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**Final Evaluation:
Social Science and
Economics Program
(Formerly Wildlands and
Human Needs Program)**

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Preface

The Wildlands and Human Needs matching grant has been an important initiative for World Wildlife Fund. Its central theme is the introduction of a local or community economic development component into conservation projects. The essential assumption is that fostering local economic development will ease the pressures that cause people to abuse and destroy natural resources, including protected areas and other types of nature preserves. If this assumption is valid, the program will have developed important new approaches for use by the wider environmental community.

Traditional approaches to management of national parks, wildlife reserves, and other types of protected areas have failed to stem an increasing tide of human incursions and resource destruction. In part this is due to insufficient funding that leaves protected areas without the staff, infrastructure, training, and equipment necessary for adequate management. But traditional management approaches, focusing on resource inventories, boundary demarcation, education, and enforcement, may be inherently inadequate when those who seek to claim protected-area resources have nowhere else to turn.

In response, WWF has launched what it calls integrated conservation and development projects, or ICDPs. These projects attempt to ensure the conservation of biological diversity by reconciling the management of protected areas with the social and economic needs of local people. The smaller ICDPs include biosphere reserves, multiple-use areas, and a variety of initiatives on the boundaries of protected areas, including buffer zones. Larger projects include the implementation of regional land use plans with protected area components, as well as large-scale development projects with links to nearby protected areas.

Undertaking local economic development for conservationist ends has proved far more complex than initially thought. It involves community organization and resource management, agricultural development, NGO strengthening, national policy issues such as land tenure, and more. Local NGOs and WWF in-country staff make a valiant effort to tackle all these issues, but in the end they cannot do everything equally well. Thus the role of the Wildlands and Human Needs personnel (now part of WWF's Social Science and Economics program) is to provide information, supply technical assistance for local economic development, network among NGOs, and oversee studies and evaluations. The program should serve to develop WWF's understanding of the circumstances in which economic development and biodiversity conservation can be complementary, what approaches are most effective, and why. It should also serve to help WWF staff worldwide understand and apply the lessons learned.

This final evaluation of the program was carried out in a collaborative fashion under somewhat unique circumstances. As the new name implies, the program had been changing. As a result of its midterm evaluation and subsequent contract amendment, and structural changes in WWF as a whole, the Wildlands/SSE program moved to WWF's Research and Development division, stopped managing projects directly, and became a technical assistance and research unit serving projects managed by WWF's regional divisions.

Although WWF's January 1994 proposal for a second five-year Matching Grant failed to win approval, AID had signaled its continuing commitment to the program by awarding a \$400,000, 18-month grant that would give WWF the opportunity to continue program activities while undergoing the final evaluation and incorporating its recommendations into a plan of activities for 1994-95 and a revised full proposal in the next Matching Grant cycle.

The evaluation began with a commitment from all three parties (WWF, AID, and the evaluation team) to work together toward conclusions and recommendations that would acknowledge investments in program development already made by WWF, and offer constructive guidance for improvements. WWF and the SSE program had just completed a lengthy process of defining the new program, naming a permanent director, and negotiating SSE's relationships to the regional programs. The evaluation team generally agreed with the conceptual framework, and avoided making recommendations that would imply structural changes. However, even while agreeing in principle that SSE has created an effective organizational structure, the team was unable to evaluate its performance, which has yet to be fully tested. During the course of the evaluation, two key positions, one a social scientist and one a natural resources economist, remained vacant, although with assurance of continuing funding, recruitment was getting under way. Much of the team's confidence in the program design is contingent upon the hiring of qualified personnel for these positions, and investing them with significant oversight responsibility.

WWF makes a strong case that the Wildlands/SSE program has been more successful than it was given credit for in the midterm evaluation, and to some extent, in this final evaluation. Indeed, one of the major findings of the final evaluation is that the goal of integrating conservation and development in WWF programs has largely been achieved. Some 42 percent of WWF's program investments now support integrated conservation and development projects. It is at the level of program efficiency -- how well lessons learned from one project are derived, tested, and applied in others -- that the evaluation team and WWF staff have somewhat differing viewpoints. Anticipating this difference, we agreed to highlight those issues in this preface, so that the report can be read bearing in mind the potential for varying interpretations.

Most of the differences arising over statements of fact and opinion were resolved through a process of review and comments, and the text was revised accordingly. We were unable to come to complete agreement in two significant areas: the question of program continuity, and the program focus on technical assistance.

The evaluation team found that a lack of continuity had inhibited program implementation, citing staff changes and a changing portfolio of "core" projects. WWF points out that there has been only one turnover in program directors in five years. Although different projects have been identified as "core" over the years, the program over the past four years has worked fairly consistently with six projects linked by common "themes of community participation, resource ownership, benefit distribution, the link between conservation and development, income generation, gender, institutional strengthening, monitoring, evaluation, and lessons learned."



Our disagreement here hinges on our definitions of continuity and program coherence. The evaluation team leader declined to change the basic finding because she believes, based on documents and field visits, that the range of common themes is too broadly defined to guide selection of approaches to test, variables in test conditions, and processes for deriving observations and lessons. The WHN/SSE program, after 10 years of implementation, has learned many lessons. How it organizes this body of work to offer increasingly clear and specific analysis of program options in the future seems to be the central issue in the program's future.

WWF has a somewhat contrasting view with regard to program continuity. Within a conservation and development framework, its main themes can be grouped into the categories of the link between conservation and development and economic, social, and institutional/legal incentives for conservation. WWF does not agree that this range of issues is too broad, and points out that it is consistent with the outputs of field-based workshops such as the 1991 southern Africa regional workshop held in Zimbabwe.

We also had considerable trouble coming to agreement on SSE's role as a provider of technical assistance to regional programs. SSE, as discussed in the evaluation, devotes approximately three-quarters of its staff time and resources to technical assistance, and one-quarter to investigation and research of cross-cutting issues. The evaluation team had no specific criticism of this arrangement; its position was simply that the policy has not been in effect long enough to show definitive results and time would tell if this allocation of resources would serve to achieve the program goals.

Where we disagreed was over the nature of the technical assistance being provided. The evaluation report attempts to distinguish between "routine" types of technical assistance -- such as workshops on M & E techniques for WWF staff from other divisions or teaching project implementers to prepare logical frameworks -- and more "substantive" social science inputs (for example, teaching of methodologies for evaluating gender issues, or development of indicators and data collection methods to monitor impacts of economic development programs on household income). The evaluation team inferred from its field visits and review of documents that a substantial part of the MG had been invested in "routine" TA, and recommended that future phases focus on more substantive issues, and direct technical assistance wherever possible toward addressing cross-cutting issues.

SSE staff say that "routine" types of technical assistance are a minor part of the technical assistance being provided by the program. As monitoring and evaluation is a new area of focus, the program has assisted WWF in developing a participatory approach to M & E, which is consistent with the participatory approaches it is promoting for project design and implementation. SSE is now in the process of working with WWF's Organizational Development Program to transfer some of the M & E "process" type of assistance to that program. The staff wishes to emphasize that "how-to" information is always coupled with "substantive" social science inputs.

The hiring of two qualified social scientists, and their participation in establishing priorities for technical assistance, should resolve this difference. In the meantime, this is

another area where AID and WWF can continue to discuss and clarify the types of technical assistance that fit within the goals of the MG program.

WWF staff and the evaluation team have worked closely together in conducting this evaluation. The team was always accompanied in the field by one or more WWF representatives. Preliminary findings were discussed in a debriefing session before preparation of the draft report, and the team received three sets of comments on the first draft. This preface has been drafted jointly following a discussion of those comments. We submit this evaluation knowing that we do not fully agree on all the points of analysis and recommendations. What is important is that we do agree on the major issues -- chief among these the need to bring the program up to staff with qualified social scientists who will have leadership roles in project selection, technical assistance, and monitoring and evaluation.

Washington, DC
September 20, 1994

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List of Acronyms

ADMADE	Administrative Management Design project (USAID/Zambia)
BSP	Biodiversity Support Program (A USAID-funded consortium of WWF, The Nature Conservancy, and World Resources Institute)
CAMPFIRE	Communal Areas Management Program for Indigenous Resources (Zimbabwe)
CONAMA	National environmental council, Guatemala
CONAP	National protected areas council, Guatemala
COSECHA	(not an acronym -- Spanish for "harvest") Honduras-based development NGO providing assistance to Latin America agricultural projects
GEF	Global Environment Facility (World Bank, UNDP, UNEP)
GTZ	German technical cooperation agency
ICDP	Integrated Conservation and Development Project
IRDNC	Integrated Rural Development and Nature Conservation (a Namibian NGO)
LIFE	Living in a Finite Environment (USAID project, Namibia)
MG	Matching Grant
MWCT	Ministry of Wildlife, Conservation and Tourism, Namibia (now Ministry of Environment and Tourism)
NGO	Nongovernmental organization
NORAD	Norwegian international development agency
PACA	Central America Environmental Project (a consortium of The Nature Conservancy and CARE)
PVO	Private voluntary organization
RENARM	Regional natural resources project (USAID/ROCAP)
RMNP	Rwenzori Mountains National Park, Uganda
SSE	Social Science and Economics program, WWF
TNC	The Nature Conservancy
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
WHN	Wildlands and Human Needs project
USAID	U.S. Agency for International Development
WWF	World Wildlife Fund

Notes

The Wildlands and Human Needs project, as it was called through most of the project cycle covered in this evaluation, was merged in July 1993 with WWF's Conservation Finance program into a new Social Science and Economics program. This report uses the program names somewhat interchangeably, although the authors have attempted to use Wildlands and Human Needs (WHN) in describing activities and priorities prior to the merger, and Social Science and Economics (SSE) thereafter.

"WWF" in this report refers to World Wildlife Fund-US. Several of the Africa projects and programs to which the SSE program provides technical assistance and training are actually managed by WWF-International (Gland, Switzerland) through its offices in Africa. We use the acronym WWF-I or WWF-International to make this distinction.



I. Executive summary

Since the Wildlands and Human Needs matching grant was first awarded, WWF's institutional strategies for conservation of biological diversity have undergone a sea change. The organization has evolved from grant-making focused on threatened species, to an operational foundation that implements as well as finances increasingly complex field projects. A significant portion of these projects (42 percent of total financing) now are designed to integrate conservation and development objectives.

As this organizational transformation has progressed, the Wildlands and Human Needs program's position in the organization has changed accordingly. Where once it was the unit that managed WWF's "cutting edge" of integrated conservation and development projects or ICDPs, now (as a component of the Social Science and Economics program) it is primarily a technical assistance unit. SSE assists the regional and policy programs in promoting sustainable rural livelihoods through socially, economically, and ecologically sound management of natural resources. In areas such as conservation finance, ICDPs, and population, SSE provides expertise in support of enabling policy environments and institutions. It develops and disseminates locally based approaches to the management and use of biologically important resources. SSE's two basic missions are **technical assistance** and **linking field and policy** in an effort to develop capacity within WWF and in developing countries, building on investments WWF is already making in the field through its regional programs.

As it has developed this mission over the past nine years, the Wildlands program has supported more than 30 different projects in 21 countries. It has had three different directors¹ and has organized its staff first geographically, now thematically. This continuing change in program substance and management has been a primary factor limiting the Wildlands program's ability to achieve its goals and objectives, even though many pieces of the menu have been achieved in different places.

Now the original objective of integrating development in WWF's strategic portfolio has been achieved. The challenge remaining is to develop program strategies and focus once again on the lessons that can be learned to guide future program selection and implementation.

To a large extent the appropriate processes are in place. Responding to new organizational directions at WWF and to specific recommendations in the midterm evaluation, several positive steps have been taken:

¹ Michael Wright, who initiated the program; Barbara Wyckoff-Baird; and Barbara Hoskinson, appointed in January 1994. Patricia Larson served as acting director during the interim between Wyckoff-Baird's resignation and Hoskinson's appointment.

