselves. The National Department of Poverty, the District Commissioners of Dowa, Nkhotakota and Lilongwe, and the relevant TAs were responsible for general

oversight and approval of the activity. Community leaders were responsible for facilitating meetings with community members and overseeing the community triangulation method of targeting. The communities were responsible for selection of beneficiaries and reporting on misuse of funds. Village headmen, government and NGOs were responsible for cross-checking beneficiary lists to minimise inclusion and exclusion errors. Community leaders also helped to protect the integrity of the distribution site and entitlements of the beneficiaries by verifying identities, arbitrating disputes, and addressing misconduct during and after distribution.

2.7 How were the target groups selected?

Community triangulation was utilised to identify poor and vulnerable groups. Communities were divided into three groups, each of which was asked to compile a list of the neediest households. Possible characteristics of households to be targeted as discussed in the community-wide meetings included households:

- with chronically ill people;
- headed by orphans;
- headed by older people;
- headed by people with disabilities;
- involved in CWW's Outpatient Therapeutic Programme (OTP);
- that received agricultural input loans from CWW in November 2005;
- facing severe hunger (eg eating only one meal per day); and
- that are not already receiving food aid from another source (Achtell, 2005).

The three lists were then reviewed in a public forum. Names appearing on all three lists were automatically selected while those appearing on only one or two lists were discussed publicly until consensus was reached on whether they should be included or not. The purpose of this method was to ensure a democratic and participatory targeting process, and to avoid the nepotism and favouritism that can occur if beneficiary selection is left to key informants such as the village headman or a village committee composed of an elite group of community representatives (Devereux, 2006).

In recognition of the fact that households with HIV+ members could be excluded due to local stereotypes and discrimination, CWW cross-checked the proposed beneficiary lists with Mponela AIDS Information and Counselling Centre (MAICC) and Athelanj, two local organisations involved in delivering home based-care (HBC) to HIV+ households. They submitted the names of clients who they found to be struggling particularly during the hungry period and who would therefore benefit from the food and cash transfer (Keatinge and Amoaten, 2006). Finally, the list of names was then cross-checked with government agency records to reduce the risk of households receiving support from more than one source.

2.8 Planning process for the individual project/activity

Once the targeting exercise was completed, a meeting of those selected was called to verify their status as beneficiaries and inform them about the content and size of the food ration and how the cash transfer was to be adjusted according to household size. At the same time, communities discussed acceptable uses of cash and developed safeguards against possible misuse by determining and disseminating the grounds upon which people would be removed from the project, eg if they were found to be spending money on alcohol or prostitution (Achtell, 2006). Community members decided that they would monitor each other and that anyone found using cash and even food unacceptably would be reported to the village headman and removed from the project (CWW, 2006).

2.9 Description of decision-making process around the funds

Conceptualisation of the FACT project was done by Concern Worldwide based on the findings of the Rapid Food Security Assessment in November 2005. The proposal was then presented to the Department of Poverty as well as to the District Commissioners of Dowa, Nkhotakota and Lilongwe and the relevant TAs for their endorsement. Once approval was obtained, CWW field staff met with local leaders, including village headmen, government and NGO staff, to present an overview of the project's objectives and *modus operandi*. These meetings with community leaders were followed by community-wide meetings, in which members of the community were sensitised about the size and composition of the food and cash transfer and targeting criteria were discussed. The community triangulation targeting process described in section 4.7 was then undertaken. The FACT project was implemented at the peak of the food crisis, namely the four hungry season months of January-April 2006. It started when most farmers had emptied their granaries and ended when harvesting began.

2.10 Description of implementation process

Although CWW has extensive experience of distributing commodities in Malawi, the FACT project was the first time that the organisation undertook to distribute cash. As such, the management of the process necessitated a great deal of innovation and "learning by doing" (Achtell, 2006). Once the targeting exercise was completed, beneficiary information was compiled in each TA and the handwritten lists were sent to the CWW head office. The data was entered into a database that could generate beneficiary reference numbers, distribution lists, distribution forms, ration cards and envelopes. Prior to the first distribution, beneficiaries were issued with a ration card. To avoid potential forgery of ration cards, they were printed on coloured card, stamped by the CWW head office, given a unique beneficiary number and signed by the issuing officer at the point of delivery (Achtell, 2006).

In order to avoid beneficiaries having to queue to receive their cash by counting off banknotes, which was considered impersonal and potentially demeaning, CWW decided to distribute the cash in sealed, personalised envelopes. The task of printing, filling and sealing the envelopes was vast, requiring innovation, careful planning and many person hours. For example, the number of checks and balances meant that each envelope was handled no less than seven times (Devereux, 2006). Although laborious, this attention to detail contributed to "an extremely low error rate, only one mistake was identified at point of delivery out of 20,200 cash transfers" (Achtell, 2006).

2.11 What accountability is there and how is it working?

Due to the risk of fraud, embezzlement, and outright theft in the distribution of both cash and food, a number of controls were implemented to discourage theft during processing and transportation, to ensure a smooth distribution, and to safeguard the interests and entitlements of the beneficiaries.

Discouraging theft during processing and transportation

As mentioned previously, CWW maintained strict financial controls, including several checks and balances designed to avoid possible theft. As a result, there was no evidence of any cases of corruption in the handling of either food or cash. With respect to security, CWW opted for a low profile approach, which included:

- not issuing press releases or inviting the media to cover distributions;

- renting an unmarked vehicle to transport cash to distribution sites;
- varying routes to distributions sites;
- varying the monthly distribution schedule;
- not requesting police or armed guards during transportation and distribution; and
- not overtly displaying the Concern Worldwide logo on vehicles or wearing Concern t-shirts at distribution sites (Achtell, 2006).

Given the small relative size of the project, this low profile approach was successful and no security incidents were reported.

Ensuring a smooth distribution

In order to ensure a smooth distribution, CWW staff underwent refresher training on distribution modalities including site security and crowd control issues. During distribution, cash and food rations were only given to someone other than the listed beneficiary if a community representative present at the distribution verified their identity and their name was subsequently recorded on the distribution form. The envelopes were opened and cash counted at the distribution points in order to reduce the chance of disputes later. Originally, beneficiaries were meant to open their own envelopes, but it turned out that many beneficiaries were not familiar with envelopes, so in the end CWW staff had to open the envelopes for them. Beneficiaries were then required to sign or fingerprint the distribution form upon receipt of the food and cash ration (Achtell, 2006). However, despite the problems associated with people being unable to open the envelopes and count the money in terms of ensuring the accountability of the project implementers were very effective.

Safeguarding the interests and entitlements of the beneficiaries

The chaos of distribution sites has been said sometimes to eclipse the human elements of poverty and hunger, with abuse of power, including sexual abuse and exploitation or marginalisation of vulnerable groups, occurring in emergency relief programmes around the globe (Keatinge and Amoaten, 2006). HIV+ people in particular, have complained that they are treated differently at distribution points as people fear contracting the virus from them (Keatinge and Amoaten, 2006). In recognition of this fact, CWW tried to ensure that distributions put the needs of individuals first by:

- establishing distribution points no more than 10km from the majority of intended beneficiaries so they don't have to travel long distances; working with community leaders to ensure that the location of the distribution site does not put beneficiaries at risk of possible extortion *en route* to and from the site;
- conducting distributions during daylight hours only so that beneficiaries were not forced to travel at night;
- limiting distributions to no more than 400 people at a time in order to reduce long queuing;
- registering guardians in place of those who were too weak to attend because of ill health;
- encouraging the involvement of women staff at the distribution sites;
- requesting community leaders to be present at the distribution site to help ensure that vulnerable groups are not cheated or forced to hand over part of their ration; and
- setting up locally elected complaints committees at each distribution site so that misconduct by CWW staff or others could be reported and addressed immediately (Keatinge and Amoaten, 2006).

2.12 Are disadvantaged groups able to access funds in practice?

Disadvantaged groups, including households headed by orphans, older people, or people with disabilities and households with chronically ill people or facing severe hunger, were

explicitly included in the targeting criteria discussed in community-wide meetings. Where the community triangulation method was followed rigorously, targeting was effective with relatively few inclusion or exclusion errors. In some communities, however, different approaches were followed, including setting quotas, favouring participants in other CWW activities, and allowing CWW committees or village headmen too much power over the selection process. This often led to sub-optimal targeting outcomes, in which less vulnerable households were included to the exclusion of more needy households (Devereux, 2006). As one non-beneficiary explained:

“We don’t know how the beneficiaries were selected. We only know that the headman was the one who wrote the list. He selected one of his sons...[and] two of his daughters-in-law who live in the village, but aren’t poor at all. The headman’s entire family are rich compared to most of us here who were excluded from FACT” (Devereux, 2006).

Table 3 provides a glimpse of how the targeting exercise fared in Mwadzama TA in Nkhonkhotakota district. Clearly, CWW loan participants, who were by definition able-bodied, should not have been targeted for FACT unless they met other criteria. Their inclusion meant that other, probably more vulnerable, households may have been left out.

Table 3: Reasons for targeting FACT households, Mwadzama TA

Reason	Households	%
Keeping orphans/orphan caretaker	160	37%
Aged/keeping old aged	102	24%
Concern loan beneficiary	88	20%
Disabled	33	8%
Critically ill/chronically sick/long illness	23	5%
Poor	16	4%
HBC patient	7	2%
Food insecure/poor nutrition	3	1%
Lactating and vulnerable	1	0%
No reason given	467	52%
Total beneficiaries	900	100%

Source: compiled from FACT beneficiary lists, Mwadzama TA (Devereux, 2006)

While a concerted effort was made to make sure HIV-infected households were not excluded due to stigma, no such action was taken to ensure that disadvantaged women (eg widows from other areas still living in husband’s village) were not deliberately excluded. The external evaluation extensively discussed the gender aspect of FACT. Should FACT have targeted exclusively female-headed households? Although female-headed households are consistently more vulnerable than male-headed households, women in male-headed households (in the socio-cultural context of Malawi) are also economically vulnerable. Devereux *et al.* (2006) suggest that gender sensitisation and functional literacy and numeracy training for women should be implemented in future targeted resource transfer programmes.

2.13 How does this link to development plans at local government level and below?

As previously described, the FACT project was implemented in the context of a national food crisis. The President of Malawi had declared a state of disaster and almost half the population (5.5 million) was to receive food aid. Within this context, CWW’s intervention was a welcome addition to the national effort. Given the novelty of cash transfers to Malawi, it was

viewed with interest by the government, UN agencies, and other NGOs, some of whom were also exploring the possibility of cash transfers in Malawi. Aside from the general relief effort, the innovative combination of cash and food to both protect and promote livelihoods was consistent with the Malawi Growth and Development Strategy, which has as one of its main tenets disaster risk reduction and social protection.

2.14 What evidence is there of effective use/implementation?

Use of food

Household surveys indicated that the majority of FACT food was consumed by the beneficiaries, as shown in Table 4 below. As expected, the proportion of food consumed was higher in January and February than in March (and presumably April, although the data is not available), when the harvest was beginning to come in. No cases were found in either the household survey or the qualitative discussions of beneficiaries selling their food, indicating that the beneficiaries did not have other sources of food (Devereux, 2006).

Table 4: Use of FACT food, by month

Food item	Food use	January	February	March	Mean
Maize	Consumed	95.7%	94.9%	81.3%	90.6%
	Shared	2.8%	1.9%	1.0%	1.9%
	Saved	1.0%	3.1%	17.5%	7.2%
Beans	Consumed	90.0%	89.0%	73.6%	84.2%
	Shared	4.2%	4.2%	1.3%	3.2%
	Saved	3.8%	3.8%	24.5%	10.7%
Oil	Consumed	83.7%	87.7%	74.2%	81.9%
	Shared	4.5%	2.1%	0.4%	2.3%
	Saved	11.5%	10.2%	25.4%	15.7%

Note: Differences between January and March are significant at 0.001 level (t-test) for all three uses of all three food items

Source: Devereux, 2006

According to the data, only a small percentage of food was either shared or saved. Qualitative reports, however, suggest that more food may have been shared. As one FACT beneficiary put it: "I cannot refuse my neighbour who is hungry if I have food in my house" (Devereux, 2006). Clearly, norms of reciprocity and redistribution are an important community coping mechanism among the poor in rural Malawi.

Use of cash

Overall the cash was put to good use. Although food needs dominated the spending decisions of FACT beneficiaries, they were also able meet a wide range of other important non-food needs (Devereux, 2006). As shown in Table 5 below, the percentage of cash spent on food was significantly higher in January and February than March.

Table 5: Spending of FACT cash

Use of cash	January	February	March	Mean
Food	63.2%	69.4%	45.3%	59.3%
Groceries (including milling)	17.7%	14.7%	16.4%	16.3%
Health and education	7.4%	9.1%	12.6%	9.7%
Savings	3.3%	2.7%	13.3%	6.4%
Investment	4.6%	2.2%	3.5%	3.4%
Extravagant spending	2.1%	0.7%	4.1%	2.3%
Loan repayment	1.2%	1.0%	3.5%	1.9%
Other	1.7%	1.2%	4.8%	2.6%
Non-food (total)	36.8%	30.6%	54.7%	40.7%

Source: FACT PDM surveys (January to March 2006); Devereux, 2006

The next largest spending category after food was groceries, which included items such as soap, salt, tea and paraffin as well as milling costs. Health and education were next, indicating the high relative cost of meeting these basic needs. Healthcare costs included paying hospital bills, purchasing medicine and seeing traditional healers. Cash spent on education went toward purchase of books, pens, uniforms and payment of school fees (Devereux, 2006).

Other positive uses of cash with potentially long-term benefits were savings and investment. Being assured of receiving four monthly cash payments gave beneficiaries the confidence to set aside some money each month in order purchase a major asset (eg livestock) once they had accumulated enough funds (Devereux, 2006). Many households used the cash to purchase fertiliser and seeds for winter cropping, thus enhancing their food security by allowing them to grow a second crop. Some households invested in the future food security of their household by using the cash as capital for small-scale business or to purchase land rights. Others used the cash to employ day labourers thus increasing their yield while at the same time providing more employment opportunities in the community (Devereux, 2006). Still others claimed that the cash enabled them to concentrate on their own fields instead of looking for casual work (*ganyu*) to meet food and non-food needs.

Repaying debts and meeting social obligations was another category of spending with important implications for household livelihoods. The hungry season is normally a time when poor households are forced to incur high-interest debts and are often not able to meet important social obligations, thus putting them in debt to wealthier relatives. The FACT project helped these households not only to repay their debts but even to help others thus putting them in a stronger position next time they are in need (Devereux, 2006).

One concern often raised about cash transfers is the potential for misuse, especially by men who are seen to be more likely to waste money on sex and alcohol. This did occur on a small-scale both in the form of “frittering away” small amounts on soft drinks or tea and gross abuses such as wasting an entire month’s cash allocation on buying sex or drink.

“In our village, there were certain men who wasted their money even though they had families and children. I know of two men who used their money to propose to women in the village... Their wives heard about it afterwards, but couldn’t do anything” (Devereux, 2006).

Fortunately, these were isolated incidences and in most cases those affected reported the misuse to CWW or the village headman and the ration card was transferred to the wife (Devereux, 2006).

2.15 What evidence is there for impacts at community level?

Impact on food markets

Proponents of cash transfers argue that the injection of cash into local economies can improve the functioning of markets by attracting traders to bring in more supplies. Others argue that cash transfer programmes can have detrimental effects on local markets by driving the price of food up. In the case of the FACT project, however, no evidence was found that the FACT project had any impact on markets, either positive or negative. Food prices were already at very high levels before the project started and they continued to rise despite the fact that more than 5 million beneficiaries were receiving food aid through the national relief effort that was being implemented at the time. In the context of such a large-scale emergency relief effort, the limited duration (4 months) and reach (5,050 beneficiaries) of the FACT project was far too small to have an impact on markets (Devereux, 2006).