- WWF has clarified the relationship between operational project management by the regional divisions and policy/technical support on cross-cutting issues, setting up multidisciplinary working groups to provide oversight and technical backstopping.
- SSE has hired a manager who is primarily a manager, and not juggling these responsibilities with technical assistance to a portfolio of projects.
- SSE has been located in the Research and Development Division, which gives it a unique opportunity to link conservation and social science.
- SSE has begun to address monitoring and evaluation in a systematic way.

While these steps are important, they do not entirely resolve concerns about SSE's program coherence in the future. It is likely that the conditions that have caused projects to wax and wane in resource availability, priority, and relevance to the SSE agenda will continue to prevail. Thus the team recommends that WWF make special efforts to achieve thematic continuity in the definition of its research, monitoring, and evaluation agenda.

In particular, SSE needs to balance its project-level approach to monitoring and evaluation by developing a research and monitoring agenda sufficient to evaluate impacts and test hypotheses at the program level. At present, the hypotheses underlying the various projects that make up SSE's portfolio are not articulated sufficiently clearly and consistently. The team recommends two steps to address this concern: hiring a qualified social scientist and resource economist with experience in research and monitoring of development projects, and strengthening the linkage with other science programs. The first step is already under way, and the social scientist is expected to be hired shortly.

In general, the evaluation team finds that WWF and the SSE program have made significant progress over the past two years in defining and clarifying a management and support structure for the implementation of ICDPs. The key findings of the midterm evaluation have been addressed. The team agrees that the recently established structure and procedures are an adequate framework within which SSE can serve technical needs of the regionally managed projects while reserving time to analyze development issues, distill lessons, and assist regions in applying them. What remains to be seen is how the program works in practice, and over time. WWF and AID can use the 18-month interim funding not only to continue current core activities, but also to test the new structure and develop a clearer picture of the substantive outputs achievable in future funding periods.

II. Background, purpose, and scope of work

In September 1988, USAID awarded World Wildlife Fund its second Matching Grant to support the Wildlands and Human Needs initiative. The purpose of the grant, as amended, is "to improve the ability of biologically important wildlands to sustainably meet local development needs while preserving ecological values." The grant seeks to increase the effectiveness of WWF and recipient organizations in Latin America and the Caribbean, Africa, and Asia to meet development needs within an integrated conservation and development framework, by providing technical assistance, training, analysis, and information dissemination and networking.

The Wildlands and Human Needs Program has, over the years, managed and provided financial support to a changing group of pilot or "core" conservation and development projects. Recent restructuring of WWF programs has placed all operational management and funding of projects within WWF's geographic "line" programs. SSE, as a cross-cutting thematic program, provides technical inputs to regionally managed projects, with emphasis on identifying social issues and lessons learned. SSE focuses its inputs on a portfolio of "core" projects selected in collaboration with regional program managers. It invests approximately three-fourths of its time and resources providing technical services to these core and other secondary projects, and the remaining one-quarter in cross-cutting studies, documentation, and networking designed to pull together experience from integrated conservation and development projects (ICDPs) worldwide. The objectives are to:

- develop new approaches to integrated conservation and development;
- demonstrate the viability of ICDPs;
- increase the exchange of information; and
- increase community participation in conservation and development.

This program structure has evolved due in part to changing needs and structures in WWF as a whole, particularly trends toward hands-on project management (as opposed to grants to local organizations), and toward decentralization and placement of more staff in the field. In part, too, SSE's placement in the organizational structure responds to mandates from a midterm evaluation conducted in early 1992.

The final evaluation was carried out as the program reached the end of the matching grant funding period, which had been extended to June 30, 1994. Meanwhile, a \$400,000 "bridging" grant has been approved to support the SSE program for 18 months. During this time a proposal for longer-term support will be prepared. The final evaluation thus had as one of its goals to identify and recommend actions that may improve WWF's effectiveness in integrating conservation and development, with specific reference to design of the ongoing program. The evaluation also sought to document program implementation since the midterm evaluation and identify factors facilitating or inhibiting implementation.

The evaluation team -- a development anthropologist and an institutional development

specialist, working closely with SSE staff -- began in early June by interviewing WWF staff from the SSE program; vice presidents, program directors, and program officers from the geographic divisions, executive and administrative staff in Washington, D.C. The team then traveled to Guatemala, Uganda, Namibia, and Zimbabwe to study field implementation.

In the field, SSE inputs to projects were assessed on the basis of social soundness, with special attention paid to SSE's contributions toward assuring social, economic, institutional, and environmental viability. The team observed community meetings and visited agricultural parcels, speaking with extensionists and rural families. Upon returning to Washington, the team leader discussed preliminary findings with WWF and AID, and both team members made additional consultations by telephone, as the report was drafted. (The scope of work which provided the basis for interview questions is included as Annex 5.) A draft report was circulated, and discussed with WWF and AID staff, prior to preparation of the final draft.

During the course of the field visits, the team had the opportunity to observe different levels of WWF management involvement in field projects, and diverse technical inputs. In Uganda and Namibia, the team visited projects administered directly by WWF through cooperative agreements with USAID. SSE input in Uganda has primarily been in design, monitoring, and evaluation.² In Guatemala, a local NGO implements the conservation and development project, of which WWF is a strong and active, but not the primary, supporter. WWF also assisted in project design here, and perhaps more importantly, brokered a relationship with a development organization that brought technical expertise in agricultural development methods. Finally, in southern Africa, the team visited WWF-International and local government and NGO staff who have had support from SSE in the form of information sharing and networking.

Although diverse, this selection of projects may not have been representative of the full array of SSE efforts. In particular, there was an emphasis on projects in start-up, redesign, and pilot phases. The team regrets not having had the opportunity to visit a mature project whose impacts might have been more apparent.

². The Namibia LIFE project is not part of the SSE portfolio, but visiting project offices afforded the opportunity to interview Barbara Wyckoff-Baird, former director of the WHN program.

Acknowledgements

The evaluation team would like to thank the WWF staff who provided information, answered questions, and devoted many hours to making the arrangements necessary to accomplish the evaluation. Special thanks are due to SSE director Barbara Hoskinson; monitoring and evaluation program officer Patty Larson, who accompanied the team to Africa; vice president Gary Hartshorn and Greater Caribbean program officer Oscar Brenes, who accompanied the team to Guatemala; Dan McCall and the staff of the Rwenzori Mountains project in Uganda; the staff of Defensores de la Naturaleza, particularly Estuardo Secaira and Andrés Lehnhoff; and SSE research assistant Mercedes Otegui, whose logistical help made the team's travels possible.

III. Impact of Wildlands and Human Needs on WWF program development

WWF defines its mission as the preservation of the diversity and abundance of life on Earth, and the health of ecological systems. The years coinciding with the Wildlands and Human Needs matching grant (1988-94) have seen dramatic changes in WWF's program, organization, and strategy for pursuing this mission. From an early emphasis on ecological research and species protection, WWF programs have evolved to focus increasingly on planning for protected areas and habitats, and integrated conservation and development.

The change is not entirely attributable to the Wildlands and Human Needs project. It reflects a growing awareness in the larger conservation community of the relationship between poverty and environmental degradation, and draws on the experience of project implementers, who discovered in the field that simple enforcement of species and habitat protection measures was not effective in populated areas, and the communities' customs and preferences had to be taken into account. Still, WWF placed itself at the forefront of conservation organizations seeking to address the challenge of human needs, and to a great extent, it drew upon the leadership and the work of the Wildlands and Human Needs program to create a vision and framework and provide working examples of the conservation/development linkage.

The magnitude of the change amounts almost to a "theological conversion," according to a WWF vice president. In 1987, a listing of some 475 WWF-financed projects contained fewer than 30 with obvious development or people-centered themes.³ Today, 42 percent of WWF's total funding goes to projects with integrated conservation and development themes.

Integrated conservation and development projects by their nature are complex and lengthy, require multifaceted designs, and often rely on multiple partnerships among NGOs, agencies, and sub-projects. The challenges of project design, implementation, and monitoring call for skills and inputs from many disciplines -- anthropology, economics, policy analysis, and ecology, to name a few. WWF's program needs for social science expertise grew with its involvement in complex development projects, and quickly outstripped the Wildlands and Human Needs program's ability to provide support from its small staff, Latin America/Africa focus, and project portfolio. So, parallel to the development of Wildlands and Human Needs, the WWF geographical programs have also moved toward larger, more complex projects, more active participation, partnerships, and institutional development. It is interesting to compare WWF staffing at the time of WHN's beginnings and today. Looking at the degrees and expertise of staff in approximately 30 key positions, one sees a shift from dominance of biologists and lawyers to an almost even mix of biological and social scientists and staff with law or humanities backgrounds.

³. Project titles were searched for keywords such as "utilization," "production," "sustainable development," "ethno-," "conservation and development," "integration," etc.

Two of the most interesting consequences of WWF's conversion from *protection-oriented* to *conservation and development-oriented* are a trend toward placing its own staff in the field to manage projects directly, and a shift in decision-making structures and procedures, away from individual program officers and toward multidisciplinary teams.

The sheer complexity of ICDPs caused WWF to rethink its normal operating mode of small grants to local organizations and researchers. Experience in organizational development had emphasized the importance of helping developing-country partner organizations to define focused missions and select operational niches appropriate to their ability to maintain human and financial resources over time. Although many local conservation organizations had a strong interest in development issues, few had the resources and expertise necessary to effectively enter the field. WWF found itself expanding from one partner per project to a community of partners including rural-development organizations, government agencies, and community groups. Already-stretched Washington-based project officers had difficulty meeting the demands of time, information, and expertise necessary to coordinate the varied projects.

Placing WWF project officers in the field to manage projects directly was an obvious solution, facilitated by the 1992 resolution of WWF-US/WWF-International conflicts that previously had limited WWF-US's ability to deploy field staff outside of Latin America. This was an especially important development for the WWF-US field projects in Africa, where there are few if any national-level NGOs that WWF can rely on as administrators of large projects. There, WWF project administrators work directly with diverse (and uneven) community-based organizations as well as directly with beneficiaries. Although this structure does raise concerns about project sustainability, it has distinct advantages in terms of management efficiency and accountability. Also, projects visited by the evaluation team were designed to strengthen local organizations and develop community self-sufficiency.

Even with more direct field involvement, WWF still confronted the question of how to marshal the diversity of technical expertise needed for each project and region. To some extent this is a classic management question -- to organize geographically, or thematically? -- which WWF had sidestepped by doing some of each. (In addition to Wildlands and Human Needs, there had been thematically organized programs in forestry, organizational development, and conservation science.) The 1992 delegation of all field project management to geographic regions, and creation of the Research and Development and Policy divisions to house cross-cutting programs, opened an opportunity for a new framework for technical backstopping and oversight on thematic issues.

Six "working groups" were created, one for each major program focus.⁴ Institutionally,

⁴. Protected Areas, Sustainable Resource Use, Capacity Building, Species of Special Concern, Addressing Global Threats, Marine Issues.

these groups are "as important as the geographic programs," says the senior vice president. Each working group, chaired by a vice president, has defined a strategy for its area, which must be addressed in the geographic regions' strategic planning process. Because WWF-International has adopted a parallel working group structure, the groups also give WWF-US a forum for shaping its input to international decisions on key issues. The Ford Foundation has provided funding to the working-group program, including support for staff travel to meetings and working sessions, and for contracting advisors and consultants to develop evaluations, studies, and reports.

In many ways, Working Group 2, which focuses on sustainable resource use, parallels the functions of the SSE department. (SSE staffer Patty Larson is deputy chair of the group.) The group is a vehicle for information sharing and collaboration on ICDPs, and a forum for priority setting and debate on current issues. Working Group 2 was extensively involved in the development of the SSE-supported sabbatical paper on marine ICDPs, reviewing the survey methodology, providing additional sources of data, and commenting on an early draft. The group has also analyzed the business development activities called "ecoventures," and will undoubtedly play an important role in a WWF board colloquium on ICDPs scheduled for May 1995. Working Group 2 has appointed task forces on trust funds and conservation finance, and on foreign assistance, and recently prepared a proposal for an "ICDP Review" that will involve staff in an analysis of ICDP experience to date, attempting to distill lessons learned and make recommendations for future program directions.

The working group structure draws on WWF's greatest strength for integrating conservation and development: the combined field experience of its program staff. By involving the staff in teamwork, documentation, and policy decisions, the working groups counter the tendency toward "fiefdoms" where project officers develop projects in isolation, and help assure that lessons and technology are shared across regions.

IV. Implementation of the program since the 1992 midterm evaluation

A. SSE program development and activities

Following the 1992 midterm evaluation, the Wildlands and Human Needs program held a retreat and a series of consultations with regional programs to clarify its objectives and strategies. A revised program description and budget adopted in September 1992 defined the WHN role as a technical support unit to WWF and to other institutions in the conservation field, rather than as a project management unit. Program staff continued to communicate regularly with regional programs as they implemented this strategy, participating in project design, offering training and technical assistance, and compiling and distributing research papers, bibliographies, and other materials. Program activities for the period are presented in Figure 1.

The Wildlands and Human Needs unit was relocated to the Research and Development Division, and in fiscal 1993, began work in the Asia and Pacific regions. Technical assistance in monitoring and evaluation became a major program focus. At the end of fiscal 1993, with the resignation of the program director and Latin America program officer, the WHN unit planned and carried out a staff-initiated merger with WWF's Conservation Finance unit, and became the Social Science and Economics program. Another series of retreats and consultations helped to fix the SSE program agenda and mechanisms for collaboration with regional programs.

B. Relationship of SSE and regional programs

Lines of communication between SSE and the regional programs are strong. SSE personnel assist in regional project planning and design, and have conducted workshops in monitoring and evaluation for regional personnel. Regional and SSE personnel participate in each others' staff meetings. SSE staff are often called on by regional programs to assist in staff recruitment and identification of consultants.

Virtually all of the regional personnel interviewed by the evaluation team stressed the importance of the theoretical, conceptual, and methodological approaches of SSE and the significance and relevance of the contributions made by SSE personnel. The Asia and Africa programs, with budgets and staffs considerably smaller than Latin America's, are particularly dependent upon SSE for inputs such as project design assistance, monitoring and evaluation training, gender analysis, and help with project evaluations. The Latin America Division, each of whose three subregions rivals Asia or Africa in size, is more able to find development expertise on its own staff. This division looks to SSE for more specialized technical assistance, such as the development of business ventures in extractive reserves in Brazil. There is a general perception that SSE's technical assistance has "stretched the institution."

Figure 1. Program Implementation FYs 1993-94

1992-93 Activities	1993-94 Activities
Training	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Training provided by Caribbean Natural Resources Institute (final year of WHN-supported three-year community-based resource management program): 2 courses on co-management of natural resources for NGOs, CBOs, and agencies; St. Lucia national workshop on community participation in protected areas; coral reef monitoring workshops in St. Kitts and Tobago; "Introduction to Caribbean Wetland Management." ◆ ADMADE community development assistants workshop, Zambia ◆ Participatory planning, M & E for ICDPs workshop, Vanuatu 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Latin America/Pacific orientation on participatory M&E ◆ Asia program workshop on participatory project planning, M&E, Nepal ◆ Asia/Pacific program workshop on participatory project planning, M&E, UK ◆ Brazil program workshop on participatory project planning, M&E ◆ Africa/Madagascar program workshop on participatory project planning, M&E, Uganda ◆ 4th annual training course for project managers, people-centered ecodevelopment in Latin America
Technical Assistance	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ assistance in community development, training skills to Solomon Islands Community Resource Conservation project ◆ recruitment of rural development specialist for Dranga-Sangha Forest Reserve project, Central African Republic (salary paid by WHN); contracted study on logging damage control & sustainable alternatives ◆ evaluation of Sian Ka'an project, Mexico ◆ assistance with redesign of Rwenzori Mountains National park project, Uganda ◆ ongoing technical assistance: Sierra de las Minas, Guatemala; Mafia Island, Tanzania 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ support for salary of rural development specialist, Dranga-Sangha ◆ Evaluation of COSECHA/World Neighbors training program, Latin America ◆ assistance with Jigme Dorji project proposal, Bhutan ◆ team leadership for final evaluation of Rwenzori Mountains National Park project, Uganda ◆ team leadership for review of Lake Malawi National Park project, Malawi ◆ team leadership for review of Kasungu National Park beekeeping project, Malawi ◆ project planning and proposal writing assistance for renewed USAID funding of RMNP project, Uganda ◆ project planning workshop for Mafia Island Marine Park, Tanzania ◆ ongoing TA to ADMADE project, Zambia; Community Resource Conservation, Solomon Islands; Kikori project, Papua New Guinea; Sierra de las Minas, Guatemala.
Networking and Publications	
<p><u>Publications</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ "An Introduction to Planning and Implementing Community Based Natural Resource Management" (training manual from community development assistants' workshop) — draft <p><u>Conference participation</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ NGOs in natural resource management, Africa ◆ TNC conservation training ◆ WWF-I sustainable resource use group ◆ People, parks and participation (PRA) <p><u>Networking</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ visits between Zimbabwe CAMPFIRE and Namibian IRDNC personnel <p><u>Other</u></p> <p>distributed consultant roster (20 names) & NGO list in Africa region</p>	<p><u>In preparation</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Technical papers on community participation and ecobusiness in draft. ◆ "Marine Integrated Conservation and Development: field survey of marine projects" ◆ "Participatory Monitoring and Evaluation for ICDPs: step-by-step guide and training activities" ◆ in-house sabbatical papers on PRA in Brazil, stakeholders in Alto Quindó, Colombia; evaluation of environmental education in Brazil <p><u>Published</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ "Community-based conservation in southern Africa" (5 training cases) <p><u>Networking</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ WWF task force established to share experiences on conservation and development policy issues ◆ Exchange visits: Mozambique-Namibia, participation in Costa Rica conference for Zimbabwean research fellow

In September 1993, SSE developed a formal memo of collaboration spelling out the terms of its relationship with regional programs. These include a commitment to collaboration at the beginning of the project cycle, and to matching SSE and regional funds in joint initiatives.

SSE seeks to build on investments WWF is already making in the field, working at the national level to influence policies, and at the field and project level to help design and evaluate ICDPs. Each SSE officer is also assigned to liaise with one or more geographic subregions. (Figure 2)

Obviously, it is not possible for SSE to meet all regional requests for technical assistance. Fifteen projects have been selected (in collaboration with regional programs) as the focus of SSE activities. Six of these are considered "core." When providing administrative assistance such as design, monitoring, and evaluation, SSE staff attempt to work with counterparts in the regional program who will actually carry out the activity.

Beyond assistance to regional priority projects, and within the 25 percent of its program dedicated to overarching research and development, SSE also initiates activities where there is an opportunity to develop methods and techniques. Examples include its ecotourism initiatives in Dominica, Mexico, and Brazil.

Initiation of Asia program assistance

Although it was not a part of the original Wildlands and Human Needs program, WWF's Asia region is in many ways the pioneer of integrated conservation and development. The Annapurna project in Nepal changed that country's legal definition of a protected area by creating a conservation area where local people have full authority. The model created in Annapurna for returning tourism revenues and park entry fees to conservation and community development activities (health services, kerosene-based cooking to replace firewood, nurseries for forest restoration, latrines) was similarly innovative and had an effect on the design of conservation projects in Nepal and other countries. When the South Pacific regional program began in 1990, it *had* to turn to community-based conservation, rather than traditional protected areas, for cultural reasons. The region has a tradition of communally owned lands, and local communities already were the locus of land use decision making.

Like their counterparts in the Africa program, the Asia program staff are "stretched thin." Thus they have welcomed SSE assistance since 1993 in starting a monitoring and evaluation program, and sharing lessons from other regions in the design of new projects, such as the Kikori Basin ICDP in Papua New Guinea. Program staff have also relied on SSE staff for advice on trust funds and ecoventures.

The WHN program's role in helping WWF develop expertise and a reputation for leadership in integrated conservation and development has been particularly important in

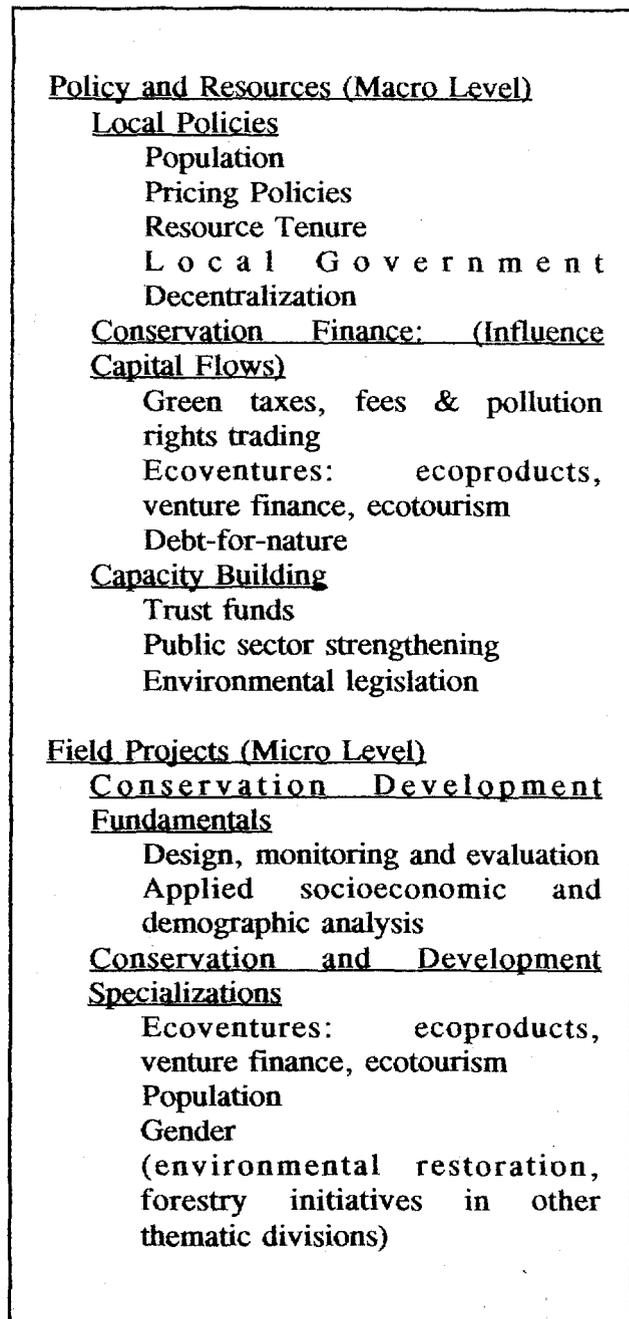
Asia. WWF has had a strong role in influencing funding and policy decisions, including project design, by multilaterals such as UNDP and the Global Environment Facility, and projects supported by bilateral assistance from Australia and elsewhere.

C. Impacts in the field

The team was not able to gather sufficient data to fully assess WHN/SSE program impacts in the field. In part this is due to the preliminary and pilot nature of the projects visited. The kinds of impacts SSE predicts -- changes in resource use behavior, which in turn result in maintenance or improvement of land use regimes -- take many years to become apparent. In the case of the sustainable-agriculture programs, it is possible to predict, based on application of the methodology in a number of countries over 15 years, that yields will improve, and that local populations will maintain the technologies even after the project ceases formal functions.

There is some evidence, albeit limited and anecdotal, that projects supported by SSE have improved the socioeconomic situation of populations in the target areas. This can be seen in the degree of involvement of local people in community-based natural resource management activities. Even lacking baseline data on household incomes, it is possible to observe increased craft sales in Dzanga-Sangha, for example.