Impact on rural labour markets

Typical practise during the farming season in rural Malawi is for those who do not have enough food to seek casual work on other people's plots in order to earn enough to buy food. In bad years there is often a surplus of labour while in good years there is often a labour deficit. Since FACT beneficiaries were receiving both food and cash, they did not need to seek work for additional income. This enabled them to spend more time on their own farms, thus increasing their harvest, and more time caring for their family members thereby improving the general well-being of the family. In addition, the absence of FACT beneficiaries in the labour market freed up jobs for non-beneficiaries who did need the extra income. In some cases, FACT even enabled beneficiaries who were too weak or otherwise unable to work their own farms to hire casual labourers to work their plots for them thus creating more work for those in need, while at the same time improving their own crop yield (Devereux, 2006).

2.16 What evidence is there for impacts on livelihoods at beneficiary level?

Meals per day

In an effort to measure the impact of the FACT project on the food security status of its beneficiaries, CWW collected data on the number of meals eaten per day by beneficiaries and non-beneficiaries both before and during the project. As shown in Table 6 below, prior to implementation, non-beneficiary households were eating significantly more meals per day than the FACT targeted beneficiaries. After the project started, however, the consumption patterns of beneficiary and non-beneficiary households swapped, with the number of meals eaten per day falling among non-beneficiaries and rising or stabilising among beneficiaries. This suggests that FACT helped protect food consumption in beneficiary households against the rationing and hunger that non-beneficiaries had to endure in January and February. As stated in the FACT External Evaluation, "the injection of food and cash into beneficiary households protected them against the consequences of crop production failure and food price seasonality, while non-beneficiary households were exposed to the fullest extent" (Devereux, 2006).

Table 6: Meals per day for adults (mean by household type and month)

Households	Nov 05	Dec 05	Jan 06	Feb 06	Mar 06	Apr 06
Male-headed beneficiaries	1.61	1.24	1.18	1.16	1.97	2.00
Female-headed beneficiaries	1.27	1.19	1.28	0.98	1.91	1.95
Male-headed non-beneficiaries	1.70	1.35	1.11	0.78	1.56	1.90
Female-headed non-beneficiaries	1.56	1.17	0.97	0.73	1.28	1.84

Source: Devereux, 2006

Dietary diversity

Another indicator of food security status is dietary diversity or the number of food groups eaten in a day. Consuming fewer food groups per day is associated with higher rates of poverty and malnutrition. As seen in Table 7 below, CWW found a clear distinction between dietary diversity scores of beneficiary and non-beneficiary households, with beneficiaries eating more food groups per day than non-beneficiaries. Clearly this is linked to the content of the FACT food ration which included three food groups – cereals (maize), pulses (beans) and fat (oil) – thereby protecting dietary diversity as well as total food consumption. In addition, the cash component allowed beneficiaries to purchase complementary foods such as vegetables, fish, meat, etc that other households could not afford (Devereux, 2006).

Table 7: Dietary Diversity Score (mean by household type and month)

Households	Dec 05	Jan 06	Feb 06	Mar 06	Apr 06	Mean
Male-headed beneficiaries	2.15	2.06	2.28	3.14	3.39	2.60
Female-headed beneficiaries	2.02	2.06	1.85	3.23	3.21	2.47
Male-headed non-beneficiaries	2.14	1.64	1.61	2.46	3.05	2.18
Female-headed non-beneficiaries	1.92	1.56	1.45	2.17	2.63	1.95
Average (mean)	2.10	1.84	1.90	2.78	3.16	2.36

Source: Devereux, 2006

Coping strategies

Another measure of food security used by CWW in monitoring the impact of FACT was the coping strategy index (CSI), which measured the extent to which households were forced to engage in alternative coping strategies such as food consumption rationing, dietary adjustments, borrowing or begging, demographic adjustments and harvesting immature crops. A lower index indicates better food security while a higher index indicates that households have had to resort to more alternative and potentially destructive coping strategies. Table 8 below shows that although beneficiaries and non-beneficiaries had roughly the same CSI level before the project, FACT beneficiaries steadily improved during the project period, suggesting that the FACT project successfully protected household food consumption and assets during the severe hungry season of early 2006 (Devereux, 2006).

Table 8: Coping Strategy Index (mean by household type and month)

Households	Nov 05	Dec 05	Jan 06	Feb 06	Mar 06	Apr 06
Male-headed beneficiaries	50.4	67.0	53.1	43.8	32.6	33.6
Female-headed beneficiaries	50.5	63.7	48.0	44.0	38.5	37.3
Male-headed non-beneficiaries	47.7	62.9	58.9	55.2	50.9	39.4
Female-headed non-beneficiaries	50.5	62.1	60.0	62.6	64.5	49.4

Source: Devereux, 2006

Impact on HIV

People living with HIV and AIDS need additional quality and quantity of food to counteract the effects of the virus on the immune system and to counteract the side effects of the Anti-retroviral therapy (ART). Thus the supply of an adequate nutritious diet was immediately relevant to HIV+ beneficiaries who reportedly experienced increased energy levels and better nutritional status (Keatinge and Amoaten, 2006).

The cash element also helped HIV+ beneficiaries in a number of ways. First, the cash enabled them to meet their increased need for medical care without resorting to selling off valuable assets. Although ART is now free in Malawi, medicines for related infections, medical care and transport to and from healthcare facilities can be prohibitively expensive for

poor households. Second, the cash provided by FACT enabled these labour-poor households to employ farmhands thereby increasing their own production. Finally, the cash component – like the food component – helped provide access to the additional quality and quantity of food required by HIV-infected individuals (Keatinge and Amoaten, 2006).

Finally, monitoring reports also showed that teenage girls benefiting from FACT were 10% less likely to leave their home in search of food or cash (as is often the practise during the hungry season in Malawi) thus reducing their risk of exposure to sexual exploitation and HIV transmission (Keatinge and Amoaten, 2006).

3 Greater Rustenburg Community Foundation, South Africa

3.1 Background

The Greater Rustenburg Community Foundation (GRCF) serves a geographic area in the northwest of South Africa inhabited by approximately 1.2 million people. About 80% of the population in the area live in rural and remote areas with limited access to electricity, clean water, roads or educational opportunities. However, amid the high levels of unemployment and poverty there are pockets of wealth within the district, notably the two large platinum mining companies which are located in the region (World Bank, 2003).

The foundation was initiated as one of ten pilot foundations initially identified by the Southern African Grantmakers' Association (SAGA) to participate in its Community Foundation Pilot Programme (Els, 2006). Globally, the creation and efficient operation of community foundations has proved to be an ambitious task which is generally accompanied by several challenges. However, 2006 marks the GRCF's fifth year as a successful and efficient entity, and it is generally regarded as the most effective community foundation in South Africa (Els, 2006).

The process of establishing the foundation was initiated in 1997 and consolidated in 1998 after a study visit to the United States by representatives from the region (including current CEO Christine Delpont) and SAGA. On return from the visit an extensive community and stakeholder participation process was set up in the greater Rustenburg area to mobilise critical support. During this period significant research was undertaken on local community needs to ascertain the Foundation's key service areas. This process took 18 months to complete and the Board of Trustees took ownership of the foundation in 2001 (GRCF, 2003).

The foundation's primary focus is to support the 300 plus NPOs in the Bonjanala District, North West Province. Current capacity of civil society in the district is weak and the GRCF attempts to strengthen this through direct funding and general support services (Delpont, 2006).

3.2 Objectives and main components

The mission of the GRCF is "to create a stable and prosperous local economy by efficiently unlocking and mobilising resources in order to establish a permanent investment fund and to utilise these resources for sustainable development through prioritized grantmaking and capacitating local development agents" (GRCF, 2003). Essentially the GRCF aims to stimulate development in the Bonjanala District through direct funding of local NPOs and other development agents through an endowment fund, and by providing services to these agents to improve their capacities.

A community foundation can be classified as a tax exempt, not-for-profit, autonomous, philanthropic type of organisation, organised and operated as a permanent collection of endowed funds for the long-term benefit of a geographical area. It can be seen as a vehicle for promoting community philanthropy (GRCF, 2003).

The GRCF has a number of core components, including resource mobilisation, grant making, endowment building and asset management, research, marketing, networking and general management (GRCF, 2003).

These components conceptualise the functions the GRCF provided and it is clear that direct funding of NPOs is only one element of the functions which they undertake. Issues such as

research into the socio-economic conditions in the region, marketing the region and themselves and networking are also core activities of the foundation.

The GCRF is able to fund NPOs on a yearly basis through an endowment fund set up from local and international donors. The fund encompasses a number of components including:

- **Unrestricted funds**, which the Foundation can use as it deems appropriate;
- **Designated funds**, which are donations received from a specific person/entity to fund a specific institution of their choice;
- **Field of interest funds**, where a donor identifies a broad field of interest such as health, and leaves the GCRF to distribute the funds as they see fit to organisations working in that field;
- **Donor-named funds**, which are named after a specific group/individual and can be donated either to a specific group or left to the GCRF to distribute;
- **Specific-purpose funds**, often pass through funds which donors make available to specific groups through the GCRF. In this regard the foundation acts as a mechanism to monitor the funding;
- **Organisational fund**, covering the expenses of the daily running of the foundation.

The Foundation also provides non-financial support to all NPOs in the district. It arranges annual workshops for NPOs where critical issues facing NPOs are discussed and addressed. The GCRF has established an NPO support centre, funded by British American Tobacco, which provides assistance to NPOs on issues including registration, technical advice, networking and assistance in seeking additional finance. The foundation is prepared to assist NPOs in any manner possible and has developed strong links with many of the NPOs in the district (Delpont, 2006 and Motene, 2006). Essentially this case study is an example of where a community foundation has been used as a mechanism to source funds and transfers to community based structures.

3.3 Type of funds provided

The Foundation funds CBOs and NPOs in the Bonjanala District through its endowment fund. It focuses on these groups as they provide essential services at grassroots level.

The GCRF has an annual grant-making process, and 75% of the interest generated through the endowment fund is paid out in grants to various NPOs. The value of grants varies between R10,000 and R25,000 and the GCRF follows the philosophy that a greater number of small grants are more advantageous than fewer larger grants. Nineteen grants were made in the last yearly cycle and in total. Since the GCRF's inception R2.2m has been paid out in four grant cycles (Delpont, 2006). The endowment fund is a sustainable mechanism of funding CBOs as only the interest generated from the funds is used to provide grants, ensuring that the process will be ongoing. One of GCRF's core functions is to grow the endowment fund through 'resource mobilisation', thus ensuring the contributions made to NPOs will grow continually. In this regard the financial contributions made to the respective groups will grow continually and the fund itself represents a sustainable and effective mechanism for funding community initiatives.

3.4 What the funds are used for and how are projects/activities selected?

The funds are used for making grants to NPOs in the Bonjanala district. The Foundation's board has a grant-making sub-committee which is responsible for deciding which applications, from NPOs and other developmental groups, will receive funding from the foundation and the amount that they will receive. A detailed review of this decision-making process is provided in section 4.9. In order to access grants potential beneficiaries must

submit proposals to the Foundation regarding their need and intended use of the funds. These proposals are then related to the needs of the region and a number of other criteria to inform decisions (Delpport, 2006).

3.5 Target groups

The target groups are all developmental groups and NPOs in the Bonjanala District. In the 2006 financial year 19 NPOs received grants of between R10,000 and R25,000 (Delpport, 2006). A list of NPOs that received grants by the end of the 2003 grant cycle is presented in table 9 below. It is clear from the list that the GCRF focuses primarily on NPOs that assist vulnerable groups in the region. These decisions were informed by extensive research conducted in the district to identify the priority community needs (Delpport, 2006).

The grants are directed towards specific programmes conducted by the NPOs. The NPOs manage their own programmes and the GCRF does not impose any conditions on how they need to be implemented. However the NPOs are accountable to the GCRF for the specific programmes for which they received funding and the Foundation does require yearly financial reports. Efforts have been had to simplify this process for the smaller NPOs.

Table 9: Beneficiaries of the GCRF

Hospice Rustenburg	Rustenburg School for specialised training
Hospice Thlabane	Botho Jwa Rona Day Care Centre
Child and family welfare	Leakgona Community Centre
North West Economic Forum	Charora Home Based Care
CANSA Rustenburg	Radio Mafisa
Neo Birth	Vision for the Nation
Network on Violence Against Woman	Saamspan service centre
Rustenburg Christian Social Council	Aganang
Girl Guides Association	We Care Project
Sizanani Training Association	SPCA Rustenburg

The Foundation is also required to account to its donors and produces yearly audited financial statements which are freely available to any interested parties. It is also required to fulfil any additional requirements that donors may request (Delpport, 2006).

3.6 The types of structures involved in the process and their main roles

The GCRF's Board of Directors comprises 10-15 people at any given time and they are all community representatives. There are four sub-committees in the board, each responsible for one or two core activities of the foundation. These are the Finance and Executive Committee; the Grant Making and Development Committee; the Marketing and Fundraising Committee; and the Nominating Committee.

The Grant Making and Development Committee plays a central role in funding activities, and is the final decision-making body. The fact that the Board is constituted of community representatives ensures that the decision-making process is not biased and reflects community needs.

The Foundation has five staff members: a CEO, project manager, NPO support manager, community liaison and financial assistant. The organisational structure is simple, with all employees reporting directly to the CEO. Combined they run day-to-day operations and are responsible for carrying out the GCRF's core functions.

The organisational fund, part of the endowment fund, pays for the Foundation's expenses, including salaries and other expenses relating to grant making. This also ensures continued sustainability and allows the staff to concentrate on core functions.

3.7 How were target groups selected?

The Foundation regularly conducts research in the district, using community asset mapping and other tools (Delport, 2006). It also hosts an annual conference for all NPOs in the district, giving it an opportunity to conduct a needs analysis in the NPO sector; build a database of NPOs; conduct community asset mapping; and raise community awareness of the GRCF.

These activities provide an indication of the core needs of communities in the Greater Rustenburg District and allow the GRCF to prioritise key target areas requiring financial assistance and other support. NPOs working in priority areas or focusing on specific target groups are then encouraged to apply for funding and their proposed projects are considered for grants. All NPOs and developmental groups are eligible for funding barring certain types of institutions (see section 6.9).

3.8 Planning process for the individual project/activity

NPOs do their own project/activity planning. The GRCF merely decides on whether to fund programmes based on the needs of the communities and intended outcomes.

For example, Motene (2006) indicates that the planning process for programmes initiated by the North West Network on Violence against Women (NWNVAW), was their own responsibility and that it was up to them to identify specific projects which they felt would be beneficial. These projects would then be encapsulated into a proposal to the GRCF for funding. Van Schalkwyk (2006), manager of the Touch Community Network, confirmed this by indicating that in order to qualify for funding it was necessary to plan the respective projects well in advance as the GRCF would not fund haphazardly planned proposals.

3.9 Description of decision-making process around the funds

Funds are accessed through application. Forms are distributed annually, particularly at the annual NPO conference. Completed application forms are sent to the grant-making sub-committee. Profit-based organisations, government programmes, political parties, religious denominations and individuals are not considered for funding, nor are projects that include any discriminatory programmes/practices.

The applications are then scored according to a set of criteria including:

- Innovation;
- Building community vitality;
- Expanding the local leadership base;
- Extending human capacity;
- Sustainability;
- Broadly shared understanding and vision by and for the community;
- Creating more effective community organisations and institutions;
- Effective resource utilisation;
- Realistic project objectives;
- Making a contribution to social change in the community.

After the initial scoring GRCF staff members, who have detailed knowledge on the specific NPOs, provide information on the NPOs to the committee. NPOs are short listed and site visits are conducted. After the visits final recommendations are given to the committee, which then makes the final decisions regarding who will receive funding and the amount that they will receive (Delpont, 2006).

All applicants are informed immediately regarding the Board's decisions. Reasons are also provided about why proposals were rejected, to strengthen their chances of receiving funding in the next grant cycle. The NPO support centre works closely with NPOs to strengthen proposals.

3.10 Description of implementation process

NPOs implement the projects. However, the GRCF engages frequently with the funded NPOs, providing oversight and offering technical and other assistance when required. NPOs are required to submit simplified financial reports, ensuring some form of control over the use of funds.

3.11 What accountability is there and how is it working?

The GRCF is essentially a community-driven initiative and the Board is made up of community members. This ensures that the actions of the Foundation are reflective of the community interests. In this regard it is important that it is accountable to the community itself as well as donors and other stakeholders (Delpont, 2006).