The impacts observable to the evaluation team were primarily at the level of the intermediary organizations -- WWF and local government and organization staff, who universally reported having better knowledge and skills to carry out their responsibilities as a result of information, training, and technical assistance provided by SSE.



1. Figure 2. SSE Program Structure

D. Publications and networking

A constraint on the implementation of ICDPs in the past has been a lack of solid social science information and, in some cases, information on land and resource tenure, population, and economic opportunities. WWF has dealt with some of these issues in its technical papers and publications. (SSE publications since the midterm evaluation are listed in Figure 1.) The publications generally fall into two categories: training materials, usually developed in conjunction with SSE-sponsored workshops, and occasional technical papers dealing with various aspects of ICDPs.

A series of training cases was produced for use by managers of community-based natural resource management programs, based on experiences in southern Africa. SSE staff were involved in the conceptualization of these case studies and helped write some of them. While they have yet to be distributed widely, there is significant interest in using these cases in courses for government and NGO personnel involved in natural resource planning and development.

The evaluation team read published papers as well as a number still in draft, and spoke with headquarters and field staff about their needs for information and use of publications. While on the one hand there is significant demand for certain publications (Elizabeth Boo's ecotourism manual has gone into a second, and soon a third, printing) field staff either were unfamiliar with the publications or found them too general to be of real use in implementation. (In part this reflects staff turnover at the field level and suggests that SSE should periodically circulate lists of documents available.) The publications provide general, practical information about key aspects of integrated conservation and development. Their usefulness might be enhanced by clearer identification of the audiences in need of specific types of information and strategic selection and focus of publications to meet those needs.

In-house sabbaticals

WHN funds have been used to support a program of in-house sabbaticals, supporting staff time of program officers who use the time to prepare studies of conservation and development issues. The program was operated on a pilot basis in the Latin America division during 1993-94. Senior program officers Jenny Martinez (Colombia), John Butler and Lou Ann Dietz (Brazil), and Evelyn Wilcox (Greater Caribbean) participated in the program.

Although the original plan had been to use WHN funding to support hiring interns who could help carry the program officers' work loads and thus free time for working on their studies, WWF budgetary constraints precluded the hiring, and the funds were used primarily as a subsidy to pay the program officers' salaries during the six-week period of work on the special study. Because they still had to cover their normal work load, the program officers had difficulty completing the research and writing of their papers in a timely fashion, although they did have research assistance from SSE and the Working Groups. To date, only one paper has been submitted for publication. The participants remain enthusiastic about

the goals of the program, however, and encourage SSE to continue it. They emphasize that the key to success for this program will be securing workload assistance and release from normal duties by the regional program management.

E. Monitoring and evaluation

The midterm evaluation found that WWF had no monitoring system in place to measure the effectiveness of community development components. Rather, staff relied on periodic field visits in order to gauge project accomplishments -- but without standard guidelines or criteria for evaluation.

In December 1992, the Wildlands program launched an initiative to develop and test a participatory monitoring and evaluation methodology, and to strengthen the capacity of WWF and partner organization staff in M & E. SSE staff assessed training needs, compiled an M & E bibliography, and carried out workshops (four at headquarters and four in the field during 1993-94). A draft manual for participatory M & E was produced in June 1994. One volume is a step-by-step guide; the second presents training materials.

SSE has adopted as a fundamental principle of its M & E approach that "project participants...take part in deciding when and how to evaluate, in selecting methods to be used, in collecting and analyzing information, in developing reports and deciding how to use the results." Although workshop materials and SSE program documents offer illustrative lists of indicators for monitoring conservation, social, and economic change⁵, **the SSE program has not articulated a clear agenda of indicators that it will monitor at a program level in order to test its working hypotheses, nor has it yet assured that adequate baseline data exist for the selected indicators in core projects.**

Because it was fundamentally an experimental program, WHN should have invested significantly in assessing environmental and social conditions against which to measure change. It should have articulated underlying hypotheses and assumptions in such a way that their validity could be tested by applied research. There are at least three levels of assumptions at work in most ICDPs:

- expectations about conditions that will or will not prevail at a given time. These may or may not be within the implementing organization's power to influence (e.g. national economic conditions, enabling policy environments, and specific governmental actions). At

⁵ samples: "reduced illegal encroachment," "increased populations of indicator species," "benefits to communities linked to wise and sustainable use of resources," "Increased percentage of GDP attributable to revenues from sustainable resource utilization," "improved standards of living indicated by nutrition, infant/maternal mortality, household income and educational attainment."

this level, monitoring serves primarily to improve WWF's ability to predict the inputs necessary to achieve desired conditions, and the probability of success.

- analysis of cause and effect relationships at the root of current conditions. The Sierra de las Minas project assumes, for example, that farmers clear and burn forested land, and hunt wild species, because existing plots fail to meet their subsistence needs. If this assumption proves wrong, even successful attempts to find alternative sources for subsistence needs may have no impact on forest clearing.

- hypotheses about the effects of project actions. Sometimes these have several layers (as in the samples cited earlier: that extension programs will lead to adoption of resource uses that will prove sustainable and generate income and be measurable as a percentage of GDP. The hypothesis can fall apart at any juncture, so each element needs to be evaluated separately).

In order to understand which program elements are effective in bringing about the desired outcomes (and more importantly to future project design, *why*) it is necessary to be clear and specific about definitions and indicators of current as well as future conditions. It is important to design research and monitoring programs with enough rigor to separate "casual" effects from those clearly attributable to project inputs. Finally, studies should further illuminate the nature of the linkage between conservation and development.

The Wildlands program, and now SSE, has not yet demonstrated an ability to carry out rigorous applied research sufficient to adequately evaluate its methodologies and test hypotheses. Its logical framework for the current program, and its most recent proposal, illustrate the difficulty of distilling replicable lessons from a diverse array of projects. In the proposal, the assumptions elaborated over a spectrum of eight projects range from guesses about natural conditions to expectations about actions by governments partner organizations, to assumptions that economic benefits will lead to improved resource utilization. *The program needs to enhance its staff capability to design and carry out rigorous, high quality monitoring and research.*

SSE has made commendable efforts during the past year and a half to promote and support monitoring and evaluation of ICDPs. The decision to keep monitoring focused at the individual project level was a conscious one, based on knowledge that the core project staff are stretched for time, and hard pressed to meet their implementation responsibilities, let alone take on additional reporting requirements for M & E. Additionally, early workshops showed that many projects would need to correct design flaws before implementing monitoring programs. SSE staff are more focused on getting a few M & E systems up and running than on seeking out hypotheses, indicators, and data methodologies that might be comparable across projects. The monitoring and evaluation coordinator estimates that it will take at least another year to get M & E systems in place, two years to generate meaningful data, and only then will it be possible to develop systematic approaches to comparing similar hypotheses across projects.

The evaluation team does not entirely agree with that assessment, and recommends that SSE take steps as outlined above to clarify its assumptions and hypotheses, defining a clear research agenda of cross-cutting issues that will be monitored as consistently as possible in the core projects and beyond. Some of these are discussed in detail in the field reports from Sierra de las Minas and the Rwenzori Mountains National Park project. **The social scientist position now being recruited for should be filled by a social scientist with experience in monitoring and evaluation of development projects.**⁶ The early job responsibilities should focus on working with the monitoring and evaluation program to further develop indicators and data collection methodologies sufficient to evaluate program-level hypotheses. To achieve this, WWF most likely should run headquarters-financed studies in parallel with locally managed project monitoring.

Even at the project level, there is room for additional rigor and technical inputs from an experienced field scientist. It is not generally at the point of *identifying* potential indicators that monitoring and evaluation programs get "stuck." Substantive inputs are needed in *operationalization*, in clarifying hypotheses and disaggregating sub-assumptions, in determining which are important, in designing elegant data sets and methodologies for collection.

SSE, because it took a leadership role in M & E training, has a special challenge to keep its technical assistance focused on substantive inputs rather than "how-to" process assistance. Matching grant funds should be used to support participation and follow-up by SSE personnel in M & E training organized and contracted by the project managing entities. If SSE uses matching grant funds to provide or contract M & E training directly, it should be for the specific purpose of developing social science data collection methodologies, rather than general process assistance such as logframe development. SSE already has a policy of cost sharing with regional programs that should serve to deal with this concern.

WWF has identified its Working Group on Linking Conservation and Human Needs as the vehicle for M & E oversight. In June, the working group produced a proposal for an "ICDP review" that will deploy task forces of WWF staff to analyze experience with conservation/development projects to date, identify specific topics for further investigation, and convene workshops to produce case studies, findings, guidelines, and reports. Monitoring and evaluation is one of the 10 "sample topics" listed for potential consideration. If the working group does indeed take a strong interest in monitoring and evaluation, it may improve SSE's grounding in social research, but would not substitute for the stronger staff recommended above. Although the review is funded by the Ford Foundation and therefore accountable to Ford for evaluation of its impacts, AID should also receive information on issues discussed and decisions taken in this forum, to determine whether additional oversight

⁶. Because Sierra de las Minas in particular represents an exciting opportunity to develop and field test a research agenda and methodologies, Spanish fluency would be an important asset.

will be necessary to achieve MG objectives.

Linking Conservation and Social Science

Because SSE is located within the Research and Development Division along with the Conservation Science program, WWF is in a unique position to develop an integrated conservation and development monitoring framework. **The evaluation team encourages SSE to work closely with the biological sciences program to link monitoring of social and ecological impacts.** Sierra de las Minas (see Field Report 1) is one example of a project where opportunities exist to strengthen this linkage, by connecting social data (adoption of agricultural practices) with environmental data (changes in vegetative/forest cover or species populations). Many other ICDPs also are founded upon linked hypotheses about behavioral change and environmental impacts, and would benefit from similarly linked monitoring efforts. A closer working relationship with Conservation Science might also help SSE develop protocols for scientific rigor in its monitoring efforts, and peer review of research methodologies and reports.

Thus the evaluation team recommends using interim funding to deploy a Conservation Science/SSE evaluation team in one or more pilot projects, and particularly to seek out opportunities to define conditions under which development initiatives are most likely to enhance conservation objectives.

F. Financial systems

Two developments in WWF's Finance and Administration Division have substantially improved the organization's ability to control and monitor project activities and expenses.

One is the consolidation, over the past 12 months, of a government contracting unit first established in 1992. The unit has standardized management procedures for government grants and contracts and developed templates for contracts, reporting, and tracking with the requirements of each agreement worked in.

The second is the adoption of a new accounting system, which went on line July 1, 1993. The system, running on TimeLine software, allows all expenditures to be classified by contract number, account and activity. Staff time is charged to project cost centers following biweekly time sheets.

The system has the capability to sort expenditures by other categories of interest to WWF and its donors, for example, by biome, country, or regional program. For program activity tracking, WWF-US is incorporating a WWF-International database system (called PFPS, based on Oracle software) for compiling project descriptions. The two systems are compatible so that financial data can be uploaded to the PFPS system.

Although the installation of this new capability has not been reflected in more precise and detailed project reporting to AID to date, the evaluation team concluded that expenditures are sufficiently tracked and controlled, and that WWF records are sufficiently detailed to disaggregate and identify specific sub-categories within the general information provided.⁷ Data entered from field technical reports can link project activities in the field with expenditures of funds. However, it is still not possible to allocate headquarters staff time by country, except by going back to review travel calendars. **The team recommends that AID and WWF staff meet to develop a framework for the level of detail needed in future project reporting,** and that future cooperative agreements reflect whatever agreement is reached.