In an external evaluation of the Foundation conducted by Els (2006), 84% of the respondents considered the GRCF's grant-making practices to be transparent, open and fair. They also indicated that the approach was to provide reasons for rejecting applications and to provide assistance to these applicants to improve their probability of receiving future funding (Els, 2006).

The Foundation produces audited financial statements which are freely available. Sixty five percent of local NPOs viewed the Foundation as an accountable and respectable role-player in the region, with the other 35% indicating that they could not respond (Els, 2006). No respondent indicated that the Foundation was not an accountable entity. The GRCF has also established valuable relationships with communities in the region due to regular interaction. According to Delpont (2006) its strong links with the communities assist the Foundation in monitoring funded NPOs. The Foundation is thus accountable both to the NPOs they fund and to the wider community in the Bonjanala District.

Due to their work undertaken in the rural communities, particularly community asset mapping, the GRCF has established a good working relationship with most of the community structures in the District (Delpont, 2006). They are aware of these structures in the rural areas and follow local customs by asking permission to work in the respective areas and also make every effort to explain to the tribal authorities why NPOs in their districts did or did not receive funding. They are answerable and accountable to tribal and other local authorities in the Bonjanala District and they have worked hard at facilitating an effective relationship.

The Foundation does not receive any direct government assistance and as such they are not directly accountable to local government. However, the Foundation works closely with a number of Departments, eg Social Development and Health, and it often acts as a service provider to these Departments due to their detailed knowledge of communities in the region. Accordingly, the foundation has functional relationships with a number of local government

structures in the District and there is some level of accountability, particularly on joint projects.

3.12 Are disadvantaged groups able to access funds in practice?

A number of the funded NPOs are primarily directed towards serving vulnerable groups, and in this regard disadvantaged groups are able to access funds. The GCRF's needs analysis in communities highlights the developmental priorities and allows it to focus on disadvantaged groups. So in this regard funding is primarily directed towards vulnerable groups.

3.13 How does this link to development plans at local government level and below?

Local government and the GCRF have a common interest in the promotion of social and economic development in the region. Local government considers the Foundation to be a valuable service provider due to its extensive data and knowledge on communities and civil society in the district. George Matshe, co-ordinator of capacity for SMMEs and Community Development in the Bonjanala District Municipality indicated that there is no formal relationship or link between the Municipality and the Foundation. However, there are informal links and the two entities regularly collaborate on issues surrounding community welfare and development (Matshe, 2006). Both recognise that their developmental plans are linked as they share a number of focus areas and work towards similar objectives (Matshe, 2006, Delport, 2006).

3.14 What evidence is there of effective use/implementation?

The external evaluation report on the GRCF (Els, 2006) provided a clear indication of the effectiveness of the services rendered by the Foundation. Table 10 shows the rating of GCRF services by NPOs in the region, thus either beneficiaries or potential beneficiaries of the foundation.

Table 10: GCRF service ratings

Activity	Rating
Provision of direct funding	57%
Facilitating funding by local SA organisations	33%
Facilitating funding by international donors	52%
Organizing training programmes	64%
Assistance provided by the NPO Support Centre	60%
Facilitation of networking amongst NPOs	63%
Improving stakeholder relationships	55%
Co-ordination of NPO activities	54%
Creating access to information	74%
Improving NPO collaboration	74%
Establishing platforms for topic-specific issues	74%
Mobilising resources to the benefit of NPOs	53%
Lobbying on behalf of NPOs	59%
Enhancing NPO service provision	46%
Creating an enabling environment for NPOs	69%.

The results of the survey indicate that most respondents viewed the services offered by the Foundation as 'extremely useful' and most of the remaining responses were 'fairly helpful'. The most positive responses were regarding the GRCF's role in providing access to

information and organising 'conversation desks'. Creating an enabling environment for NPOs, developing their skills through training interventions and the facilitation of networking between service providers also scored well. Interestingly the aspects relating funding and the facilitation of funding was rated fairly negatively (Els, 2006). However, what needs to be considered is the dire need for funding that most NPOs in the District and the country have; most operate in survival mode. Thus it is not surprising that they view the GCRF's ability to provide or facilitate funding as inadequate despite this being one of their core functions (Els, 2006).

The evaluation indicated that 29% of NPOs felt the assistance provided by the GRCF exceeded their expectation and 56% of the respondents believed it matched their expectations. The feedback from the survey provides evidence of effective implementation of services, although there is plenty of room for improvement.

3.15 What evidence is there for impacts at community level?

There is evidence of community-level impact. One of the primary tasks of the Foundation is to enhance the capacity and organisational efficiency of NPOs that operate at community level. The NPOs have community-level impact by responding to priority socio-economic challenges. In many ways the GCRF's work is a direct attempt to stimulate civil society in the District, with spin offs for communities. In the external evaluation of the GRCF conducted by Els (2006) all respondents (who were representatives from local NPOs) indicated that the GCRF was beneficial to local service providers, in particular the services offered by the NPO support centre were singled out. Eighty six percent of the respondents also believed that the Foundation's capacity building programme and the respective projects of the NPOs had an impact at a community level. This view is supported by Enele (2006), who manages the NPO support centre, who believed that the centre was getting through to NPOs and was impacting positively on them, although he believed that there was still a long way to go to maximise the benefits to communities.

The NWNVAW provides an example of where there has been an impact at a community level. In 2006 they received R18.5k to train tribal officers about basic human rights, as many of these officers acted, as court officials in the rural areas. By providing proper training around basic human rights the NWNVAW went some way to ensuring that these rights were taken into account and acknowledged in rural courts, essentially imparting benefits at a community level.

Unfortunately, due to various constraints it was not possible to further examine the actual impacts imparted at a community level by the respective NPOs and thus there is no tangible evidence supporting the views of the GRCF staff members and the respective NPO staff members.

3.16 What evidence is there for impacts on livelihoods at beneficiary level?

Impacts at a beneficiary level are through the NPOs. Enele (2006) indicates that NPO impact at community level this is often only minimal. Some examples of impacts of NPOs funded by the Foundation illustrated below (Els, 2006).

Robin Good Initiative is a Rustenburg-based NPO that renders services in the areas of food security, sustainable livelihoods, job creation and skills development. The GRCF has funded several aspects of the organisation, including a challenge grant, food gardens and infrastructure development. The NPO described the funding experience as representative of "a very positive relationship". According to them, the challenge grant allowed them to

leverage other resources, including obtaining a dedicated vehicle for the organisation. The relationship has also indirectly linked them to one of the largest development trusts operating in the mining industry, due to the Foundation's relationship with the external funder. Delport (2006) also indicated that the initiatives, particularly the feeding schemes, were having an impact in the district.

Neo-Birth Crisis Centre is a highly specialised and dedicated crisis intervention and support centre that focuses on services related to pregnancy (often teenage pregnancy), abortion, HIV and abuse, including a 24-hour crisis line, counselling services, youth development/life skills programmes and links to medical care. Van Scalkwyk (2006) indicates that there was a huge need for these services in the District, particularly around HIV and AIDS, and that these programmes were having impact at a beneficiary level. The GRCF has funded several elements of the Centre's operating expenditure during more than one funding cycle. Neo-Birth describes their relationship with the GRCF as constructive, generating benefits for both parties. The beneficiary considers the funding provided by the Foundation as empowering and linking them to other sources of information and/or resources.

Bessie Mpelelele-Ngwana Care Centre has provided services for severely and multiply-disabled children (both mentally and physically) since 2000. Without the NPO many of these children would go without treatment. The GRCF has funded initiatives aimed at improving the services provided to these children. The NPO described the relationship with the GRCF as "wonderful".

The Partnership Foundation Trust (Eduland) is a successful youth development programme that develops life skills for youth, including some career skills and community development training. The GRCF has funded particular training courses, including community-based projects. The NPO describes the GRCF as "particularly resourceful".

Touch Community Network was established in 1996, initially as a pregnancy crisis centre. They extended their services by establishing a baby shelter and a life skills programme; currently 28,000 learners have gone through the programme. The project now also provides a referral base for abused children, a training centre for home-based carers, OVC training and HIV and AIDS awareness courses for other NPOs. Many of these programmes were initiated using direct funding from the GCRF (Van Schalkwyk, 2006).

4 The Communal Areas Management Programme for Indigenous Resources (Campfire), Zimbabwe

4.1 Background

Zimbabwe's community-based natural resource management (CBNRM) programme, spearheaded through the Communal Areas Management Programme for Indigenous Resources (Campfire) has recorded important successes. The greatest strength of the programme has been its ability to generate revenue from natural resources management (NRM), including safari hunting, and using the revenue for the benefit of local communities, thereby reducing human and animal conflict and the unsustainable use of natural resources. The programme works best when there is a systematic linkage between the benefits and NRM in the minds of the local people. Any lack of appreciation of the value of natural resources by local communities is therefore a threat to the nation's biological diversity, especially when evidenced by illegal means of off-take of renewable and non-renewable resources, and wildlife habitat loss through human settlement. Campfire plays an important role in maintaining the delicate balance between the costs of living with natural resources and the benefits of conservation, especially in areas where there are few economic survival opportunities.

Campfire's main principles can be summarised as follows:

- Allow benefits accruing from wildlife and other indigenous resources to be **retained** by communities;
- Producer communities must be given the full **choice** of how to spend their money, including both cash dividends and decisions to embark on infrastructural development projects;
- Producer communities should be **small** and homogeneous;
- Councils should involve community representatives on all key **decisions** such as planning and project formulation, and are **accountable** to national government, the Campfire Association and the grassroots people on all financial, ecological and social issues;
- Marketing and engagement of safari operators should be based on **open competition** through auctions or tenders, which must be advertised.

The overall goal of integrating conservation and sustainable development is to conserve biological diversity in which specific project activities are focused on people and on changing human behaviour. There is need for local participation where people know what they are participating in, who is participating and how and when to participate and for what. Local participation has become indispensable in Campfire as a vehicle for conservation and sustainable use of natural resources. Communities in Campfire districts participate in stakeholder analysis, determining land use, Campfire personnel administration, resource monitoring and management as well as community project implementation.

Campfire was formed in Zimbabwe for long-term development, management and sustainable utilisation of natural resources in communal areas. The majority of the African population (76%) in Zimbabwe is located in communal areas, a legacy of colonial legislation (Campfire, 2005). Much of the communal land is marginal (Natural Regions IV and V) representing 42% of the land area of Zimbabwe (390,760 km²). Poor rainfall, the absence of rural infrastructure (most notably roads) and the presence of tsetse fly combine to create a difficult economic environment in marginal areas. Since 1988 local communities in these areas, using the Campfire concept, voluntarily set aside nearly 14,000km² of land and adopted both consumptive and non-consumptive wildlife production systems, based on free-ranging game.

Currently 33 outfitters or private safari hunting companies operate in Campfire areas, where over 120,000 households benefit from the management of wildlife and from tourism. Safari hunting is the main source of revenue. Campfire is an example of resources raised from locally generated revenue being ploughed back into communities, a form of resource sharing.

4.2 Objectives and main components

The **objectives** of the programme are to link conservation and sustainable livelihoods in rural areas, where there are a few or no alternative sources of income. Sustainable NRM and decision making is difficult when communities have no ownership or secure rights over land and its natural resources. The policy framework for communal areas in Zimbabwe provides the right to manage and exploit natural resources but without adequately addressing the issue of ownership. This compromises the ability of local people, who bear the cost of resource management, to plan and execute livelihood activities.

Under Campfire, rural communities actively participate in the management of natural resources. The money that communities receive provides the incentive needed to manage natural resources sustainably. The Campfire experience has shown that interest in NRM is closely linked to the levels of benefits that are received at the community level. The more benefits they receive, the greater will be their interest and investment in natural resources.

To be successful, Campfire also depends on the rural district councils (RDCs), the activities of the Campfire Association and the private sector.

Below are some of the **activities** associated with effective CBNRM under Campfire. Most demand the provision of ongoing capacity building and technical support services. In support of CBNRM and sustainable development, the Association seeks to:

- Place priority on supporting the ability of community constituencies to develop and operate viable natural and cultural resources management activities as a strategy to increase the revenue base and to facilitate the devolution of natural resource management (NRM) to community level institutions;
- Ensure that the sustainability requirements and priorities of rural communities provide the basis for identification and selection of Campfire initiatives and priorities;
- Assist RDCs to maximise opportunities for introduction of CBNRM programming in their districts;
- Set and maintain standards for both community and RDC performance under Campfire's sustainable development principles;
- Work with communities and RDCs to articulate and define Campfire principles and to maintain sustainable use practices as an effective vehicle for biodiversity conservation and sustainable development;
- Open channels for greater participation and co-ordinate the involvement of both public and private sector actors in Campfire with regard to activities associated with NRM and sustainable development.

Community rights over natural resource use are an important precondition in the implementation of community-based conservation. These rights have created opportunities for sustainable economic development in Campfire areas, through the management of wildlife and other natural resources for the direct benefit of the local residents. The level of achievement is determined by the extent of decentralisation of control over wildlife and other natural resources to the community, and the willingness and capacity of the community to adopt NRM as a development strategy.

4.3 The type of funds provided

It is important that sufficient incentives exist for stakeholders to work with producer communities. It was against this background that Revenue Guidelines were put in place. The objectives of Campfire's Revenue Guidelines (Campfire, 2003) are:

- To provide an agreed framework that allows maximum financial benefits to reach communities who are managing natural resources;
- To establish a transparent and accountable set of principles that fairly allocate the financial benefits from Campfire among stakeholders; and
- To provide efficient, up-to-date and accurate information which can be used to monitor and guide the development of Campfire.

RDCs open a separate Campfire bank account for revenue from all Campfire activities. All revenue due to the producer communities and the Association must be disbursed within one month of receipt of such revenue.

Although over US\$10m has been provided to communities since 1989, this represents only 46% of the total revenue generated through CBNRM activities, threatening the Campfire principle that people living with the resources and who bear the full costs of resource management and control should benefit directly from the structured use of the resources. Since 1991 the relationship between rural district councils and Campfire communities was structured by a set of financial guidelines proposed by the then Department of National Parks and Wildlife Management (now the National Parks and Wildlife Management Authority). While the guidelines and the other 'understandings' that have evolved with Campfire have been sustained, there is concern about the lack of ownership that Campfire communities can exert over natural resources, potentially compromising their interests in managing natural resources in the future.

Extensive consultation with members in 2001 indicated the need to investigate the causes of declining revenue to communities and to develop new guidelines for managing and accounting for Campfire revenue (Nare, 2003). One of the major outcomes of this process was the endorsement and production of formal Campfire Revenue Guidelines by association members. Key features of the guidelines include:

- A commonly accepted definition of Campfire revenue that maximises benefits to communities without unduly prejudicing other responsibilities of the rural district councils;
- Explicit guidelines on the distribution of revenue, budgeting and accounting, tendering and management of safari hunting contracts applied to the programme; and
- Strengthening the role of the Campfire Association in revenue performance monitoring and reporting.

Under the Guidelines revenue is defined as "the gross revenue that accrues directly or indirectly out of a community-managed, natural resource. The gross revenue from income generating activities is treated as Campfire revenue and can be disbursed according to the following guidelines:

- Producer communities to receive not less than 55% of gross revenue;
- Management activities: RDCs may receive a maximum of 26% of gross revenue;
- RDC Levy: RDCs to receive a maximum of 15% of gross revenue;
- Campfire Association to receive 4% of gross revenue.

The Guidelines are an agreed set of principles and procedures. Members of the Campfire Association are bound by the Constitution to implement these principles and procedures.

The 2002 Guidelines were an improvement on the first Guidelines produced in 1991 that simply recommended that:

- At least 50% of the revenue go to the wildlife producer communities;
- Up to 35% of the revenue should be invested in wildlife management, and
- Up to 15% of revenue should go to the RDC as a levy for Campfire administration.

The weaknesses of the first Guidelines were that they focused on wildlife-based revenue but they did not define the sources of revenue, eg trophy fees or concession lease fees; and they were developed with very little stakeholder input and so were ignored by some RDCs.

The 2002 Campfire revenue Guidelines were developed by the members of the Campfire Association based on 12 years of experience implementing Campfire. The Association funded a study on the sources and uses of Campfire revenue and a workshop was held at which Campfire stakeholders met and agreed on the new Guidelines.

Table 11: Sources of Campfire revenue

Resource	Activities	Source of Revenue
Wildlife	Tourism - trophy hunting	Lease fees Daily fees Trophy fees % of gross revenue
	Tourism - photographic	Lease fees Daily fees % of gross revenue
	Other	Ivory sales Hide sales Meat sales Crocodile egg collection
Forestry	Commercial logging	Lease fees Logging fees
	Non-timber forest products	Beekeeping Mopani worms Fruit sales
Fisheries	Sport fishing	Lease fees Daily rates
Grass	Grazing Thatching	Grazing fees User fees
Other	Sand extraction	User fees

The general Campfire model is that RDCs lease out business opportunities based on natural resources to private sector partners. Most of the revenue earned is from wildlife-based activities. Over 90% of the revenue from these activities is from trophy or sport hunting leases with commercial safari operators. The balance of the revenue is from leases for other forms of tourism, and the sale of hides, ivory and other animal products. Since 2001 Campfire has actively sought to diversify the programme to include revenue from other sources.

Between 1989 and 2001 (inclusive) the income earned by RDCs with Appropriate Authority was US\$20m. The highest annual income was in 1999 when districts received revenue from trophy hunting and ivory sales.

4.4 What the funds are used for and how are projects/activities selected?

Producer communities

CBNRM activities ensure that producer communities manage their natural resources effectively. Examples of successful activities that are being successfully are:

- **Institutional development:** Individual households (producer communities) in a Campfire area are constituted into Committees. Producer communities acquire knowledge and skills in project proposal development, organisational development and project management, and management of revenues in a democratic, transparent and accountable manner.
- **Law enforcement:** Community-level resource monitors or game scouts are employed to monitor and apprehend anyone breaking national, district or locally-developed rules for resource use.
- **Contracting and monitoring commercial activities:** There is need to ensure that consumptive and non-consumptive commercial activities satisfy the needs of producer communities.
- **Managing human-wildlife conflicts:** Over the wet season, monitors mainly deal with problem animals, and assess and report crop damage. Other activities, such as electric fence maintenance, require ongoing maintenance.
- **Fire management:** Fire management programmes have been developed, and these in most cases require the purchase and maintenance of equipment.
- **Counting wildlife and quota setting:** For communities to manage wildlife effectively they must be equipped with skills to monitor changes in wildlife populations. Where these changes are significant they should be reflected in the off-take.
- **Development projects:** Fully or partially funded development projects from Campfire revenues are the most common investment made by communities. Generally, these projects are used to enhance existing social infrastructure such as school buildings, clinic buildings and dip tanks. Successful projects are those with clearly defined management and responsibility roles; realistic and current budgets, and that benefit most of the households in the community.
- **Direct incentives:** These are household dividends paid by communities to individual households. Household incentives are very effective at raising community awareness of the programme.
- **Income-generating projects:** These are secondary activities whose objectives are to earn further revenue and provide a service to the community. They are found throughout Campfire communities. Experience has shown that many of these projects fail because communities and their representative structures (such as ward wildlife committees) do not have the necessary skills, time or organisation to run business activities.
- **General management activities:** Producer community management activities include all the activities that are necessary to ensure that the community is able to manage natural

resources actively eg meetings, training, quota setting, project planning and resource monitoring.

Campfire was the first development programme that transferred the responsibility for large sums of money to rural communities. To use the Campfire revenue effectively, communities have developed financial management systems that are able to:

- To provide an **orderly system** for managing and recording income and expenditure of community funds;
- To provide an open and **transparent financial management system** so that people in the community have trust and faith in those handling Campfire revenue; and
- To provide **accurate and up-to-date information** for management, planning and budgeting purposes.

Annual summaries of past and proposed expenditure are presented at an Annual General Meeting (AGM). This allows community members to monitor and comment on how their representatives are using Campfire revenue. This information is also given to the RDCs for their records.

Rural District Councils

For their part, RDCs are entitled to a maximum of 15% of gross revenue as a levy and not more than 26% for Campfire and NRM activities. The overall policy for financial management by RDCs is set out in the Rural District Councils Act (1988) and the Accounting Handbook for Rural District Councils. These say that:

- Every council shall maintain proper books of accounts;
- The books shall be kept using double entry accounting principles;
- Every council will maintain a permanent record of moveable and immoveable assets.

These policies also apply to the financial administration of Campfire revenue and assets. Most importantly, the Accounting Handbook clearly prohibits loans between accounts. RDCs cannot use the Campfire account to make loans to other RDC accounts.

The RDC levy is set at a maximum of 15% of gross Campfire revenue. The levy should be paid from the Campfire account to the RDC's general account at the same time revenue is disbursed to producer communities. Once in the general account, the levy can be used for general council activities.

A management fee is set at a maximum of 26% of gross revenue. To balance income and costs to the RDCs, all appropriate NRM activities are transferred to sub-districts along with the disbursement of the management fee to the community. The activities and costs incurred by the RDC depend on the scale and complexity of Campfire activities in each district.

The RDC's management fee is not used for infrastructural development. Even when such projects are proposed to donors, RDCs need to be very careful about their long-term technical viability and who will bear the maintenance costs.

The type of expenditure of RDCs can be broken into programme management and co-ordination, resource management (eg anti-poaching), training and technical support, capital and other equipment (eg vehicle, office furniture, computers).

Campfire Association

The Campfire Association is the umbrella association of RDCs implementing the Campfire programme. The Association receives revenue in the form of membership fees and donor

grants funds and, in future, trust funds. The Association uses its revenue to represent and promote the interests of its members at national, regional and international level.

Under the Private Voluntary Organisations Act, the Campfire Association is required to produce an audited set of accounts on an annual basis. These are presented by the chairperson at the AGM.

4.5 The target groups

The Campfire programme emphasises the formation and development of democratic institutions at household, village, ward and district levels. In the Zimbabwean context, a village has up to one hundred households while a ward formed of six villages has about six hundred households. A district will have any number of wards and population varies. Local people elect their Campfire or Natural Resource Committees (NRCs) at various levels. These committees are a fusion of civic and traditional structures, which makes them very inclusive. The committees represent the interests of the local community and, to ensure that they perform their tasks efficiently, they are given training in leadership skills, bookkeeping and project management. The facilitators are from government and non-government organisations (NGOs).

The importance of democratic institutions is that decision-making becomes legitimate and locals are free to change their leadership. The target groups were thus selected through a participatory process involving all the major stakeholders. The target groups themselves were simply communities living on communal land which have significant wildlife recourses.

4.6 Types of structures involved in the process and their main roles

Key stakeholders are:

- **Producer Communities:** These are communities made up of households, which depend on, manage and live with the natural resources under their control. Decision-making is facilitated through village/ward Campfire committee structures. Trusts have also been developed for the management of small community enterprises or income-generating projects.
- **Rural District Councils:** Are responsible for the planning and administration of the district. They consist of elected representatives (councillors) who form the RDC and an executive, which administers decisions. Under chapter 20:27 of the Environmental Management Act, RDCs are responsible for the management of all natural resources on behalf of producer communities.
- The **Campfire Association** is a registered welfare organisation whose members are the RDCs who implement the programme. The Campfire Association leads and co-ordinates the roles of other supporting agencies, including government departments and NGOs.
- **Government departments:** Sustainable management of natural resources and protection of the environment is a statutory function of the government of Zimbabwe. Ministries and government departments, such as the Ministry of Environment and Tourism, the Ministry of Local Government, Public Works and National Housing, the Zimbabwe Parks and Wildlife Management Authority, the Environmental Management Agency and the Forestry Commission (a parastatal) continue to provide technical support and guidance for the development of Campfire.
- **NGOs:** Several NGOs have assisted with the development of Campfire over the last decade. They are also known as Campfire Service Providers.

Table 12: Campfire service providers

Status	Agency/department	Role
Lead CBO	Campfire Association	Programme co-ordination, policy communication, lobbying
Parastatal	National Parks and Wildlife Management Authority	Policies for wildlife, quota setting
NGO	Zimbabwe Trust	Training, capacity building, institution building
NGO	Action Magazine (a sub-unit of Zimbabwe Trust)	Environmental education
NGO	World Wildlife Fund	Biological monitoring, training in quota setting
NGO	Africa Resources Trust	International advocacy, public relations
Parastatal	Environmental Management Agency	Policy co-ordination, land-use planning
Parastatal	Forestry Commission	Woodland management, participatory approaches
NGO	Southern Alliance for Indigenous Resources	Participatory rural appraisal (PRA), woodland management
Government	Ministry of Local Government, Public Works and National Housing	Policies for local governance
University of Zimbabwe Department	Centre for Applied Social Sciences (CASS)	Applied sociological research, some policy studies

4.7 How were the target groups selected?

Campfire programme targets rural communities living on communal land where there are significant wildlife resources. In 2002 CAMPFIRE operated on land inhabited by 250,000 people across 22 districts (Global Eye, 2002). The target groups are thus extensive and broad within the country. Within these areas the programme helps the representative communities manage their environment in a sustainable manner and generates funds for the local community.

4.8 Planning process for the individual project/activity

Campfire is best understood in the context of the government's policy of 'conservation by utilisation', which focuses largely on wildlife. This policy was first applied on privately-owned commercial farms through the promulgation of the Parks and Wildlife Act in 1975, and then in communal areas through an amendment of the same Act in 1982. This enabled communities to take full control over wildlife resources in order to benefit from incentives created by the policy through the granting of Appropriate Authority to RDCs, the land management authorities in communal areas. In the absence of such rights, an individual cannot use wildlife for any purpose, and poaching of wildlife or 'illegal off-take' is an offence in terms of the law. The consumptive use of wildlife in communal areas is regulated through participatory quota setting.

The key institution for the implementation of the Campfire Programme at grassroots level is the RDC whose power to control occupation and the use of communal areas is well enshrined in the Communal Areas Act of 1982.

The post-independence institutional framework for development in Zimbabwe was established through the Prime Minister's Directive in 1984. The Directive formed the basis of the establishment of both formal and informal structures of development. One of the strengths of this system is the ability of ordinary heads of households to freely elect their local representatives into socially respected and legitimate institutions. VIDCOs are the fundamental local developmental planning units, representing 100 households or about 1,000 people. When six villages or VIDCOs (about 6,000 people) are put together for purposes of development planning, they form a Ward Development Committee (WADCO). Both institutions are formal social structures with recognisable or legitimately elected leaders, but cannot be constituted into legal entities. The RDC is the only democratically-elected body at district level that has legal identity and is constituted by Chapter 29:13 of the Rural District Councils Act. It comprises ward councillors who are elected by villagers in each ward. A councillor is both chairperson of the WADCO, and a representative of his or her ward in council, which administers the district. According to this original institutional structure chiefs or traditional leaders had no direct representation in the RDC, except as appointed 'special interest councillors'?

Campfire's design was influenced largely by these development structures. Individual households in a Campfire area usually constitute themselves into a **Village Wildlife Committee**, which reports to the **Ward Wildlife Committee**. In practice, the wildlife committees are either sub-committees of the VIDCOs and WADCOs, or they are independent bodies dedicated to the advancement of CBNRM, and usually separated from the general political and socio-economic concerns. Village and Ward Wildlife committees also generally include traditional leaders. This has important implications for decision-making and conflict resolution in CBNRM. At council level, natural resources issues are the responsibility of the District Wildlife or Natural Resources Conservation Committee, which is provided for in terms of the RDC Act. This Committee deals with all conservation and development issues and is therefore responsible for directly facilitating Campfire revenue generation in council. However, in reality, another committee rather than this one presides over the allocation of resources.

4.9 Description of decision-making process around the funds

In 1989 the household dividend for one ward, Masoka in Guruve, was a mere US\$10, but this represented an increase of 56% on household income from cotton, the most common land use option in the area. From 1996 onwards most communities dispensed with the method of exclusively distributing Campfire income as household or individual cash dividends, opting for essential infrastructure development and the establishment of income generating projects through collective decision-making.

In areas where communities have decision-making powers and receive tangible benefits, greater interest and investment in conservation is evident. Over the years, Campfire communities have applied their revenues towards a variety of community projects, including the purchase of tractors. The tractors are a vital form of draught power given low cattle numbers in marginal communal areas, as well as a form of transport to the nearest business centres, which are far and usually not serviced by public transportation. Communities that previously travelled long distances to the nearest health centres have also constructed clinics, leading to an improvement in health services. Primary and secondary schools were built in some areas, improving access to education in areas where this opportunity either did not exist or children used to walk impossible distances to the nearest school. In some cases, seasonal roads linking to main roads were constructed for easier accessibility to business centres. Most communities also operate grinding mills and other income-generating projects with books of accounts. Communities have established wildlife offices, and sponsored

various sporting activities in their areas. Safari hunting has also benefited communities through providing meat, but also by introducing radio communication between the wards and the district offices several kilometres away, and from the purchase of drought relief food in times of scarcity.

There are also a number of Acts of Parliament impinge on Campfire's activities, the most pertinent is the Parks and Wildlife Act (Chapter 20:14) of 1975, and amended in 1982. Part XII, Section 59 of the Act empowers the Minister of Environment and Tourism to conserve and protect the natural habitat and the wildlife therein in order that facilities and opportunities may be afforded to the public for camping, hunting, fishing, photography, viewing of animals or other pursuits permitted in terms of the Act. The Act confers proprietorship for wildlife utilisation and management across land tenure categories through the granting of 'appropriate authority' to resource users. Resource users, or producer communities in the case of Campfire, are local communities where wildlife is resident and protected. In general, not many wards are sufficiently rich in game to support separate viable hunting concessions. The Act therefore provides for the designation of RDCs, who administer communal areas, as the Appropriate Authority. This is the legal basis of Campfire, which makes RDCs an integral part of the programme, although in principle they are not the 'producers or ground managers' of wildlife. Campfire has therefore operated on the basis of guidelines issued by the Parks and Wildlife Management Authority obligating RDCs to hand over benefits or proceeds of wildlife and other natural resources, and managerial responsibilities, to resident communities.

4.10 Description of implementation process

The National Parks and Wildlife Management Authority supported by the Campfire Association and collaborating NGOs, advocated that the rural village should be the responsible unit for managing wildlife and other natural resources. However, the local authority, supported by its parent ministry was the legally recognised authority for decisions governing land and natural resources, to which all sub-units of communal organisation were accountable. The major issues were who would actually pay the costs for and reap the benefits from NRM, and what would be the relative and reciprocal rights and responsibilities between village, ward, and district units. Another issue was the relationship between modern and traditional authorities, and between these authorities and technical agents.

A fundamental requirement of an effective institution is a set of rules that establishes an authority whose legitimacy is recognised and accepted by those governed and by the state. Communities in Campfire implementing districts were assisted to draft natural resources legal instruments that are being used in biodiversity conservation. The by-laws such as those in Bulilima district of Matabeleland South regulate the use of wildlife, cutting of trees, harvesting of Mopani worms, harvesting of thatch grass and collection of ostrich eggs. Communities realised that the unregulated use of these resources could contribute to desertification and land degradation.

Communities have set defined times for all activities. In one of the Campfire wards local women were taken to task for collecting thatch grass before the stipulated time. A community meeting was convened with the specific intent to mete out justice to the offenders. Community control also means that no outsider can exploit the natural resources without permission.

When outsiders are blocked from wantonly exploiting natural resources, communities are in a better position to conserve, plan and redistribute the resources on relatively equal terms. In the past year, extension workers who service the district were stopped from collecting firewood in truck loads to markets outside the beneficiary wards because communities were not gaining anything. The issue is that when communities decide to put policies, rules and regulations in place to govern NRM and resource use, they already have reached high

organisational skills and consciousness of the value of their natural resources. Community self-regulation is indeed the most effective way of controlling natural resource use, according to a study conducted by CASS.