V. Factors facilitating/inhibiting implementation of program activities

At the time of the midterm evaluation, uneven management was identified as a key constraint to achievement of program objectives. The management structure is still complex, comprising regional project activities overlain by SSE technical expertise, and sharing of administrative responsibility with the contracts management unit. SSE staff have multiple responsibilities, as technical consultants to the regional programs, as scientists responsible to keep abreast of and apply developments in their fields, and as representatives on interdisciplinary and interorganizational working groups. However, the appointment of a program manager who is primarily a manager, and is not juggling that responsibility with a full schedule of traveling to provide technical assistance and do research, is a very positive step.

Some other factors with a positive impact on program implementation include:

- WWF's initiation of a strategic planning process at five- and three-year time horizons, which provides a structure in which SSE can be involved in projects from the design phase onward.
- The merger of WHN and conservation finance to form SSE, and the establishment of multidisciplinary working groups, both of which should enrich the pool of social science expertise to be applied by the program, and acquaint staff with a broader array of social science and development literature. (Although the point is now moot because hiring is under way, the program has been hindered by its slowness to hire a primary social scientist.)

⁷. Although the team found that WWF *systems* (ie. the contracts management unit) are equipped to apply adequate controls, there remain some questions about SSE's ability to access and use data for management purposes. Specific accounting reports requested by and promised to the evaluators, such as a listing of personnel time charged to the MG project, were never delivered despite repeated follow-up requests.

- SSE's extensive consultations with regional staffs to define the program and set priorities. Recognizing that conflicts with regional programs may have limited WHN's ability to draw on expertise and ideas from the field programs in the past, the SSE staff engaged regional program managers and staff in half-day retreats and follow-up consultations to assure that the program would serve their priorities and meet their needs.

- WWF's collaboration with The Nature Conservancy and World Resources Institute in the Biodiversity Support Program. BSP provided funding and additional technical expertise for *Designing Integrated Conservation and Development Projects*, and has itself produced landmark studies on conservation and development, including *African Biodiversity: Foundation for the Future*. Because BSP is physically located in WWF and supervised in the Research and Development Division, which also houses SSE, opportunities for information sharing have been particularly rich. BSP is an intermediary for ICDP funding in southern Mexico and Brazil and has invested its own staff expertise in management, particularly monitoring and evaluation, of those projects. Collaboration with the Conservancy in Latin America ICDPs has also proved fruitful, because TNC's focus on core zones of protected areas has been complementary to SSE's buffer-zone interests.

- The trend toward larger projects, which means that more resources are available to support administrative oversight, monitoring, and evaluation.

SSE is a new program, and its management structure has not yet fully jelled. It is too early to evaluate management effectiveness or efficiency in the present configuration. However, **assuming that the social scientist and resource economist positions are filled by persons with strong development and research/analysis qualifications**, there is every reason to expect effective management and sound program implementation in the future. SSE will always have to justify its position as "another layer" in program management by providing specialized, in-depth, substantive contributions that would not be achievable by means of the social science expertise already available within the regional programs. Therefore its effectiveness is directly tied to its ability to go beyond consultancies and do serious applied research that will further develop the "state of the art" of ICDPs.

A primary factor **inhibiting** program implementation to date has been lack of continuity, both in program management and in the core project portfolio.

The Wildlands and Human Needs program had different institutional homes before finally settling in the Research and Development Division. Staff turnover and changes in position descriptions continued in 1993, when the WHN program director and Latin America program officer resigned. From July to September 1993, the remaining WHN staff worked intensively on the merger with WWF's conservation finance program. Barbara Hoskinson, director of the conservation finance program, became acting director of the new social science and economics (SSE) program created by the merger, and was formally named as director in January 1994. Her position is officially classified as part time, but she expects to return to full-time status in 1995. Patty Larson, who had been the Africa program officer, was named

monitoring and evaluation officer, and managed the Matching Grant after July 1993.

Given the investment of staff time in re-designing and defining new functions and job descriptions, and the fact that the SSE program was short of staff, due to key positions remaining vacant in a period of staff turnover, it is understandable that the program's achievements in 1993-94 did not fully meet the expectations, particularly for publication and dissemination, outlined in the previous year's annual report.

Perhaps even more than from personnel and structural changes, the WHN program has suffered from continuing changes in the definition of its field program. Approximately 30 ICDPs in 21 countries have been part of the WHN/SSE portfolio over the years. (See Figure 3.) None of the original pilot projects remains in the "core" category, although the Dzanga-Sangha Forest Reserve in the Central African Republic and Zambia's ADMADE project are still considered secondary projects.⁸ Of the six projects currently considered "core," two have been receiving SSE assistance for one or two years, and the remainder are new initiatives.

This variability in the priority given to projects at different times has limited SSE's ability to test underlying hypotheses and learn lessons about ICDPs, *particularly those that require analysis of data over a sustained period*. Indeed, after more than nine years of program implementation, SSE is only now defining its standards for baseline data and indicators to be monitored. The primary vehicle for information gathering and documentation of lessons learned has been the accumulation of experience and insights by the project managers and program officers. The evaluation team considers WWF program staff's growing expertise in ICDPs to be an important factor *facilitating* program implementation, as discussed above, but also was concerned by the observation that there has been a great deal of turnover and change in WWF staff recently, and most of the staff interviewed had been on board two years or less.

The conditions that cause specific projects to wax and wane in priority and relevance to SSE's objectives are largely beyond WWF's control. Implementing NGOs and government

⁸. WWF points out that although projects may be dropped from "core" status in the SSE program, they rarely fall off the organization's radar screen. In the era when WHN actually managed projects, turnover in the project portfolio was most often attributable to a project being transferred, for example, to the regional division. Although on the one hand this suggests a stronger case for continuity, it has a negative effect on program coherence. Several staff, including a former program director, commented that the shifting of projects into and out of the "wildlands" portfolio often had more to do with their needs for financial and technical inputs available from the program, than with their relevance to particular issues or questions that the program was focusing on, or their potential to generate knowledge useful to other projects.

Figure 3. Wildlands and Human Needs assisted projects, 1988-94

Mexico

*Sian Ka'an
El Triunfo
Sierra de Manantlan
+ Calakmul Biosphere Reserve

Costa Rica

*Gandoca
Barra de Colorado

Peru

*Pacaya-Samiria
Cerros de Amotape
Lake Titicaca
Ampay Forest

Guatemala

Sierra de las Minas

Honduras

Río Plátano (north)
Río Plátano (south)
Wetlands Project

Panamá

Darién Biosphere Reserve

Colombia

La Planada
+ Alto Quindío watershed

Namibia

Community game guards program

Uganda

+ Rwenzori Mountains National Park

Tanzania

Mafia Island marine park

Solomon Islands

Community resource conservation

Zimbabwe

CAMPFIRE

Papua New Guinea

+ Kikori Basin

Madagascar

+ Andohahela

Brazil

+ Jaú, + Amapá, + Cerrado

St. Lucia

*Southeast Coast Project

Dominica

* Forest products

Zambia

*ADMADE

Central African Republic

*Dzanga-Sangha Forest Reserve

Cameroon

*Mt. Kilum

* Original core projects

+ Current core projects

Source: annual reports to AID

agencies experience staff turnover, and key people are no longer available, or training has to

start over. Political conditions change, and counted-upon policies or government support fail to materialize. Underlying hypotheses turn out not to be well founded. Security concerns make it inadvisable to have staff in the field. Perhaps most commonly, funding conditions change. Formerly "core" projects become marginal ("It's hard to think about monitoring and evaluation when you're struggling to get money to put gas in the vehicles," noted an Africa program officer). New projects gain importance because of the opportunities opened up by resource availability.

In the current organizational structure, SSE functions primarily as a service provider to regional programs. This raises additional concerns about program continuity. On the one hand, SSE staff are confident of their ability to work with the regional programs to maintain a coherent set of core projects. On the other hand, it is reasonable to expect that the same conditions affecting *project* continuity will continue to prevail. **It is imperative that SSE, in future funding cycles, should maintain a "track record" with ongoing efforts sufficient to analyze data over sustained periods and learn lessons associated with transition from the pilot phase to scaling-up and long-term maintenance.** This may imply establishing a threshold for a minimum funding commitment before a project is adopted by SSE.

If, as seems likely, the program will be working with a portfolio of projects that continues to change, SSE should make efforts to address the issue of continuity *thematically*, identifying issues and hypotheses that it will track continuously over a range of projects broader than the half-dozen core projects that make up the next proposal. (Alternatively, for each project currently in the core grouping, SSE should identify one or more comparable projects in which the same issues and hypotheses are being tested, and use this pairing or clustering to assure continuity of data in case of changes in the project portfolio.) To the extent that research and monitoring will take place outside the identified core projects and countries, it can be budgeted as a headquarters cost.

Whether 25 percent of program time is sufficient to achieve thematic continuity remains open to question, and SSE needs to demonstrate that it can be done -- or make the necessary adjustments in allocation of its programmatic resources. In future funding cycles, AID should monitor closely the substance of SSE's program-level research and monitoring initiatives.

VI. Conclusions

The evaluation team believes that WWF is generally going in the right direction in its organizational strategies for integrating conservation and development. In particular, the team commends WWF's decisions on management structure, backstopping regional management of field projects with multidisciplinary teams that oversee cross-cutting issues. WWF has correctly concluded that there is no longer a need for a separate unit to *manage* integrated conservation and development projects.

SSE has also made considerable, and commendable, progress in articulating the processes by which it will provide technical support to, and attempt to learn lessons from, integrated conservation and development projects. In its program statement, *What's In a Name: Integrated Conservation and Development Projects*, SSE acknowledges that there is much still to be learned and that most efforts are still in the "launching" phase. WWF has not yet agreed on generic definitions and criteria for measuring the success of the ICDP approach, but SSE has identified critical issues to be addressed. These include participation of local people and building on indigenous knowledge; communities' ability to limit access by outsiders; creating "ownership" or "stewardship" of resources, how communities become effective institutions for sustainable resource management; a need for conflict resolution mechanisms, and monitoring of test cases, with regard to biological and socioeconomic criteria, community participation, and knowledge, skills, and attitudes.

The breadth of issues to be examined poses a special challenge to SSE to articulate a focused set of researchable hypotheses which will be the core of the technical program supported by the matching grant, even as staff seek to address the diverse needs of the portfolio of core projects. Bringing two additional social scientists on board, as SSE is now poised to do, is crucial to the further refinement of SSE's ideas about which issues and hypotheses belong at the forefront, and how to balance community-based, participative monitoring with needs for data and conclusions that transcend the individual projects.

The interim funding is an excellent opportunity for both WWF and AID (which is bringing on a new project officer whose portfolio will include the SSE grant). Eighteen months will give the SSE program a chance to match its process clarity with substantive outputs, and to continue to focus its ongoing program. The record of the past two years indicates a good chance for success.

Field report 1. Sierra de las Minas, Guatemala

A. The project

Sierra de las Minas is a 250-square-kilometer Biosphere Reserve in eastern Guatemala, the country's largest remaining extension of montane coniferous forest. The Sierra's cloud forests are the largest quetzal habitat in Guatemala, possibly in Central America. As the source of 63 rivers, Sierra de las Minas may be the most important source of drinking water in Guatemala.

There are approximately 130 communities in and around the reserve, ranging in size from a few families to populations of 1,000 or more. The northern zone is inhabited primarily by subsistence-farming Polochic and Kekchi indians on the slopes, with large plantation agriculture in the valley below. The western zone of Chilasco is dominated by subsistence and market agriculture. The Motagua valley on the southern side of the Sierra is populated primarily by *ladinos* (non-indian hispanics). This area has the major industrial development and highest population density. Nineteen roads enter the reserve, mostly from the south side.

Despite establishment of the Biosphere Reserve in 1990, the Sierra has come under increasing threat. The key factors identified by WWF and its Guatemalan partner organization, Defensores de la Naturaleza, include extraction of timber resources by large companies; expansion of the agricultural frontier up the slopes of the Sierra, with resulting deforestation due to land clearing and agriculturally induced forest fires; and to a lesser extent, hunting.