Communities have the right to use income as they see fit. The implementation of the funding process was fairly decided on at a community level. Money generated from Campfire activities is handed over to communities who immediately work out their plans and budgets. Communities themselves decide on whether to share the money as dividends or to embark on infrastructural projects of their choice. Popular infrastructural projects among communities in Campfire include:

- Installation of boreholes with engines for clean water;
- Pre-school, school and health clinic developments;
- Fencing of arable land to protect it from crop pests;
- Small dam/pan construction to supply water for people and wildlife;
- Road development;
- Maintenance funds for electric fences; and
- Payment to community members for removal of snares and construction of warehouses, shops and teachers' accommodation.

4.11 What accountability is there and how is it working?

The number of RDCs with Appropriate Authority increased from two in 1988 to eleven by 1990. This created a demand for technical and financial input to address emerging needs and the direction of the programme. There was need for the representation of the commonly perceived needs and interests of the districts with wildlife programmes as they emerged. There was also need to form a cohesive body to counteract the activities of international animal welfare groups lobbying against the consumptive use of wildlife and other natural resources that threatened to derail Zimbabwe's new conservation initiative based on adaptive management. These experiences led to the formation of an organising steering committee that culminated in the formation of Campfire Association in 1991. Campfire currently covers 56 out of 58 RDCs in Zimbabwe. The Association is guided by a Constitution (amended in 2003) and is a welfare organisation (W/O 15/94) registered in Zimbabwe in terms of chapter 93 of the Welfare Organisations Act.

For administrative purposes, the Association is made up of a General Assembly, which is the ultimate authority and governing entity of the Association. The General Assembly is made up of representatives of all participating Campfire Districts and meets annually. The Assembly is responsible for all matters pertaining to the Association, including:

- Vetting and revising policies of the Association proposed by the Board of Directors;
- Approving rules, regulations, and procedures related to the various activities of the Association. The General Assembly may delegate this function to the Board of Directors, as it deems appropriate;
- Electing and removing members of the Board;
- Approving the Annual Report and Financial Report submitted by the Board of Directors;
- Approving or rejecting proposed modifications to the Constitution of the Association.

An elected 14 member Board of Directors has the responsibility for formulating policy to guide the day-to-day management of the Association's affairs. Elections are held every four years.

For easier co-ordination and information exchange, member districts are divided into five non-administrative regions and meet regularly to discuss common problems and programme implementation issues. Community representatives also attend the meetings. Campfire Association officials and other support agencies (government and NGOs) also attend the meetings and present reports and work plans for discussion. Over time, regional meetings have transformed into effective forums that influence policy development as well as checking on the performance of the Board/secretariat and other support agencies. The Association has a secretariat headed by a director, and six other staff based in Harare.

Rights of communities under Campfire to benefit economically from conservation are enshrined in the philosophy of the programme, its operational principles and Constitution. With custodianship rights over wildlife and natural resources, communities enjoy rights to manage, sell, and benefit from wildlife. The right to manage wildlife resources is demonstrated by local communities' intimate knowledge of wildlife in their areas. All communities have experience in developing wildlife harvest quotas each year. Communities effectively manage wildlife not only by monitoring of changes in wildlife populations, but also reflecting such changes in the off-take quotas, as necessary. Hunts are usually successful when members of the community provide information about the most likely location of good trophy animals.

However, in communal areas, the only resources local communities own and control are livestock and crops, and not the land from which they derive livelihoods, let alone wildlife. This leads to a perception of wildlife as less an economic asset, and more of a real threat to their lives and investment in crops and livestock. Before colonialism and national economic and social transformation, wildlife was considered as both a source of food and cultural asset, and directly controlled at community level through traditional and customary structures.

Today in Zimbabwe, most communities are engaged in subsistence crop farming as an economic necessity, but under very difficult conditions. In the Zambezi Valley, for example, there is growing pressure from new settlers interested in cotton production, exacerbating wildlife habitat loss from settlement and uncontrolled fires. The challenge for Campfire is to empower communities to determine the commercial value of wildlife, in the same way as they do with domestic animals and crops, in addition to deciding how to prioritise the use of wildlife revenues. It is the prerogative of RDCs to engage the services for safari hunting operations and to sign the contracts, but communities must be consulted. To avoid mistrust, communities must be fully informed about decisions on the marketing of wildlife. Where this is not done, the attitude of communities towards wildlife becomes negative and often results in an increase in the level of snaring and poaching.

However, Campfire's experience demonstrates the right of communities to benefit from wildlife through a fair proportion of dividends, and to choose how to use the benefits. Consequently wildlife has not disappeared in communal areas. If this occurred, one of the few opportunities for sustainable economic development in such remote rural environments would be lost. There are new opportunities for greater community rights under the Environmental Management Act of 2002. The Act repeals the natural resources/agriculture and conservation committee under the Rural District Councils Act and substitutes them with an Environment Committee at RDC level, as well as Environment Sub-Committees below the RDC. As part of strengthening decision-making at sub-district level on environmental matters the new subcommittees, whose formation is being spearheaded by the Department of Natural Resources at national level, are legal entities with delegated powers over NRM.

The two original Campfire districts, Guruve and Nyaminyami, recently pioneered a new form of payment of dividends where all payments for safari operations are received and receipted by RDCs before distribution. On reconciliation of financial statements with the RDC, safari

operators in these districts can now make separate payments according to each category of Campfire beneficiaries, i.e. the respective community ward(s) 55%, project management 26%, RDC 15%, and Campfire Association 4%. Chiredzi district has been implementing similar arrangements since 2003.

4.12 Are disadvantaged groups able to access funds in practice?

As mentioned earlier there are numerous beneficiaries of the project and it stretches over 22 districts, focusing on rural communities living on communal land. Funding made available to each community in the scheme and the relevant community structures decide on the appropriate means to utilise these funds. In this regard disadvantaged groups and communities are able to access funds.

4.13 How does this link to development plans at local government level and below?

The Campfire Programme has provided a framework for institutional processes and decentralisation (Chikomo, 1998). The adoption of the local level committee structures is an effective NRM strategy. The Village Campfire Committee is the smallest unit put in place to address conservation issues. A more elaborate representative body – the Ward Campfire Committee - is established above the village committee. The ward committee encompasses the village committee chairpersons. The representatives form a district level institution in the form of the Interward Campfire Co-ordinating Committee whose purpose is to link the communities and the RDC.

The structure provides a framework through which locals communicate and arrive at decisions on how they can manage resources, establish and enforce operating rules for access to resources, continuously evaluate management functions and serve as a link between local people and government.

The institutions created under the Campfire programme parallel the institutional framework introduced by the government. The VIDCO is a planning unit for rural development, including Campfire. The VIDCO submits plans to the Ward Development Committee, which in turn reports to the RDC with the District Development Committee chaired by the District Administrator providing advisory services. The RDCs approve the plans.

It was realised that these government development structures are ineffective on their own as institutions spearheading development for rural areas in managing natural resources. They have a conflicting role of being community representatives on one hand and being policy makers on the other. They find it difficult to reconcile demand-driven community programmes of a controversial nature while at the same time being custodians of government top-down supply-driven programmes. Natural resource management committees were created on realisation that biodiversity concerns would not be addressed adequately if the institutional structures remained in this state.

4.14 What evidence is there of effective use/implementation?

Since 1996 a number of solar-powered electric fences have been constructed from donor funding and local community contribution to protect crops and homes although some, whose lifespan was about five years, are now disused. Although electric fences are top-priority projects for most communities, the capital and maintenance costs are high. Communities currently employ game scouts, paid from their wildlife accounts, to complement the RDCs' Problem Animal Control Units. The game scouts monitor and apprehend people breaking national, district or locally developed resource use rules. There is no insurance or any other form of compensation to affected communities for loss of property, crops, and even death,

except for standard funeral assistance provided by the community, RDC and local safari operators. In the early days, the RDC paid compensation, but without a proper claims assessment system. The communities set aside funds to cater for such eventualities as part of their annual Campfire revenues.

4.15 What evidence is there for impacts at community level?

The Campfire movement and its support structures have led to increased awareness of entitlements and rights and increasing demand for these at local level. Wildlife Committees have learned basic organisational and record-keeping skills. They maintain their own bank accounts, and hold regular minuted meetings. Women provide paid and voluntary labour, and participate actively in decision making. Registered community trusts, composed of both men and women, have been established for the eco-tourism ventures. Some communities have also benefited from the training of professional hunters from their areas by local safari operators. As a result, the wildlife areas have been maintained, and wildlife populations are increasing through sustainable off take.

By joining Campfire Association, RDCs subscribed to the principle of the devolution of the custodianship of wildlife resources to producer communities. Acceptance of this principle was a condition for government's conferment of appropriate authority status on the RDCs. Councils are obliged to ensure that producer communities are the principal beneficiaries of the benefits of their wildlife and other natural resources and the activities of the Association. On an annual basis, Campfire generates close to US\$3m from safari hunting operations. This revenue is predominantly derived from lease agreements with safari hunting companies, as well as local sales of hides and ivory, tourism leases on communal land and other sources. In addition to the direct fees paid to communities, there are other sources of Campfire income, including a proportion of safari operating expenses paid locally such as wages and salaries, and purchase of materials. Economic multipliers like taxidermy, travel, extended tourism activities, food and others also constitute Campfire's contribution to the national economy. If these revenue inflows are included, Campfire's impact on national income is at least US\$10m annually. If the multiplier on tourism activities is included, Campfire is worth US\$20-25m to Zimbabwe's economy each year.

4.16 What evidence is there for impacts on livelihoods at beneficiary level?

Campfire has facilitated the involvement of local NGOs and government agencies in the provision of diverse support services including training communities in financial management, organisational development and wildlife management, research and policy studies relevant to Campfire, environmental education, project feasibility studies, aerial surveys, habitat monitoring and economic analysis of Campfire revenue data. Between 1995 and 2002 over US\$5m was granted to five NGOs, under the USAID Natural Resources Management Programme support for Campfire. A further US\$300,000 to four government departments and other grants received from previous supporters of Campfire have also been paid. In 2003 Ford Foundation granted Campfire Association US\$165,000. The grant assisted Campfire Association in commencing activities relating to its Strategic Growth Initiative 2002-2005.

In June 2003 USAID commissioned an external review to look at the impact of its funding of Campfire, which came to an end after 13 years in September 2003 (Campfire, 2005). The evaluation looked at the general impact of Campfire on the lives of people living in areas with Campfire projects and on NRM. The review made the following observations:

Conservation impact

In the face of 10% population growth in some areas, and doubling of rural populations between 1980 and 2000:

- Wildlife areas have been demarcated and maintained;
- Elephant populations have increased steadily, and buffalo populations maintained (despite a sharp decline in 1992 drought);
- Trophy quality is largely maintained;
- With diversification, small 'community conserved areas' have been established or protected in non-wildlife eco-regions – Gairezi, Vhimba, Mavuradonna, Mazowe Mountain, caves in Matobo, and others;
- Reduction or containment of veldt fires in Chiredzi, Chipinge and Gokwe North districts;
- Poaching has been contained and there are reduced levels of illegal off take;
- Reduction in tree-felling.

Economic benefits

- Revenues from hunting have increased rapidly and have been maintained nationally at US\$1.5-2.5m annually;
- At least 12 high-end ecotourism projects are operational in communal areas, such as Ngami, Gorges, Bumi, Mahenye, and Masumu lodges;
- Increased number of households (from 7,861 in 1989 to over 120,000 in 2003) benefited directly in cash from wildlife and many of these communities made social investments and built small businesses;
- Secondary benefits are evident in terms of services, goods and supplies, and employment creation at local levels around successful tourism projects.

Diversification

- At least 18 middle range eco-tourism ventures have been developed, of which 4 have been completed – Nyanga, Vhimba, Banje, and Gonono;
- New areas of revenue have been promoted, eg fisheries in Beitbridge, Mazowe; honey collection in Nyanga, Gokwe South, and Masau (fruit) in Muzarabani and Guruve.

Devolution

- Campfire and its supported structures have increased awareness of entitlements and rights, and increased demand for these at local level;
- At least 17 trusts established at sub-district level, with seven functioning (bank accounts, regular minuted meetings, paid employees);
- In one hunting district (Chiredzi) and two eco-tourism projects (Gairezi and Karunga Trusts) payments are being made directly to sub-district level;
- The 2002 Campfire Revenue Guidelines reinforce principles of administrative devolution;
- There is full acceptance of the right of communities to utilize income as they see fit.

Institution and capacity building at sub-district, district and national levels

- Over 100 village and ward Campfire committees in 23 districts have learned basic organisational skills – bookkeeping, minutes, meetings, etc;
- Natural resource monitors and community leaders in particular have acquired wildlife management skills – setting quotas, selling wildlife, monitoring hunting, managing electric fences, problem animal monitoring, counting wildlife, ecological management;
- Systems of controlling off take of natural resources are in place, eg fish poachers fined, with fines paying guards and providing community benefit;

- Fire management implemented in four areas (Chipinge, Chiredzi, Gokwe North and Guruve);
- Campfire Support Units established at RDC level in 23 districts and are still providing training to sub-district levels in wildlife districts;
- Over 100 village and ward wildlife committees established and functioning;
- NRM by-laws and constitutions developed for use at village and ward level;
- Training of members of Board of Trustees provided;
- Asset management and books of accounts kept in order at RDC units ;
- In most producer wards basic record keeping is in place;
- Communities undertake project identification and implementation.

Governance

- High level of transparency and community participation in revenue distribution and use at village and ward levels;
- Campfire structures have provided a forum for high levels of community participation in decision-making on NRM and other issues;
- Generally, funds are well accounted for at sub-district level and in RDC Campfire Units;
- Campfire committees at village and ward levels are elected;
- Transparent flow of information at ward and village and between some wards and villages concerning issues, action plans and projects.

National, regional and international impact

- With broadening of base, Campfire enjoys a growing social and political acceptance at national level;
- Consumptive forms of wildlife utilisation and non-consumptive use of wildlife (eco-tourism) on communal lands have become acceptable forms of land use;
- Campfire principles have proved resilient and have spread to non-wildlife areas;
- Other countries in SADC (Botswana, Namibia, Zambia, Mozambique) have adopted Campfire principles adapting methodology and approach by devolving authority to sub-district community organisations rather than district level administrative units;
- Technologies developed by Campfire have been widely adopted in the region;
- Campfire has contributed significantly to promote acceptance of sustainable use principles at the international level;
- Campfire has put Zimbabwe squarely on the international scene by its activities in CITES (particularly 1997), becoming a fertile ground for research and learning and producing a vast amount of literature (over 300 publications) on CBNRM and common property resource management

Challenges

Despite these achievements, certain issues must be faced if the dynamic of the past is to be carried forward to an era of expanded application in civil environmental governance and sustainable natural resource use that contributes to rural poverty alleviation in Zimbabwe. Among these issues are:

- Further, nationwide, devolution in the Campfire programme to localised sub-district communal units of management and production;
- A more inclusive programme;
- Support for similar local initiatives, which have developed under the aegis of other programmes reflecting the same principles;
- The need for innovative approaches to local collaboration, which cut across standard tenure categories in the fluid context, produced by Zimbabwe's current resettlement and land reform programmes;

- The continuing need for initiatory assistance to impoverished but strongly motivated communities, which have the will but not the means to safeguard their environments;
- The continued provision of this assistance in a mode that is rapid in response and not dependent on the stop-start cycles of conventional donor assistance.

At present, CBNRM, conservation, and sustainable use of natural resources are not activities immediately pertinent to the primary strategic objectives of most funding agencies in Zimbabwe, and continued support to Campfire and similar organisations is limited. It is considered that a properly focused endowment trust would contribute significantly to the treatment of these issues.

In response to this challenge, a project has been underway in Campfire Association to establish a separate Trust whose sole purpose would be to seek local and foreign funding for the long-term sustainability of the programme. However the Association has not yet secured sufficient financial support to finalise the establishment and development of funding mechanisms for a Trust Fund.

PART B: SHORT CASE STUDIES

5 CBNRM Support Programme, Botswana

5.1 Project overview

Table 13: Project outline, CBNRM Support Programme, Botswana

Name	CBNRM Support Programme in Botswana
Location	Botswana
Funder	WWF/USAID
Investment amount	Unknown
Implementer	CBOs, NGOs, government departments, private sector
Status of project	The CBNRM programme is vibrant and is sharing lessons and experiences in southern Africa
Investment mechanism	Revenue sharing, CBNRM

Source: <http://www.cbnrm.bw>

5.2 Background

The CBNRM process is relatively new in Botswana. The Natural Resources Management Project (NRMP) (1989-1999) and the Department of National Parks are widely credited for the establishment of CBNRM projects, the first being the Chobe Enclave Conservation Trust (CECT) in 1993. The NRMP emphasised the establishment of CBNRM projects and offered support during their implementation. Initially, there was little attention given to the development and co-ordination of support agencies and for policy and legislative development. Both policy and legislative development continue to lag behind.

5.3 Objectives and components

Botswana is split up into administrative blocks called Controlled Hunting Areas (CHAs). Each area has a wildlife off-take quota designated by the Department of Wildlife and National Parks (DWNP). Some CHAs, such as protected areas, have a hunting quota of zero. Others are designated for community-use. Before 1995, only individual community members could apply for game licenses to hunt certain game for their consumption.

While CBNRM projects in Botswana are mostly associated with wildlife hunting and tourism, the projects cover a variety of activities and resources, including veldt products and cultural activities (RNRMP, 1997).

The CBNRM approach is economically suitable for Botswana especially in marginal areas with few development alternatives (western and northern Botswana) as it exploits key comparative advantages of the region (eg wildlife resources, scenic beauty, parks, low population density, stability and good international image). However, the economic potential of CBNRM projects is not fully exploited.

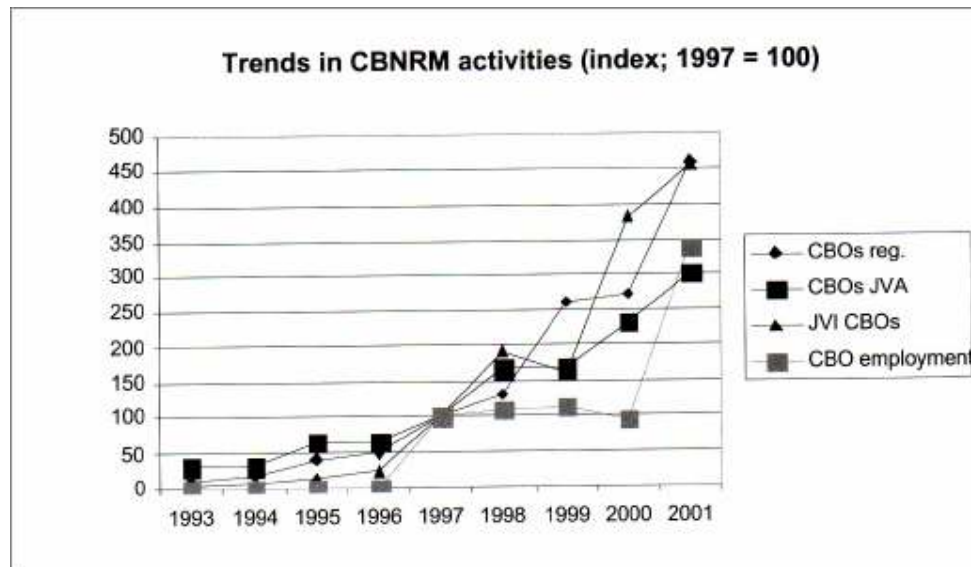
The CBNRM process in Botswana started without major NGO involvement. Government and NRMP drove the process and focused strongly on starting individual CBNRM projects. While the organisational landscape has changed and diversified, this early imbalance still persists, as no lead NGO supports the CBNRM process and no programme has been established. Organisations supporting the process include CBOs, private companies, NGOs, central and

local government institutions and donors. Communities and joint venture agreements (JVAs)/private enterprises are the direct CBNRM stakeholders, as they gain direct use rights.

5.4 Investment mechanism

The number of CBOs has grown in recent years and some of them are involved in Joint Venture Agreements (JVAs). Revenues from JVAs have grown to around 1 million Pula³ cash value for communities. This is regarded a lot of money for the mostly small CBNRM-villages. JVAs operate as the main cash cow of the CBNRM process (see figure 1 below).

Figure 1: Trends in CBNRM activities



Note: JVI = joint venture income. Data covers only some CBOs in Botswana and is incomplete. Y-axis is index (1997 = 100)

CBNRM projects are fairly evenly distributed over the country, but the largest revenues are realised in the Chobe and Ngamiland districts (96.5 % of total revenues). According to Botswana CBNRM status reports, CBOs managed to increase their JVA revenues by 24.6% between 2001 and 2002. The CBOs employ fewer than 100 people with an average employment of 21 employees per trust.

5.5 Type of funds provided and issues of accountability

Communities go into JVAs with the private sector (Arntzen *et al.*, 2003). Most of these companies are involved in safari hunting and sub-lease or underutilise the photographic safari component of the JVA. In general, JVA companies bring critical and scarce resources, like tourism and enterprise skills, access to markets and funding sources.

The link between companies and communities is often unsatisfactory due to differences in strategies and lack of understanding of each other's motives and strategies. Private

³ 1\$ = 6.15 Botswana Pulas on the 17th April 2006

companies pay substantial amounts to communities and many also deliver community funds or social responsibility programmes.

There are several challenges, including:

- Difficulties understanding and implementing organisational structures;
- Lack of capacity to separate policy making from day-to day administration;
- Concentrating decision making in a few individuals;
- Absence of clear, long term benefit distribution plans;
- Disempowerment of communities in some cases; and
- Inadequate financial management skills and controls.

5.6 Impacts on the community

CBNRM projects aim to increase local resource revenues to the benefit of rural livelihoods and rural development. Socio-economic impacts of the CBNRM projects in Botswana (Steiner and Rihoy, 1995) include:

- Revenues: these exceed more than 1 million pula (approximately \$162 000) for several wildlife-based CBOs;
- Employment creation estimated to be more than 1,500 jobs;
- Game meat and skins after safari hunts;
- Improved access to markets;
- Community funds from JVAs;
- Development of skills and increased accountability;
- Reduced dependence on government support;
- Local empowerment, pride development and self confidence; and
- Improved technology and product development.

5.7 Lessons

- CBNRM projects offer growth opportunities for commercial hunting, photo safaris and the commercial use of veldt products;
- The pooling of community and private sector resources could boost rural and community development;
- Management authority and rights to benefit should be devolved to the lowest possible level to have the maximum effect on behaviour change. Transparency and accountability are easier to achieve with smaller units and there are also logistical efficiencies;
- CBNRM structures should develop their own plans for integrated rural development;
- Participatory planning processes are important as they foster stakeholder co-ordination and a sense of ownership;
- CBNRM is one of the few sectors in Botswana that continues to attract financial and technical assistance from donors;
- CBNRM projects retain some productive youth in rural areas. The CBNRM projects demonstrate that rural projects can succeed; and
- CBNRM effectively gives an economic value to wildlife user rights, and therefore the consequences for communities of any changes in such rights need to be considered (eg lion hunting ban).

The case study shows that CBNRM projects are a valuable and if well managed, can provide a recipe for community empowerment over the use of their natural resources.

6 Mangaung Community-Based Planning project, South Africa

6.1 Project overview

Table 14: Project outline – Mangaung Community-Based Planning project

Name	Community-Based Planning (CBP) in Mangaung, Free State
Location (country and province)	South Africa, Free State
Funder	DFID
Investment amount	R2.1m
Implementer	Mangaung local municipality and Khanya-aicdd
Status of project	Completed
Investment mechanism	Wards funds, allocated by participatory planning process

6.2 Background

Mangaung was the first municipality in South Africa to implement CBP and it was implemented in all 43 wards, including cities, towns and rural areas and incorporating central business districts, squatter settlements, commercial farming areas, high density suburbs and the affluent suburbs. The whole process was undertaken between September 2001 and March 2002 (dplg, 2004).

CBP is a method of identifying appropriate local developmental interventions and potentially enabling these projects to be incorporated into municipal Integrated Development Plans (IDPs). It thus promotes a 'bottom up' and decentralised approach to development.

6.3 Objectives and components

The CBP concept is based on sustainable livelihood principles which stipulate that for effective pro-poor development interventions must be:

- People focused;
- Participatory and responsive;
- Based on strengths not just problems;
- Holistic;
- Based on partnerships;
- Economically, socially and institutionally sustainable;
- Flexible and dynamic.

One of the major findings of applying these sustainable livelihood principles in Africa was that people need to be active and involved in managing their own development (Khanya, 2000). CBP linked to local government systems is an opportunity to achieve this outcome.

As a developmental and funding mechanism CBP is carried out individually in each ward. However the whole process is co-ordinated by the controlling municipality. Some of the key elements of the methodology (Khanya, 2004) include:

- Developing ward plans facilitated by ward committees and municipal facilitators;
- Conducting a situational analysis of the livelihoods of identified social groups in the wards;
- Prioritising outcomes not problems;
- A standardised planning process which develops objectives, strategies and then projects to be undertaken by the community, by the municipality and by any other stakeholders;
- Linking information between the ward plans and the IDP;
- Implementation of actions/activities by communities based on some funds provided by municipalities to support community action (process funds), and which are released immediately.

6.4 Investment Mechanism

CBP is a method where individual wards draw up developmental plans allowing the ward committees and the constituents within the ward to identify their own developmental priorities. Funding is then allocated per ward to spend on their identified projects. Remaining projects which could not be funded through the allocated funds can then be incorporated and funded through the municipal IDP.

6.5 Type of funds provided and issues of accountability

An amount of R50,000 (7,000\$) was made available for each of the 43 wards in Mangaung local municipality for the CBP process. The funding was not a substantial amount and would not make drastic improvements in terms of job creation and poverty alleviation. However, the decentralised mechanism adopted in the process allowed communities to come together and take action for the future of their respective wards. The funding was a catalyst for this process. This type of fund is a discretionary fund which is defined in South Africa as funds made available to ward committees from the municipality to use at their discretion (Khanya, 2004).

How the money would be spent was decided in the ward plans and this was discussed in community meetings where the ward plan was fed back to the broader community. The ward committee was then able to request funding from the municipality for these terms and had to report back on how it was spent.

A number of issues on accountability of expenditure were raised in an evaluation of the Mangaung CBP intervention. The evaluation indicated that not all of the wards reviewed were able to account fully for their expenditure (Marais and Botes, 2002). However, an internal audit within the municipality indicated that the almost all of the funding (>95%) was spent appropriately.

6.6 Impacts on the community

The evaluation of the CBP process in Mangaung provided some indication of how the funds were used in 29 of the 43 wards.

Table 15 below, indicates that the funding provided by the CBP process made funds available to address issues in the wards, including projects initiated around: job creation, cleaning the environment, HIV/AIDS, safety and security and education. The money spent on priority issues such as job creation and HIV/AIDS is unlikely to solve or make a significant impact on the existing challenges in the municipality, in this regard R50,000 could well be considered inadequate. Another issue identified was the accountability of projects and groups that received funding through ward grants: for example in one ward amounts of

R3,000-R5,000 were given out for income-generating projects regardless of whether projects had a business plan or not. Thus there was limited control over the legitimacy and sustainability of these initiatives (Marais and Botes, 2002).

Part of the problem was due to some confusion as to whether the funds were for “projects” or rather, as originally intended, to support community action where small amounts of money could make a difference i.e. a discretionary fund.

Table 15: Money by project category Mangaung CBP process, 2002

Type of programme	Amount (R'000)	% of total
Job creation	181.2	17.46
CBD regeneration	0	0
Cleaning the environment	211.5	20.37
Community resilience	70.9	6.83
HIV/AIDS	156.7	15.09
Safety and security	158	15.22
Service excellence	31.2	3
Education	168.8	16.3
100% campaign	2.5	0.2
Sustainable shelter	7.8	0.8
Other	49.6	4.8
Total	1,038	100%

Source: Marais and Botes, 2002

6.7 Lessons

The CBP case study illustrates a number of points:

- Participatory approaches appear to be an effective means to target communities' needs;
- R50,000 per ward to address critical issues is insufficient to make major impacts in terms of unemployment and poverty. However the participatory planning process brought communities together to plan and the funding can be considered a catalyst for this. The benefits are often intangible, making it difficult to assess impact.
- In this regard it is debatable whether additional funding would have resulted in significant improvements to residents' livelihoods. However, in some municipalities such as eThekweni larger amounts are being used to support projects (eg R200 000 approximately \$28 000). This will provide evidence of the possible benefits of greater levels of funding.
- CBP is currently being scaled up in South Africa and it will be interesting to see if the discretionary fund model is realigned.

7 Mayibuye Ndlovu Development Programme (Addo CBNRM), South Africa

7.1 Project overview

Table 16: Project outline: Mayibuye Ndlovu Development Programme

Name	Mayibuye Ndlovu Development Programme (MNDP)
Location	Eastern Cape, South Africa
Funder	SANParks
Investment amount	Unsure
Implementer	SANParks
Status of project	Under implementation
Investment mechanism	Community Trust and Public Private Partnership

7.2 Background

The Mayibuye Ndlovu scheme was established in 1993 as a CBNRM-type development programme between the Nomathasanqa community and SANParks and in particular the Addo Elephant National Park. Its creation was largely fuelled by poor relations and tensions between the parks management and the surrounding communities. With the expansion of the Park additional communities were included in the programme and the relationship was formalised through a community forum (Mangcaka, 2006).

The structure of this relationship was altered and in 2005 the MNDP was formally established (Mangcaka, 2006). It was hoped that the newly created MNDP would become a recognised, legal and professional entity which could capitalise on future developments created by the Greater Addo National Park and extend these benefits to the eight constituency community groups. To achieve this outcome a community trust with a board of directors was established in 2005 (Clark, 2005). The MNDP is an example of a community structure (or trust) to support CBNRM, resource sharing and also implementation of community activities.

7.3 Objectives and components

The project began with a desire that the communities surrounding the Park, who often were in conflict over the use of the natural resources, should acquire more direct benefit from the Park than only the possibility of employment (Mangcaka, 2006).

The proposed objectives of the newly created Trust were to acquire and maintain the commercial right for the betterment of the beneficiaries including to:

- effectively manage and control financial benefits derived from the park;
- pursue and secure funding for projects prioritized by communities;
- effectively manage such projects to ensure maximum benefit to beneficiaries;
- address poverty and unemployment amongst its beneficiaries;
- be conscious of the need to conserve and protect the park environment (Clark, 2005)

The initiative is currently operating as a community trust and it has three newly created structures, viz. Mayibuye Ndlovu Development Trust (19 members), Mayibuye Ndlovu Development Programme Executive Council (10 members) and the Mayibuye Ndlovu Development Co-ordinator.

7.4 Investment Mechanism

The investment fund is based on CBNRM which “*involves the management of land and natural resources such as pastures, forests, fish, wildlife and water by groups of rural people through their local institutions. It has been popularised as a mechanism for the management of natural resources to safeguard livelihoods of local communities*” (Khanya, 2003). It is also a public-private partnership (PPP) between the communities surrounding the Park and SANParks.

7.5 Type of funds provided and issues of accountability

Five income-generating activities are linked directly to the Park:

- Probable investment in the Gorah Elephant Park and Nguni River Safari Lodge (greater than 25% share);
- Receiving 2% of gate fees for community LED projects from Matyholweni Gate (new gate);
- Receiving 2% of annual income from game culls and auctions;
- Access to use various natural plants for local markets;
- The promotion of cultural tourism linked to the park (Clark, 2005).

Thus primary funding comes through the established partnership with SANParks, an arrangement indicative of CBNRM-type initiatives. However, there are also other proposed mechanisms that the Trust hopes to use to generate socio-economic benefits for the communities, such as linking up with the Eastern Cape Development Corporation (ECDC) and government structures to promote their interests.

There is potential for significant funding to reach the communities through the partnership. The newly created Trust will be accountable for all the funds provided to them and are also capable of ensuring that SANParks holds itself to agreements.