The Guatemalan government has delegated management responsibility for the reserve to Defensores, who lobbied and prepared the technical studies necessary for its establishment. Defensores' conservation and development program activities include boundary demarcation, protection, community education, biological inventories, and a sustainable agriculture extension program in the buffer zones.⁹

WWF's support for Defensores' "People-centered ecodevelopment program" in the buffer zones is an important component of the Sierra de las Minas project (RBSM is its Spanish acronym). But WWF is only one of more than 20 donors and partners contributing to some aspect of the RBSM project. (See Figure 4.)

Developing and managing such a complex field project has transformed the Guatemalan organization, bringing growth and change that even Defensores' own staff call "incredible."

⁹. Technically, the Biosphere Reserve includes both a "buffer zone" immediately surrounding the core zone and a broader "zone of influence." Here we use the term "buffer zone" generically to imply both categories.

What was a small, environmental education-oriented organization with no more than a half-dozen staff six years ago has become an internationally recognized NGO with a staff of 60, and three field offices in addition to its Guatemala City headquarters. The growth has been painful at times. The project staff with whom the evaluation team worked were nearly all new within the past year, due to a restructuring and re-staffing of the project following the firing of the previous director. However, the team concluded that the present staff and organization are well organized and exceptionally well qualified to carry out project activities.

B. Wildlands and Human Needs support

WWF has supported the Sierra de las Minas project since 1991. Brad Ack, who carried a dual portfolio in the WHN and Greater Caribbean regional program, visited frequently during the planning phases. He brought in technical assistance from COSECHA, a Honduras-based NGO whose agricultural development philosophies and methodologies became what one Defensores extensionist called "our bible." COSECHA developed training courses for project staff, provided information and skills, and made follow-up field visits to develop and modify agricultural technologies for local conditions.¹⁰

Since the transfer of project management responsibility to regional programs, and Ack's resignation in 1993, the COSECHA relationship has been the primary source of WHN inputs to the Sierra de las Minas project. The Greater Caribbean regional program provides financial support, as well as project oversight and technical assistance from regional staff with expertise in forestry, agronomy, and organizational development.

C. Sustainable agriculture

The agricultural methods promoted in the Sierra de las Minas project follow the philosophy and practices described by COSECHA founder Roland Bunch in *Two Ears of Corn*. Defensores employs a coordinator for each of the reserve's three districts, who in turn supervise teams of extensionists. Demonstration plots promote soil conservation and organic fertilizers. The approach emphasizes learning by doing, both with local farmers and women, who have developed home gardens of medicinal and food plants. Linkages are made between agricultural production, family nutrition, and health.

Defensores' agriculture extensionists are currently working in 34 communities, with plans to add 11 more by the end of 1994. The women's program is active in 11 communities and will add three more this year. An environmental education program has begun work with decision makers and in schools.

¹⁰. COSECHA provided technical assistance in organic agriculture and community development for WHN-supported projects throughout Latin America.

The evaluation team met with Defensores extensionists and participating farmers and their families, and observed approximately 50 agricultural parcels and 10 kitchen gardens. The practices in application included:

- minimum tillage
- contours and terraces
- live barriers
- cultivation of nitrogen-fixing plants
- barriers of stones and dead plant material
- canals for water catchment
- composting and use of plant materials in liquid fertilizers
- alley cropping
- use of marigolds and *ruda* as natural pest repellents.

Although there is as yet no data on acceptance of the methods promoted, the families visited by the evaluation team universally reported satisfaction with the practices adopted. Many compared their yields on conservation-tillage plots favorably with yields from other plots under traditional methods, or with past experience. One farmer reported production on a conservation-tillage plot at twice the yield from another plot of the same size where conservation techniques were not practiced. The farmer who worked the adjacent plot was reported to have joined the extension program upon observing his neighbor's good results.

D. Impact on land use patterns

Sierra de las Minas is a diverse mosaic of land use patterns, from small-scale subsistence crop production to large-scale pastoralism and timber extraction. Defensores' ecodevelopment program focuses on the subsistence farmers, and is still in an early phase, in many communities just starting up. Still, some changes in land use patterns are apparent, albeit on a small scale. Intensive organic agricultural practices have been initiated. In some of the lower elevations, farmers have initiated twice-yearly cropping cycles where previously planting was done only once a year.

Small-scale farmers in local communities in the Sierra de las Region maintain that the major cause of forest resource depletion is the actions of large landowners who are logging and burning off areas for grazing. At the same time, they acknowledge the effect of agricultural activities. The majority of local farmers understand the link between agricultural expansion and forest reduction.

Land tenure is perhaps the most important issue affecting land use patterns in the Sierra. Most of the land -- including the reserve core zone -- is privately owned, much of it by wealthy individuals and private companies. Some areas are under control of municipalities. Both governmental agencies and NGOs have initiated local-level land reform efforts, but the majority of small farmers do not have clear title to their parcels. Within the reserve core zone, Defensores has acquired crucial, threatened parcels, and negotiated with owners of others to promote forest-conserving management. There is little chance that either

Defensores or the government of Guatemala will be able to acquire the entire property, however. Developing terms to protect the core zone and legitimize local residents' management of the lands they use in the buffer zones remains a serious challenge under these conditions.

E. Validity of underlying assumptions

WWF's work in the Sierra de las Minas project has focused on strengthening Defensores' capacity to disseminate "ecologically sound, economically feasible, and culturally acceptable" development alternatives in local communities. Two assumptions are explicitly identified:

(1) that involving the community in environmentally oriented development program will cause local residents to become advocates for and guardians of the reserve's natural resources; and

(2) that investments in intensive agriculture (improved yields by means of organic fertilizers and soil conservation) will supersede extensive agriculture, and thus slow or stop the advancement of the agricultural frontier.

These are important hypotheses to test, because they are at the foundation of the conservation/development equation. All projects visited by the evaluation team, in Africa and Latin America, relied to some extent on the assumption that invasions of protected areas, or unsustainable consumption of wildlife resources, could be managed by increasing local control over the resource and substituting alternative sources of food, fuel, and income.

The evaluation team discovered some limited anecdotal evidence in Sierra de las Minas to support the first hypothesis. Employment of local people as park guards appears to have increased awareness of people's impacts in the reserve. Local people have informed the park guards and Defensores extension staff of human presence and activities in the reserve, and alerted Defensores staff to the loss of pine trees as a result of disease. Farmers said that efforts were being made to control fires on fields more carefully than was the case in the past.

Analysis of the second hypothesis is a more complicated undertaking. Until very recently, Defensores has had neither the technical expertise nor the time and resources to invest in impact monitoring at this level. Project staff have begun to compile data on participation and adoption of agricultural techniques, but the effects, if any, remain unknown.¹¹ Developing

¹¹. The team's observations indicate that results are mixed: farmers in Mal Paso and Yerba Buena are using smaller plots with more intensive methods, but in other areas, farmers have colonized new areas to test new technologies. There are also cases where farmers are using both intensive and extensive agricultural strategies on different fields, with the result that the number of fields being cultivated appears to have increased.

methods for monitoring precisely this sort of question -- especially simple methodologies that can be used by implementing organizations at the community level -- **should be a top priority of the SSE program.** The Sierra de las Minas project presents a unique opportunity to make substantial progress in this area because of Defensores' strong interest in monitoring and its ability to rely on the AID-financed PACA project to generate baseline information. A study of the present location of the agricultural frontier is scheduled to get under way soon, with collaboration from CARE and a local university.

The evaluation team also inferred from discussions with Defensores staff a number of implicit assumptions about conditions necessary to achieve the project's stated goals. Some of these relate to Defensores' ability to continue to manage and scale up the project, and are worth examining because they raise issues relevant to many local-NGO-managed ICDPs. Others are illustrative of current ideas about the conservation/development linkage which have yet to be put to the test. These assumptions, even though they are not formally stated in project documents, are, in the team's opinion, equally worth examining.

1. Obviously, achievement of project goals requires that **Defensores can achieve institutional sustainability, and afford to maintain the necessary project staff.**

The financing and administrative structure necessary to protect the reserve's core zone (including acquisition of thousands of hectares of privately owned lands), and promote sustainable development in surrounding zones, is considerable. The government agency responsible for protected areas, CONAP, is chronically weak and contributes little more than the salaries of a half-dozen park guards. Thus the future prospects of the Sierra de las Minas project depend less on continued support from WWF than from the other organizations and USAID projects which are its primary source of financial resources. Like the matching grant, many of these funding sources do not contribute to Defensores' operating expenses.

WWF and other partners have provided organizational development assistance to Defensores to help plan its administrative and financial future, meet this challenge, but future donor priorities are not entirely predictable. A year ago, for example, a near-coup and presidential ouster raised serious questions about the continuance of AID support. That crisis was resolved quickly and favorably, but governmental instability and the possibility of recurring human rights issues pose a continuing risk. The current economic crisis also limits Defensores' ability to raise funding in the Guatemalan private sector.

WWF's ability to achieve continuity with Sierra de las Minas as an SSE core project will depend on commitment from its regional program to continued financial and technical support; clear awareness of the current resource flow; identification of inputs crucial to the continuance of the project, and work with Defensores to develop additional and alternative sources. WWF should be prepared to provide significantly increased financial resources if

necessary to sustain the project in case funding from other, more significant donors should be jeopardized. The organizational development program staff's collaboration with The Nature Conservancy is a positive step in this direction.

2. Long-term sustainability of the agricultural development program requires **that people will be satisfied with self-sufficiency and limited cash crops, and that population of the area will remain relatively stable.**

It is very important for WWF to understand, for the design of future ICDPs, whether agriculture and forestry activities will provide sufficient incentives for people to limit or cease other, unsustainable resource uses, or whether these new initiatives will simply be added to current resource practices. One issue which could arise in Guatemala, as it has in Africa, is use of cash generated through marketing of increased farm production to acquire livestock, thus increasing burning of forest areas to create pasture.

An examination of integrated conservation and development projects elsewhere in the world suggests that project efforts may cause in-migration to the region. The reverse is also possible; the point is to have monitoring systems sufficient to determine what are the project's demographic impacts, if any. It is precisely these efforts which the SSE program should position itself to assist.

3. Conservation of the Biosphere Reserve requires that **forests not converted to agriculture will remain forested** (ie., timbering, firewood, grazing, etc. will not become alternative threats).

Advancement of the agricultural frontier is only one in a complex of threats to the Sierra. The people-centered ecodevelopment project has chosen to focus on small producers, but these may not be the greatest threat to the resource. Particularly in light of the land tenure situation, changes in the agricultural sector may not be sufficient to assure maintenance of forest cover. Large timber companies own a considerable amount of reserve land. Even if efforts to secure title for local producers are successful, experience in projects elsewhere indicates that this will not necessarily bring about greater conservation. In one case, in a community west of El Mirador, farmers who had been given title to their land by the government agricultural agency were considering selling rights to a timber company to cut trees on their parcels.

"If we don't do the *right* things in these projects," an AID/Guatemala officer told the team, "nothing else we do will matter." Sierra de las Minas seems to be an excellent test case of whether concentrating on small producers is the "right" approach, and what other development, policy, and enforcement mechanisms are necessary and sufficient to achieve sustainable use. Thus it would be worth while for SSE to assist Defensores and/or its project collaborators such as TNC and CARE, in monitoring developments in demographics, forestry, and other relevant sectors in addition to agriculture.

4. Finally, the success of the project requires that **scaling-up techniques will allow Defensores to promote appropriate technology to the remainder of the reserve areas, while maintaining a lean and effective administrative structure.** In El Mirador, Defensores is preparing to turn over the extension work to local promoters. It will be important to determine if the process of learning, teaching, and adoption continues or if farmers to stop using conservation techniques. Specific markers that could be used by Defensores and other organizations to determine whether or not "reinforcement" extension work was necessary could include the colonization of forested areas, increased rates of out-migration, complaints from local farmers about agricultural problems, reduced crop yields, and declining nutritional conditions. SSE staff, with COSECHA's help, could use this area as a case study to learn lessons about "what happens when the project moves out."

F. Participation of stakeholders

The stakeholders in the Sierra de las Minas project include rural community residents, large landowners, town dwellers, industries such as timber and large-scale agriculture, local and international NGOs, municipalities, central government agencies, and various donors. Stakeholders who participate in Defensores' project activities are primarily those community residents who receive training in agriculture, nutrition, health, and environmental conservation, participate in planning, and provide feedback. Defensores staff also engage in consultation at the community, municipality, and district levels. Public information on environmental conservation is provided through posters, workshops, meetings in schools, and the media.

Several lessons have been learned by Defensores and by WWF from the participation of stakeholders in the activities of this project. First, attention must be paid to all segments of the community in providing extension information and development assistance. Gender, age, kinship affiliation, ethnicity, class, and other socioeconomic factors must be taken into consideration. Development and conservation messages have to be aimed carefully at specific target groups in order to maximize impact.

Second, special efforts must be made to obtain information on the demographic and land tenure status of the regions in which projects are being planned and implemented. The complexity of the land tenure systems present in the region and the variability in people's land use and land rights had a significant effect on the efficacy of the various development initiatives. Having a detailed understanding of land tenure is crucial to the success of the Sierra de las Minas project as well as other ICDPs both in the Latin American and Caribbean region elsewhere. Social science input on the land tenure issue from SSE would be useful, according to Defensores staff; at the same time, it was pointed out that the kinds of information necessary would take significant effort by a person well-acquainted with Guatemala. This argues for tapping local talent, possibly from the university, government, or NGOs working in the country.

Third, a close working relationship between personnel in the field and headquarters is crucial. Decentralizing authority is a process which many NGOs, including Defensores and WWF, are embarking on. By allowing for greater say in decision-making at the district level, headquarters staff will have time to deal more effectively with policy issues. It will enable district level staff members the chance to implement activities based on knowledge of local-level realities and will provide them with additional management and administrative experience.

G. Capacity building

The capacity of community-based organizations and individuals to outline their problems, set priorities, and plan interventions has expanded in the Sierra de las Minas area. It was evident that meetings had been held at the local level in which community members discussed what they thought were the most potent threats to their environments and the ways in which they might solve them. Women have become involved in a wider variety of development and conservation activities. Stakeholders in the Sierra de las Minas region indicated their appreciation of the willingness of Defensores and COSECHA staff to listen to their ideas and to adapt their strategies to local realities.

As the Sierra de las Minas project has matured over the past four years, Defensores has assembled an outstanding team of dedicated professionals at all levels. Although there has been significant turnover as priorities have evolved and different needs have become clear, within the past nine to 12 months the structure and leadership of the Sierra de las Minas program seems to have come together and stabilized. Reserve director Oscar Nuñez focuses primarily on technical and protection matters while deputy director Estuardo Secaira oversees the "people-centered ecodevelopment" aspects.

The evaluation team was particularly impressed with Secaira's depth of knowledge and abilities in the field. The three district coordinators are all well equipped to manage programs. Although two have been hired only within the past few months, they are long-term residents of the area and have significant prior experience with related projects as well as a solid understanding of Defensores' (COSECHA's) philosophy and methods in the field. The extensionists likewise are well versed in the program's "big picture" as well as in specific agricultural methods.

At this point, Defensores no longer needs intensive training and technical assistance to support its leadership and management of the Sierra de las Minas program. The organization has matured to the point where it can identify needed technical inputs (eg., cartographers for the agricultural frontier study, assistance with land tenure). WWF's assistance has evolved, and should continue to evolve, toward responding to specific needs, and perhaps maintaining a budget for yet-to-be-identified technical support, to be applied as needs arise. One area where Defensores staff felt that they needed additional assistance was in income generation and business skills development; they would also like to become more knowledgeable about environmental trust funds and perhaps establish a Defensores fund. SSE could help in both

these areas.

One area in which a more intensive involvement is indicated is that of monitoring and evaluation. Defensores already has made significant progress in this area. The organization uses a logical framework format in its operational planning. Under Estuardo Secaira's leadership, extensionists and district coordinators are reporting data on adoption of agricultural techniques (by farmer) and participation (by individual) in child health, kitchen garden, and environmental education programs. The PACA/CARE study of the agricultural frontier will provide useful baseline data for further evaluations, to help Defensores determine whether adoption of agricultural techniques leads, as predicted, to slowing the advance of the frontier.

Still, because the program is complex, and because it rests on hypotheses that could be characterized as quite speculative (albeit well founded), Defensores needs to further develop its monitoring systems. There is a need for simple, flexible, elegant measures that will determine not only whether the program of activities was successfully implemented, but also whether the predicted impacts were realized. These measures should rely to the extent possible on the considerable expertise of the team already in the field, rather than on external consultants. However, just as the agricultural extension program balanced "bottom-up" learning with an established methodology and set of techniques (*Two Ears of Corn*), a successful monitoring program will also require substantive inputs -- expertise in selecting elegant indicators, data collection and analysis methods -- in addition to participative design.

Like WWF itself, Defensores needs to systematize its feedback loops. There is a need to analyze, on a regular basis, whether the necessary interventions are being carried out effectively and efficiently, as well as whether the interventions in total are sufficient to achieve program objectives. If successful in this effort, Defensores also would increase its administrative efficiency by avoiding "re-invention of the wheel" each time an evaluation team from one of the funders or partner projects arrived on the scene.

WWF's future technical assistance in monitoring and evaluation thus should be highly specialized to meet Defensores' particular situation and needs, and to avoid going back over the ground the organization already has covered. There is an opportunity to start from an especially solid base and do ground-breaking work here. WWF should consider supporting a Defensores staff position or long-term resident local consultant in addition to technical assistance from its own team.

H. Conclusions

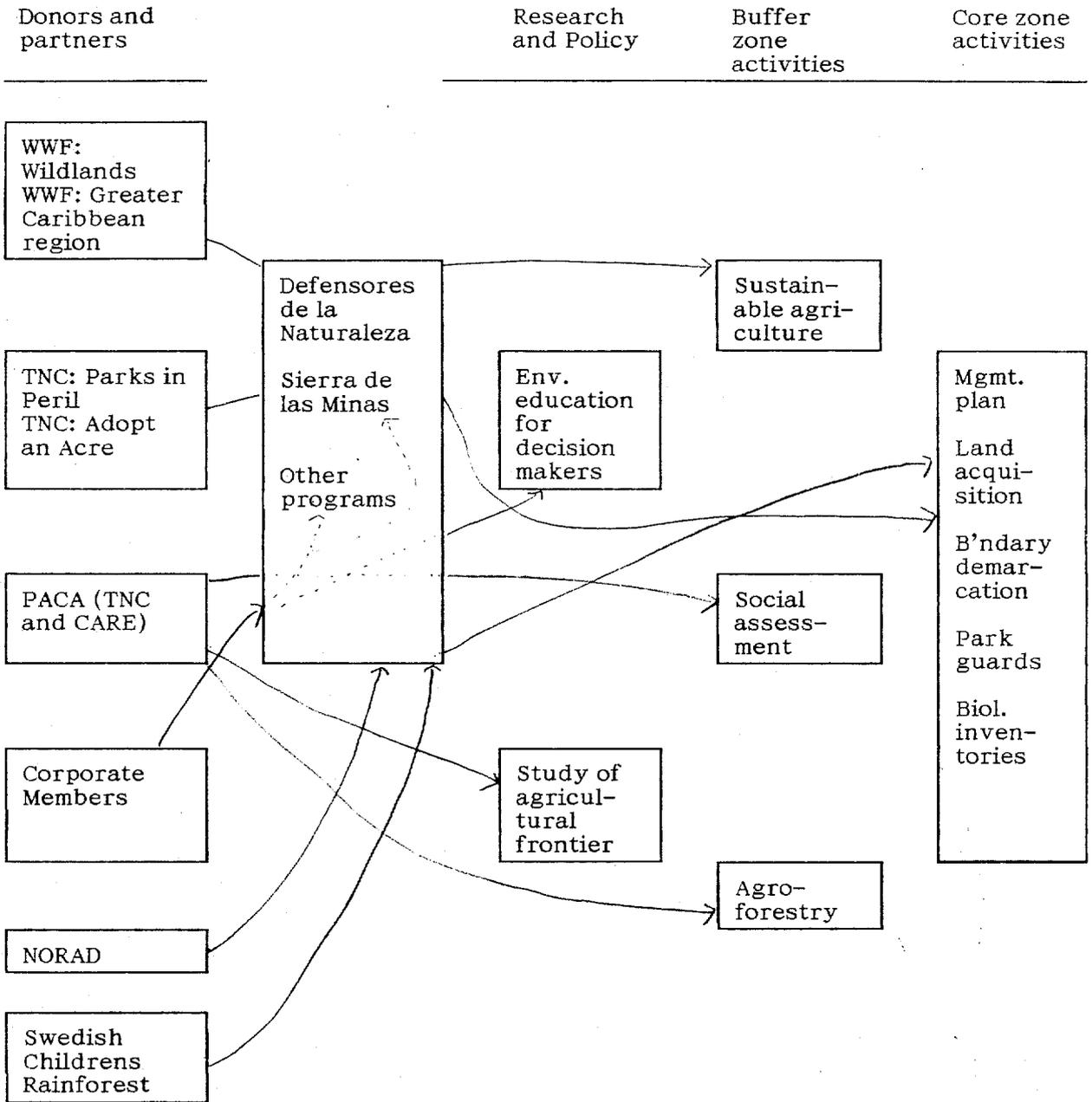
The methods and approaches employed by Defensores are socially sound and culturally acceptable. The various stakeholders in the Sierra de las Minas region have increased their capacity to implement development projects. Local institutions, such as women's organizations, have been strengthened. Awareness of environmental issues has increased, in part as a result of the educational and media efforts undertaken by Defensores. Although

attribution of results is difficult in a project of this complexity, it is clear that WHN has played an important role.

Defensores de la Naturaleza and the Sierra de las Minas project are an impressive example of what a local organization can do given strong local leadership, solid technical and financial support, and sound development methodologies. But a word of caution is in order. The organization's recent growth needs a chance to stabilize before additional new initiatives are considered. And organizational assistance, particularly in achieving financial sustainability, will continue to be paramount. Nonetheless, this project represents an excellent achievement and a potential to continue to learn lessons that will enrich ICDPs worldwide.

Figure 4

Sierra de las Minas Biosphere Reserve Project



(others) ⇌

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Field report 2. Rwenzori Mountains National Park, Uganda

A. The project

The Rwenzori Mountains -- Africa's legendary "Mountains of the Moon" -- lie along the border of Uganda and Zaire, with their crest forming the international boundary. Three of Africa's five highest peaks can be found here, their snow-capped summits almost perpetually obscured by clouds. The Rwenzoris are the highest and most permanent source of the waters of the Nile, home to many endemic animal and plant species, including at least six species of animals considered globally threatened.

The Rwenzoris' unique climate ("every day is summer, every night is winter") has produced a strange and giant array of plants, for which the Swedish scientist Olov Hedberg coined the phrase "Africa's botanical big game." The forest has always been an important communal resource for the Bakonjo and Batoro people, who farm, raise domestic animals, and depend on the forest as a source of fuelwood, medicines, honey, animals for meat and skins, and bamboo for building materials, poles, and fiber.

Approximately 20 percent of the range lies in Zaire and has been protected since 1929 in what is now called *Parc National des Virunga*. On the Ugandan side, slopes above 7,000 feet were made a national forest reserve in 1941. Despite advancing clearing, burning, cultivation and erosion on the lower slopes, and the virtual disappearance of the forest agency's field presence in the 1970s, the people who live in the area have largely respected the reserve boundary. In 1991, the reserve was regazetted as the Rwenzori Mountains National Park. The park supports a tourist industry that has grown in the past three years to some 1,800 visitors per year, who pay a \$23 entry fee. Some pay an additional \$250 for lodging, guide, and porter services, provided by a local mountaineering society with an exclusive concession for these services.