7.6 Impacts on the community

Initially the agreement between the communities and the Park was primarily over the use of shared resources, which did not result in major improvements to the livelihoods of the respective communities. Between 1993 and 2004 public works programmes (PWPs) linked to the expansion of the Park were the main contributors to community income (Mangcaka, 2006). Ashley and Wolmer (2003) concur, indicating that there was little evidence of community development at the park mainly due to lack of capacity and commitment from both parties.

In terms of actual revenue received in 2005/06 the Community Trust only acquired R5,000 from gate receipts. Mangcaka (2006) believes that the newly-established initiatives will take time to generate positive impacts, pointing out that the Trust was soon expected to start receiving greater financial benefits from the partnership with the Park. These funds could then be directed towards community LED projects.

7.7 Lessons

The lack of impact to date and recent structural changes highlight a number of points:

- The initial lack of impact possibly could be attributed to limited capacity and formal powers of the forum. This illustrates the importance of establishing strong community institutions when entering into partnerships with other institutions;
- Open communication between partners in such a relationship is also a key to success and appears to be one of the hindrances experienced in the initial stages of the programme. In this regard it is essential that all partners are committed to the process;
- SANParks needs to recognise communities as an important partner and engage them as equals. Formal community structures will assist in this regard.

8 Umzimkhulu Private Sector-Community Forestry Partnership, South Africa

8.1 Project overview

Table 17: Project outline: Umzimkhulu Private Sector-Community Forestry Partnership

Name	Umzimkhulu Private Sector-Community Forestry Partnership
Location	Umzimkhulu, Eastern Cape, South Africa
Funder	Communities (through land reform grants) and initial funding through Mondi Forests
Investment amount	R2m from Mondi Forests
Implementer	Mondi representatives and community organisations
Status of project	Under implementation
Investment mechanism	Community trust, Partially funded through Land Acquisition Grants

8.2 Background

Apartheid 'betterment planning' in Umzimkhulu in the 1960s relocated outlying homesteads and kraals into dense rural settlements and agricultural land was consolidated under communal management. In 1995 Mondi, a large South African paper company, was looking to expand areas under forestation in order to supply its sawmill in Richard's Bay (Sistika, 2000). Mondi initiated the project in 1995 on the basis of engaging the communities who managed the communal land in a partnership to use the land. The partnership was complex and required the establishment of community management institutions to facilitate and oversee the process and to maintain relationships between the stakeholders (Howard *et al.*, 2005).

However, before farming operations had started Mondi withdrew from the venture. Peter Nixon and Themba Radebe, both of whom were important in establishing the partnership, resigned from Mondi and established 'Rural Forestry Management cc' (RFM). RFM now provides technical and managerial support for all forestry projects in Umzimkhulu (Howard *et al.*, 2005). Mondi Forests agreed to buy timber from the projects if no other markets were available, although this is not a binding agreement.

8.3 Objectives and components

In any partnership the objectives of the partners may differ making it difficult to identify a single 'holistic' objective for the project. The communities' primary objectives were to generate income through employment and to establish desirable community projects using revenue from dividends (Sistika, 2000).

Three communities are involved in the project: Mabandla (2,500 members), Zintwala (400) and Ngevu (1,500). They established similar organisational structures which included:

- Community Development Trusts, each with 12 trustees;
- Development companies under the name of each community, with trustees acting as the board of directors;
- The managing agency ('Rural Forest Management cc) (Sisitka, 2000).

The communities set up the trusts to administer the land reform grant funds which individual members had donated. Each trust established a development organisation to administer and manage the daily operations of the forestry initiatives.

8.4 Investment Mechanism

One mechanism used to fund the communities was the PPP, initially with Mondi Forests and then with Rural Forestry Management cc. Another mechanism was the community trust, established in each community to facilitate the PPP and to fund community initiatives through the dividends derived from the forestry activities.

8.5 Type of funds provided and issues of accountability

Initially Mondi provided a loan of R2m to the communities to plant forests on their commonages. The loans were to be repaid once the development companies were established. Despite pulling out from the project Mondi still plays a central role in the relationship through Rural Forestry Management cc (Sisitka, 2000).

The primary source of funding was from the Department of Land Affairs' Settlement/Land Acquisition Grant (SLAG) (Howard *et al.*, 2005). A large number of households in each community committed a portion of their R16,000 grants to the newly created development organisations to provide capital for the project and to ensure that these organisations had access to credit through the Land Bank (Sisitka, 2000).

The developmental organisations are accountable to the respective communities for the community projects.

8.6 Impacts on the community

Having only commenced in 1999, no harvesting or sale of timber has taken place yet and benefits to communities have been limited. However, communities do earn some income from the projects yearly though employment opportunities created by the projects.

In Mabandla the Trust has 2,500 members. The community earns a yearly income though the project through wages for example in 2005 about R295,000 was paid out in wages (R5,900/worker or R118/beneficiary). The expected gross value of the crop at maturity is an expected R30m (R12,000/beneficiary). In Ngevu there are 1,500 members and the expected yield of the forests at maturity is R14m (R9,333/beneficiaries). The community also generates revenue for beneficiaries yearly though wages eg in 2005 about R110,000 was paid out to workers (R3,667/worker or R317/member). Zintwala Trust only has 400 members and is the smallest of the Umzimkhulu projects. However, the plantation is expected to fetch R8m at maturity (R20,000/worker). Again like the other projects income is also generated through wages; in 2005 R56,000 was paid out in wages (R2,800/worker or R140/beneficiary) (Howard *et al.*, 2005).

The projects therefore are providing some employment, employment is rotated between members and is invariably irregular because of the large number of people involved (Sistika, 2000).

There are potential payouts for the communities once the forests have matured. However, Mondi's withdrawal does leave the communities exposed in terms of guaranteed markets.

8.7 Lessons

- The combination of a PPP and a community trust does have the potential to generate funds for communities. However, the nature of this relationship often tends to be skewed towards the commercial partners and can often leave the communities exposed.
- The initial relationship established with Mondi was a PPP however the current relationship with RFM is on a more equitable footing.
- The long period to maturity for trees means that communities will not see much short-term benefit other than low-paid employment. Additional short-term projects should be initiated in conjunction with the forestry initiative to meet livelihoods needs.
- If Rural Forestry Management cc had not stepped in once Mondi left the project it is quite possible that the whole project may have collapsed. In this regard before entering into these types of partnerships both parties should be contacted to uphold their side of agreements. This clearly indicates the importance of agents' roles within the process.

9 Village Banks, South Africa

9.1 Project overview

Table 18: Project outline: Village Banks

Name	Village Banks
Location	South Africa (initiated in the North West Province but extended to other provinces)
Funder	The initial funder was International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD); subsequent funding was received from other sources
Investment amount	Unknown
Implementor	IFAD
Status of project	A number of the village banks are still operational although the various structures implemented to support and assist these entities have collapsed
Investment mechanism	Village Bank/Saving schemes

9.2 Background

The project was initiated by IFAD which funded the initial components of the project, although subsequent phases were funded through a number of different sources. The village bank project started with three pilot banks located in North West province of South Africa. The purpose of the pilot studies was to develop the concept of a village bank and to determine its viability and impact in rural areas of southern Africa. The concept was developed because of a lack of cost-effective financial services available to poor rural communities in southern Africa, hindering their capacity to save and to invest (ECI Africa, 2003).

9.3 Objectives and components

Village banks were seen as possible mechanism for rural communities to access a range of financial services and gain access to credit. The banks predominantly targeted the rural areas although the models may also be applicable to the urban poor (ECI Africa, 2003).

Village banks are essentially member-based financial intermediaries and are grouped as 'third tier' banking institutions in South Africa (DRA, 2003). During the pilot study it was evident that there was a need for a governing body to provide centralised support for the newly created entities and two regulatory bodies were created to manage the village banks, viz. the Financial Services Association (FSA) and Finasol. These were recognised by the Registrar of Banks as regulatory bodies.

As an association for the village banks the FSA's envisaged role was to promote and assist the banks through training, support and direct financial contributions. Finasol was created in 1999 following calls for restructuring of the South African Sugar Association's Financial Aid Fund. The concept was based on a franchising system which linked the village banks according to the pilots. The franchising agreement provided initial start-up capital and assistance as well as continued support from Finasol. Both institutions subsequently collapsed. In 2002 the Department of Social Development discontinued funding for the FSA because of an apparent lack of capacity and accountability. Finasol also ceased functioning in the same year owing to lack of funding. Nevertheless, a number of the village banks created under their guidance and assistance remain operational (ECI Africa, 2003).

9.4 Investment Mechanism

The funding agent is a village bank. The Global Development Resource Centre (GDRC) (2006) indicates that this as a model which enables poor communities to establish their own credit and saving associations. The sponsoring agency makes a loan to a village bank which then makes loans to its members, relying on peer pressure and support among members to ensure repayment. The bank holds members' savings in an internal account and forms capital that the bank can lend or invest to increase its internal resource base.

9.5 Type of funds provided and issues of accountability

Both FSA and Finasol provided initial start up funds to the banks. The regulatory bodies provided the newly-created entities with initial loans to cover initial operating costs and other infrastructural requirements. The terms differed between the FSA and Finasol (ECI Africa, 2003). Initial funds of up to R120,000 were provided to the banks and members were required to pay an initial fee to allow the banks to recoup the initial investment (ECI Africa, 2003). The funds were, in effect, short-term loans.

The collapse of the two regulatory bodies was detrimental to the accountability of the banks. An estimated 62 village banks remain, with an estimated total membership of 60-80,000. However, no services are being provided to the banks and mismanagement of funds, administrative problems and a lack of auditing processes are severe threats. Despite this, some of the banks have increased their memberships and savings portfolios.

9.6 Impacts on the community

Studies conducted on the village banks found that members were appreciative of having access to banking facilities, and at more affordable rates than the big institutions, and generally found it easy to open accounts. It was also found that households using village banks had higher savings rates than those without access to any financial services (DRA, 2003).

9.7 Lessons

- Village banks are a relatively inexpensive means of providing funding to communities since initial investments are largely recoverable;
- The concept shows the capacity to empower rural communities and for the banks to act as vehicles of change at micro-level;
- The impact of the collapse of the FSA and Finasol shows a definite need for a centralised controlling body to provide support and guidance for the banks;
- Considering the cost effectiveness of the village banks themselves and the amount of impact they can generate it may be a worthwhile investment to fund a central body to provide assistance;
- Despite accountability concerns, the continued operation of some banks without support indicates that they do have the capacity to become self-sufficient after an initial period of support.

10 Gemi Diriya Village Organisations, Sri Lanka

10.1 Project overview

Table 19: Project outline: Gemi Diriya Village Organisations

Name	Gemi Diriya - Village Organisations
Location	Sri Lanka
Funder	World Bank/International Development Association (IDA)
Investment amount	US\$51m (first phase)
Implementer	Government of Sri Lanka and World Bank
Status of project	Under implementation
Investment mechanism	Community Investment Fund (Similar to Social Investment Fund)

10.2 Background

A quarter of Sri Lanka is considered poor, with 90% of the population living in rural areas. The Government of Sri Lanka (GoSL) initiated the Village Self-Help Learning Initiative (VSHLI) in three villages in the North-Central province in response. Due to its success the GoSL wished to scale up the programme as a major tool for poverty eradication and entered into a partnership with the World Bank to initiate the 'Gemi Diriya' programme in October 2004. The program is a community-driven development model and at its heart is the village-based organisation (VO), a membership-based organisation registered as a 'peoples' company under the Sri Lankan Companies Act (Hayward and Verardo, 2006).

10.3 Objectives and components

The programme aims to improve community access to social and economic infrastructure and services for productive activities. It also aims to facilitate the development of systems, policies and procedures that allow government to transfer funds directly to the communities and provide them with technical support (World Bank, 2004a). The first phase provides support for a four-year period supported by a US\$51m IDA grant. It focuses primarily on the Uva and Southern provinces with the aim of reaching 1,000 village communities (World Bank, 2004). Phase 2 will be dependent on a number of 'performance triggers' linked to phase 1: eg 60% of the VOs established in the first phase have managed to acquire village development funds (VDFs) while still complying with the various criteria required by the bank. Performance triggers will also be used to initiate phase 3 of the programme although they will only be decided on during the implementation stages of phase 2 (World Bank, 2004a). Each of the phases comprise a number of components/stages:

- Empowerment of communities and building community organisations eg VOs;
- Situational development process, including the formation and strengthening of federations of VOs and building accountable and demand-responsive local governments; and
- Forging partnerships between federations of VOs, local government, financial institutions, the private sector, etc

10.4 Investment Mechanism

The primary method of acquiring community funding is through the establishment of VOs. Once established the VOs are “responsible for prioritising and managing local development needs and funds, including investments in productive infrastructure and economic livelihoods” (Hayward and Verardo, 2006).

10.5 Type of funds provided and issues of accountability

The primary funding mechanism is through the VOs with access to a VDF established through donor funds. The VDF funds the VOs in capacity building, community infrastructure service sub-projects and livelihood support (Hayward and Verardo, 2006).

The project is run by the Gemi Diriya Foundation (GDF), a registered company headed by a CEO and a Board of Directors. The GDF is required to maintain financial transparency and adhere to financial norms (ESL, 2006).

10.6 Impacts on the community

The programme is relatively new, making measurement of impacts challenging, particularly following the devastation of the tsunami in 2004.

11 Mangaung University-Community Partnership Programme (MUCPP), South Africa

11.1 Project overview

Table 20: Project outline: Mangaung University-Community Partnership Programme

Name	Mangaung University-Community Partnership Programme (MUCPP)
Location	Mangaung, Free State, South Africa
Funder	Kellogg Foundation
Investment amount	Unknown
Implementer	University of the Free State
Status of project	Under implementation
Investment mechanism	Community Trust and Partnership between Community and the University

11.2 Background

The Mangaung University-Community Partnership Programme (MUCPP) was established in 1991 through a partnership with the Kellogg Foundation and the University of the Free State (UFS). The project came into being after the Kellogg Foundation issued a global call for universities to submit proposals for a community partnership programme. The UFS was one of seven selected to receive funding (MUCPP, 2006).

Initially the MUCPP focused on health services and other health-related issues affecting communities in Mangaung. However, community workshops held in 1992 prioritised the following as the most pressing needs:

- Poverty and disempowerment;
- Basic needs such as housing, roads, water, sewerage disposal, electricity and recreational facilities;
- Social services for women, children and the aged;
- Social problems such as teenage pregnancies and substance abuse;
- Lack of early learning opportunities and school readiness;
- Adult illiteracy;
- The unavailability and inaccessibility of medical services and the insensitivity of health care personnel.

It became clear that community needs were extensive and extended far beyond the provision of basic health services. Accordingly UFS, supported by Kellogg, decided to adopt a wider approach.

11.3 Objectives and components

The overall objective of the MUCPP is to facilitate community development programmes, develop skills and stimulate sustainable livelihoods (Mokoena, 2006). The focus areas of the partnership are economic development, operationalisation and management of district health systems, and education and training of health personnel (MUCPP, 2006). The programme sponsors a health centre and facilitates or provides support to a few specific interventions.

The constitution of the partnership stipulates that 60% of the board must comprise community members (Mokoena, 2006).

11.4 Investment Mechanism

The MUCPP is a linked community trust, a trust that is linked between two or more institutions (in this case the communities in Mangaung and UFS). It is not a standard trust in the sense that it does not provide funding or grants to charities or community groups, apart from a health care centre (Mokoena, 2006). The constitution of the partnership stipulates that 60% of the board must comprise community members (Mokoena, 2006).

11.5 Type of funds provided and issues of accountability

The MUCPP acts primarily as a facilitator between the community and external donors. Often funds are not directly available to communities. MUCPP also assists the communities in specific projects. For example it runs a small-scale farming project linking emerging farmers with agricultural advisors from UFS. It also runs a small, medium and micro enterprise (SMME) support programme which offers basic training and business management skills, and a youth support service. These programmes offer technical support and assistance to respective groups in the communities without providing them with direct finance (Mokoena, 2006).

The MUCPP was established as a community trust and is accountable to the donors for the funds provided to them.

11.6 Impacts on the community

The MUCPP has had a positive impact on communities. The health centre reaches approximately 300 people a day (MUCPP, 2006). According to Mokoena (2006) the support and training provided to emerging farmers, SMMEs and youth groups are relatively successful although there is little formal evidence of this is.

11.7 Lessons

- In a partnership agreement resources are more readily available making it easier to ensure sustainability of an initiative and the building of a trust with active organisations in the area can create a dynamic organisation.
- Mokoena (2006) believes the programme could be more effective if integration of developmental activities provided by other institutions could be achieved.

12 Madikwe Initiative, South Africa

12.1 Project overview

Table 21: Project outline - Madikwe Initiative

Name	Madikwe Initiative
Location	North West province, South Africa
Funder	DIFD and North West Parks and Tourism Board
Investment amount	Unknown
Implementer	North West Parks and Tourism Board
Status of project	Under implementation
Investment mechanism	PPP involving the community and other stakeholders

12.2 Background

The Madikwe Game Reserve (MGR) is a 75,000ha 'big five' game reserve located in the North West province of South Africa. Established in 1991, it was designed to become a driver of LED in the region since it was anticipated that it would generate 150 times more jobs with higher wage rates than the then-dominant cattle farming (Theta, 2006). The North West Parks and Tourism Board (NWPB), with Department for International Development (DIFD) support, initiated the Madikwe Initiative, a community development/funding programme (Monchusi, 2001). The programme which was initiated in 1998 was funded by a number of local and international funders. At the helm of the project was a committee of key stakeholders including representatives from the surrounding communities. Another key element of the in initiative was to grant local communities commercial right in the protected area. (CDE, 2006).

12.3 Objectives and components

The primary aim of the Madikwe Initiative is to promote and enhance rural development in the three villages surrounding the MGR, viz. Supingstad, Lekgophung and Molatedi. The initiative aims to maximise the economic benefits created through the reserve to the village economies (Monchusi, 2001). As mentioned this was done by giving the respective communities commercial rights within the reserve. However, in order to take advantage of this opportunity the local communities needed to form legal structures which would represent their interests.

The Reserve is also committed to contribute 10% of the Park's profits to community development projects through the initiative.

12.4 Investment Mechanism

The initiative is a PPP. Essentially the Madikwe Initiative attempts to establish a mutually beneficial relationship between the Reserve and the surrounding communities. This is controlled through a steering committee representing all stakeholders including the surrounding communities.

12.5 Type of funds provided and issues of accountability

The MGR has 25 lodges worth over R250m with more planned (National Treasury, 2006). The communities benefit directly through employment and SMME opportunities. A proportion of the reserve's profits are meant to be directed to communities although no evidence was collected on the amount that had actually reached communities.

The Reserve also offers other direct opportunities to the surrounding communities. Some villages were authorised to open their own lodges. The steering committee facilitated the process, assisting the community in acquiring private capital and government grants for the venture. This led to the establishment of the Lekgophung community lodge called Buffalo Ridge, run by the Lekgophung Community Trust although currently managed by a private company called Nature's Workshop (Gallagher, 2006). The plan is to hand the lodge to community management once it is sustainable. The Molatedi community is likely to establish its own lodge in time (Nel, 2005) but will need to establish a community structure before this can be achieved.

The initiative is operational and the steering committee ensures that the process and procedures of final distributed to the respective communities are transparent in a sense making the steering committee accountable to the communities. However there is evidence to suggest that some stakeholders often view community participation in running the reserve as unnecessary, leading to a sidelining of their opinions (IUCN, 2000).

12.6 Impacts on the community

The communities have benefited from employment and through training and skills development programmes implemented by private lodges. However, there does not seem to be a sense of ownership of the park. Little evidence was found to suggest that development activities funded from park revenues have led to improvements in the lives of the residents or what amount of funding the communities were actually receiving.

It is a long process for lodges to become sustainable and self managed and the communities are unlikely to reap any short term rewards (Gallagher, 2006). Communities often get disillusioned with the process as the lodges do not bring about any immediate improvement in their livelihoods. While the Madikwe Reserve has grown significantly over the last 15 years, the wealth has been slow to spread to the surrounding communities, leading to frustrations.

12.7 Lessons

- The relationship between the Reserve and communities tends to be skewed in favour of the Reserve. This is reflected by the inputs of communities often getting ignored, despite the fact that the local committees are represented in the steering committee;
- The communities appear to lack a full understanding of the initiative and often see the only benefit of the project as employment creation;
- A sense of community ownership is missing as they do not actually own the park, the programmes or the processes. In this regard their feelings are legitimate. In this regard the project needs to be restructured to give communities greater control and tangible benefits for their involvement.
- A considerable amount of work is still needed on this model if it is going to have significant benefits for the surrounding communities.

13 Kalomo Pilot Social Cash Transfer Scheme, Zambia

13.1 Project overview

Table 22: Project outline – Kalomo Pilot Social Cash Transfer Scheme

Name	Kalomo Pilot Social Cash Transfer Scheme
Location	Zambia, Kalomo District
Funder	Government of Zambia
Investment amount	Unknown
Implementer	Ministry of Community Development and Social Services
Status of project	Pilot completed
Investment mechanism	Cash transfers

13.2 Background

The Kalomo District Pilot Social Cash Transfer Scheme was initiated by the Government of Zambia (GoZ) in November 2003 with support from the German Government. The scheme was implemented by the Department of Social Welfare's Public Welfare Assistance Scheme (PWAS) in the Ministry of Community Development and Social Services (MCDSS) and was piloted for two years. The main hypothesis for the pilot project was that cash transfers are the most appropriate and cost-effective tool to reduce hunger and suffering in critically poor and incapacitated households.

13.3 Objectives and components

The two key objectives of the project were:

- To reduce extreme poverty, hunger and starvation in approximately 1,000 households with limited self-potential in the pilot region;
- To generate information on the feasibility, costs and benefits of a social cash transfer scheme as a component of a social protection strategy.

The project focused mainly on households headed by the elderly, and those caring for OVC because adults in these households are chronically sick or have died because of AIDS or other reasons.

13.4 Investment Mechanism

The pilot was a government-driven social assistance programme and an example of a cash transfer programme.

13.5 Type of funds provided and issues of accountability

The project provided cash transfers for AIDS-affected, incapacitated and destitute households. Each of the 1,027 targeted households initially received a monthly cash transfer of ZmK30,000 (equivalent to US\$6), enough to buy a 50kg bag of maize. However, the transfer was inadequate to meet basic needs and was increased subsequently to ZmK40,000 (US\$8) to households with children.

The money was paid to beneficiaries through a local bank account or through pay points in schools and health centres. Local community committees identified the 10% most needy recipients based on an agreed selection criteria. The criteria included those who were extremely needy - who have only one meal/day or who depend on begging, households without an able-bodied adult fit for work or households with a dependency ratio of over 300% (three adult equivalents for every person generating an income).

13.6 Impacts on the community

The project had a number of positive impacts on the community:

- **Spending patterns:** Transfers were used to support a diversified range of needs such as purchasing food (maize meal, vegetables, meat), groceries (soap, paraffin, matches, candles), household items (blankets, clothes), services (health, transport, education) and assets (chickens, pigs), supporting income-generating activities (farming, trading) and covering social costs (funerals, community groups and savings).
- **Impact on household poverty and food security:** A key use of transfers was to purchase food to meet household food requirements. Beneficiaries were able to retain their maize crop after the harvest, using the transfer to meet essential expenses instead of selling their maize cheaply at harvest time and buying it back at a higher cost months after harvesting, which used to be the case in the past.
- **Dietary diversification:** The increased consumption of cereals was accompanied with increased consumption of cooking oil and animal fat. The number of households consuming protein rich foods also increased.
- **Income poverty reduction:** Generally cash transfers can generate income multipliers that have second round impacts on poverty reduction. Beneficiaries of the transfer purchased maize locally: 63% from neighbours, 11% from shops and 7% from rural traders (MCDSS/PWAS/GTZ 2005). Livestock and other services were also purchased from neighbours.
- **Income generation:** A proportion of the transfer was invested in small-scale enterprise development, as working capital (for petty trading) or to purchase essential inputs (such as seeds or fertiliser for farming) and assets (tools, livestock).
- **Access to services:** Part of the transfer was spent on service-related costs such as basic education and health care, transport and hygiene.

13.7 Lessons

- **Targeting criteria and procedures:** The debate about targeting transfers has two aspects: *whether* to target, and *how* to target. The case for targeting is usually made on cost-effectiveness and equity grounds. With a limited public budget for social transfers, it seems sensible and fair to allocate these transfers to those who need them most. However, this is a complex decision and the decision to target and the mechanisms used to target are not a matter of ideology but of identifying what will be most effective in any given circumstance.
- **Proxy indicators and means testing:** Successful targeting must be both *technically robust* (accurate) and *socially acceptable*. To satisfy programme administrators, it must correctly identify the intended beneficiaries.
- To be acceptable to the communities in which beneficiaries live, targeting must be acceptably fair and must not generate resentment. This aspect is often neglected. One way around these challenges is to complement the cash transfer with other forms of assistance that people can access if they do not fall into the group defined as eligible for the grant.

- **Community involvement in targeting:** This is where communities are asked to decide which of their members are the poorest, and to allocate a limited amount of external resources to them. Lessons from this and other experiences in the region show mixed results. Giving communities the responsibility for selecting beneficiaries can be extremely divisive.
- **Capacity issues:** Government capacity to run national programmes is often limited, and there are real challenges in overcoming capacity constraints.
- **Cost-effectiveness:** Regular transfers cost a lot more than one-off payments, so issues of affordability and cost effectiveness become important considerations. The costs of implementing cash transfer programmes include the payment itself (multiplied by the number of beneficiaries and the frequency of delivery), administrative personnel (salaries and expenses), transport (vehicles, fuel and maintenance), handling costs (bank charges, security guards) and office equipment (stationery, computers). Since one objective of these programmes is to maximise transfers to beneficiaries, managers often face pressure to minimise overheads, by keeping operating costs as low as possible.
- To bring about meaningful and sustained change, the challenges of methods of delivery, capacity building and cost effectiveness needed to be addressed.

14 Aga Khan Rural Support Programme, Pakistan

14.1 Project overview

Table 23: Project outline – Aga Khan Rural Support Programme

Name	Aga Khan Rural Support Programme (AKRSP)
Location	Chitral District, Pakistan
Funder	The Aga Khan Foundation network and a large number of donors including CIDA, Alberta Aid, MDC (Netherlands), USAID, ODA, the EEC, Oxfam and the Ford Foundation.
Investment amount	US\$6m annually
Implementer	Aga Khan Foundation
Status of project	unknown
Investment mechanism	Village saving schemes, used for credit

Source: AKF, 1995

14.2 Background

For centuries, Northern Pakistan has remained isolated from the rest of the world and until recently the economy of the area was mainly dependent on the barter system. The farmers lacked capital, skills, organisation and other developmental resources. The provision of small amounts of capital would allow people to acquire agricultural inputs and develop markets.

The AKRSP was conceived as a unique approach to fostering the development of rural people. Its purpose is to involve the people of three remote districts of Northern Pakistan in their own self-sustaining development, and to provide a model of rural development applicable in other settings. The program was designed to benefit the small, subsistence-orientated farmers living in the mountain regions of Northern Pakistan.

14.3 Objectives and components

AKRSP aims to improve the quality of life of the people in the programme area through institutional development at grassroots level. The initial objective of the programme was to make credit available to a large number of small farmers who were bypassed by most institutional creditors because of the high administrative costs in advancing and then recovering thousands of small loans. In the 1980s small farmers in the northern regions needed no more than Rs.250 on average as a crop loan. However, no bank could afford to advance hundreds and thousands of such small loans and recover them.

An innovative solution was needed to overcome this problem. The AKRSP fostered a framework of grassroots institutions, bringing small farmers into the fold of village/women's organisations (V/WOs). A climate of trust and credibility had to be created. AKRSP credit officers and social organisers took cash to disburse loans and accept savings and loan recoveries where branches of scheduled banks were not easily accessible to V/WOs. The short-term production loans financed by AKRSP were guaranteed by the Habib Bank and the number of loan requests began increasing.

A decade later, farmers have turned barren land into productive pastures. There are now a thousand village organisations with around 90,000 members. The pay-back rate on the loans is around 98%. The formation of capital at all levels and creating accessibility to financial resources was one of the essential approaches of AKRSP.

AKRSP relied on three well-tested principles of small farmers' development: organisation for collective management; capital generation through regular savings; and upgrading of skills through training. Village residents are organised into local institutions (V/WOs), and office bearers (President and Manager, selected from and by the members) independently manage the affairs of the V/WOs.

14.4 Investment Mechanism

Under the terms of partnership between AKRSP and the communities, each V/WO member is required to contribute at each meeting to the collective savings according to his/her financial capacity. The savings are deposited in an account at the nearest branch of a scheduled bank in the name of the V/WO, jointly operated by the office bearers. These savings serve as collateral for obtaining credit for the members. Generation of capital by the small farmer is a prerequisite for AKRSP's support.

Through the region-wide replication of the model, small farmers of the northern areas and Chitral have developed a mechanism for actively participating in development initiatives that directly affect their well-being.

14.5 Type of funds provided and issues of accountability

Savings programme: The savings programme aims to promote a capital base through the process of regular savings in order to provide accessibility to credit, and improve financial and managerial skills through training in book keeping and credit management.

Credit programmes: AKRSP recognised that entrepreneurs need credit to kick start local economic activity. In response it set up a commercial credit fund to support local entrepreneurs. The V/WO credit programme facilitates the V/WOs' promotion of the overall development process by providing members access to credit opportunities in the village. The underlying objective is to instil financial discipline at the V/WO level by undertaking responsibility and administration of the credit operation which will lead towards the permanency of institutions. A micro-enterprise credit programme caters for the working capital needs of existing and potential entrepreneurs, starting with small amounts and building a positive history of credit use for productive investments.

14.6 Impacts on the community

Comprehensive household income surveys, undertaken for the first time in 1992, do not provide a basis for an overall quantitative assessment of the programme's impact on the targeted population. However, AKRSP has monitored the implementation of its development instruments and undertaken studies to evaluate their effectiveness. Together with secondary data this provides a reasonable basis for programme evaluation.

Average household income almost doubled in real terms during the programme implementation period. The basic production system of most households - a mixture of agricultural/livestock production and off-farm, often non-agricultural, use of family labour - has not changed. However, agriculture remains a major source of household income, and improvements in agriculture have made a contribution to income improvement.

The land area under cultivation increased substantially due to productive physical infrastructure projects, which have enhanced the supply of irrigation water. This was important for the expansion of cash crops such as fruit and vegetables, and also for forestry, which has a longer-term benefit, and alfalfa as a fodder crop. Improved access to inputs and

marketing through programme services and improved village access have complemented the improvement in the resource base, resulting in greater productivity and lower unit costs of production.

Credit became more easily accessible enabling households to purchase more inputs and hold onto produce when prices are low. Women members of households have benefited from special programmes through WOs, including vegetable and small-scale poultry production, and have realised a degree of independence by having their own personal savings accounts. Due to cultural constraints, women were unable to sit in VO forums and discuss their problems. However, since the women's credit programme was started 700 women's organisations have been formed. The women meet weekly to pay in what they have saved, to discuss new loans and develop new plans to save and earn money.

However, not all programme activities were equally successful, and major adjustments need to be made to improve the effectiveness of some development instruments. The persistence of the typical household economy model, in which nearly half of the income is non-farm related, emphasises the need to examine longer-term prospects and opportunities in designing support strategies.

14.7 Lessons

The program itself is a novel and unique approach to the development of rural people and is now in its ninth year of implementation. It is also having a significant impact on the rural populations within the target areas within Pakistan, which was illustrated on the sections above. The programme itself provides a number of pertinent lessons.

- The project has had a massive impact on rural communities in Pakistan particularly where the residents are generally poor, uneducated and the villages themselves are poorly served by government and lack basic infrastructure.
- The method of strengthening local institutional capacity via the creation of Village organisations has been central to the success of the project.
- The structures and methodologies used in the programme can be duplicated in other poor regions and countries. To some extent the success of this will be dependant on the sectoral policy environment.
- The project also supports the view that for state run developmental strategies the most effective implementing bodies are run by autonomous yet accountable parastatal bodies.

(World Bank, 2007b)

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