WWF's Rwenzori Mountains Conservation and Development Project, financed by USAID/Uganda, aims to help the national park staff and neighboring communities to conserve the natural resources of the area while enhancing the communities' quality of life through the promotion of sustainable natural resource management practices. The project is administered by WWF staff responsible to the East and Southern Africa program director. Staff include the project leader, training coordinator, community development specialist, and administrator, who work from an office in Fort Portal on the northern side of the park, and 10 extensionists.

The project is completing its first USAID grant, and has an annual budget of \$270,000. WWF has submitted a proposal for a second five-year grant totaling approximately \$3 million.

Project activities have included:

- a needs assessment in the 37 parishes surrounding the park;
- assisting in the establishment of park management advisory committees (PMACs) and other forms of stakeholder participation in decision making;
- assisting with the adaptation of standard Uganda National Parks by-laws to develop interim regulations suitable for the special circumstances of Rwenzori;
- in collaboration with Uganda National Parks, identifying key components of the management plan and potential parties to take responsibility for them;
- working with the park, local governments, and communities to devise a mechanism for sharing park revenues;
- developing and conducting community conservation education programs; and
- promoting rural development activities in five pilot parishes.

As the project was starting, the forest reserve was regazetted as a national park. Originally it was to have included a core zone in the highest mountain (alpine) areas, and a surrounding buffer or limited-use zone in the remainder (about two-thirds) of the reserve area. In the end, the entire reserve was regazetted as national park. This caused conflict in the surrounding communities, because the designation automatically brought use restrictions stricter than what had been envisioned.

The project was first set up as a grant to an internationally hired project executant, who failed to deliver several important project outputs. USAID/Uganda and WWF-International personnel from the Nairobi regional office took a leadership role in 1992 to restructure the project and bring in a new project leader. WWF-US at that time was also restructuring and bringing on new staff in both the WHN and Africa programs. Since early 1993, WHN staff have played an active role in support of the Rwenzori Mountains project team, by providing information, training, and technical assistance.

Wildlands program officer Patty Larson visited in February 1993 to provide input for the community needs assessment and to develop a logical framework for the project, sharing ideas and approaches from other ICDPs in Africa. She provided follow-up technical assistance from Washington, and returned to Uganda in February 1994 to lead a regional monitoring and evaluation workshop for WWF staff from east and central Africa. She served as team leader for the final evaluation submitted to USAID and assisted with a concept paper and proposal for the project's next five years.

The reorganization and reformulation effort, with leadership from the project steering committee, USAID/Uganda, project leader Dan McCall, WWF-International, WWF-US's East and Southern Africa regional team, and SSE, has been the key factor in the Rwenzori Mountains National Park project achieving a "good" rating in its most recent AID review,

having consistently been rated fair to poor in its early years. The final evaluation found that the project has had a positive impact on park/community relations, and has improved the skills of park and extension staff, although to date there is not adequate baseline data for monitoring and it is too soon to see "on the ground" impacts from extension programs. SSE participation in the evaluation was important in identifying two key issues on community participation: a need to address gender issues, and to better involve people living closest to the park.

SSE plans future assistance to the Rwenzori Mountains project in the form of continuing support to monitoring and evaluation efforts; exchange visits for project staff to other ICDPs in Africa; and technical assistance by SSE program staff in demographic and gender analysis, land and resource tenure, and ecoventures.

B. Underlying assumptions

The fundamental assumptions of the RMNP conservation and development project are that people will look more favorably on the park if they can develop alternatives to the resources they have relied on the park to provide, and further, that these alternative development activities are likely to reduce the demands of the local community on the park's natural resources.

These assumptions depend in turn on the assumptions that over-exploitation of the resources is due in part to a lack of access to alternatives; that alternatives can be identified; that qualified persons can be found to develop and promote them; and that these alternatives, once adopted, will be sustainable even in the absence of outside assistance. The project's success also depends to a great extent on continuing political stability.

To date, there is little evidence either to support or to contradict these assumptions. In the parishes visited by the evaluation team, residents expressed appreciation of the value of protecting the park, and willingness to cooperate in its conservation if they had other sources of firewood, honey, and land for grazing and cultivation. However, their "laundry list" of needed services is far greater than what the project is designed to provide. It should also be noted that the total sampling of residents visited was not representative of the surrounding zones as a whole.

The extension project has not been under way long enough to determine its acceptance or adoption rate within the parishes. However, all of the technologies seem capable of providing a sustainable source of alternative food, forage, and income if generally adopted. It will be important to monitor, as the project moves into its second phase, the relative success of extension programs supported directly through the project in the five pilot parishes, compared to extension programs supported indirectly through nongovernmental and community-based organizations. The key assumption behind the project's plan to scale up and reach a critical mass of the 37 parishes surrounding the park is that training of trainers and support of these local organizations will provide the project with the presence and reach

needed to transfer appropriate technologies area-wide.

There is reason to be concerned about instability in the park management structure. A new chief warden will be named in the near future, the fourth inside of one year. This turnover has affected the project's ability to contribute to developing a management plan. The park is generally conceded to be staffed with wardens, guards, and rescue personnel whose job descriptions in many cases are not clear, and whose training is inadequate to their responsibilities. As a result, there are staff who do not actually spend time performing the duties that would be inferred from their titles, and who are unavailable to actually work on efforts that the project would like to support in environmental education, community relations, etc.

C. Participation of stakeholders

RMCDP staff have developed excellent ties with people at the district, sub-county, and parish levels. The project has assisted in the establishment of a Park Management Advisory Committee and the formation of three district-level subcommittees of the PMAC. It has also helped establish Parish Conservation and Development Committees (PCDCs) in the five target parishes.

Stakeholders in the Rwenzoris Conservation and Development Project include approximately 170,000 area residents, park personnel, extensionists, the Rwenzoris Mountaineering Service (RMS), officials of the three districts comprising 37 parishes surrounding the park, various community-based organizations, local tour operators, the Ministry of Tourism, Wildlife, and Antiquities and its parastatal organization Uganda National Parks, government technical personnel, Peace Corps, USAID, and NGOs working in the region.

Stakeholders participate in the project primarily through involvement in the steering committee, PMACs, and PCDCs and through contacts with project personnel, including parish extensionists. Community residents benefit directly from training in agriculture, forestry, soil conservation, beekeeping, ecotourism, soil block making, and use of fuel-efficient stoves. Training has benefited extensionists and enhanced the ability of local institutions, particularly PCDCs, to plan and implement development activities.

SSE technical support has helped project staff identify issues affecting participation and social soundness. For example, there need to be more presentations in language that local people can understand, both simpler English and local languages (e.g. Lukonjo, Rutooro). Park-community linkages need further strengthening. Establishment of interim bylaws which allow for limited utilization of some resources was a positive step. However, if people discover that their need for resources from the park is greater than was anticipated, they may request that the limits on utilization be lifted when the bylaws are revised again.

One of the most crucial issues identified as a result of SSE technical assistance was the

need to involve women more effectively in project activities. While the 1993 needs assessment identified the significance of women's roles in wood collection, agriculture, and other activities, the involvement of women as stakeholders in the project has not been as great as it should be. A Women's Conservation and Development Officer will be recruited during the second phase of the project.

SSE technical inputs also emphasized the need for enhanced community participation in project activities. One of the issues that arose in the SSE-led assessment of sustainability related to the degree to which the PMACs and PCDCs were recognized as viable and legitimate institutions by communities. The three districts in which the project is being carried out contain several different ethnic groups, including Bakonjo, Batoro, Baamba, Batwa, and Batuku. The Bakonjo, who live closest to the park, were under-represented in PMACs and PCDCs. In one parish, residents requested that similar demonstration projects be established in two areas, one in the mountains and the other on the plains, so that the distinct ethnic groups could benefit from them. The project staff, while itself ethnically diverse and sensitive to such issues, noted this as an example of their need for additional assistance in social science.

A number of lessons could be learned from this project about dealing with ethnic diversity and social conflicts. One such lesson is the need for equity in extension assistance and demonstration plot placement. Of the 10 extensionists there is only one Mutooro; the rest, all Bakonjo, defer to him in part because of his command of English and outgoing personality, but also by habit. Having a greater understanding of the history of ethnic relations in the region -- which have been complex and extremely tense at times -- would assist project personnel in avoiding pitfalls and ensuring that project activities proceed smoothly.

The discussions between SSE staff and project personnel have highlighted a number of other concerns. An issue that will need to be addressed is the degree to which the PCDCs overlap with community-based organizations such as farmers' groups, women's organizations, and church groups. These groups need to be strengthened and involved more directly in park and project activities. Another issue is the need for improved information flow between representative councils and community members generally.

D. Capacity building

People in the project area have become increasingly aware of community development and conservation issues. Project management structures are in place in five of the 37 parishes surrounding the park. It was apparent that there was variation in the strength of these structures. Linkages between PCDCs and other community-based organizations need to be strengthened, as do information dissemination and participation in decision-making.

The Rwenzori Mountains project is in many ways a model of how WWF plans to go about capacity building for monitoring and evaluation. Project personnel participated in the SSE-sponsored M & E workshop in Uganda in early 1994. They were then able to come up with a comprehensive M & E system that has been incorporated into the design of the second

phase of the RMCDP. The inclusion of local people in the monitoring and evaluation work has the potential for increasing their ownership of the results, and would serve to enhance their understanding of their own socioeconomic situations. Ongoing technical assistance and training in M & E is included in SSE's future project plans.

E. New technologies

While it is too early to say whether new technologies promoted by the project will be adopted and have the desired results, it is possible to offer some comments on their social, economic, and environmental soundness. Technologies promoted by the project include tree-planting, agriculture, beekeeping, soil-block construction, and the use of fuel-efficient stoves. Agroforestry and agricultural activities were promoted as a means of reducing pressure on the park's resources and filling the gap left by restricted access under the park regulations. Bakonjo populations in the vicinity of the park traditionally have planted trees, so the expansion of agroforestry is not expected to meet much cultural resistance. Agroforestry has been successful elsewhere in Uganda, and the preliminary indications in the Rwenzoris area are that tree-planting is a viable activity. Careful attention will have to be paid to who has rights to the trees (there may be a gender difference).

Three constraints that could affect the success of agroforestry are (1) the labor-intensive nature of tree-growing, (2) access to land in the area, and (3) the cost of the trees. Land shortage was identified as a constraint by some of the farmers with whom the team spoke. Work will have to be done on bamboo planting in areas outside of the park, given the importance of bamboo to the local economy.

The needs assessment and observations in the Rwenzoris region underscored the importance of honey collection and beekeeping activities in and adjacent to the park. There are a number of beekeeping associations in the parishes surrounding the park, so there is a nascent institutional framework within which to carry out training and conduct demonstrations. According to project personnel, women have a strong interest in beekeeping. The agroforestry program could play a role in beekeeping by introducing species of trees that flower for longer periods and which have features of significance to beekeepers.

Some of the agricultural extension activities seen in Sierra de las Minas are also found in the Rwenzoris (contour bands, "trash lines," green mulch, minimum tillage, etc.). The success of these practices will be affected by constraints such as increased labor requirements and the often lengthy period of time it takes for the impacts of soil conservation to be realized.

Another practice which the project was promoting was the use of pressed soil blocks. Traditional brick making for home construction consumes fuelwood resources. Soil-block presses may be an alternative, although costs of the presses are apparently relatively high (US \$300-500). Several organizations in the region have also been promoting fuel-efficient stoves as a means of fuelwood conservation. Closer collaboration by the RMNP project with these

organizations will enhance the chances of this technology being adopted.

The team's discussions with PCDC members and parish residents in Rubona and Kazingo indicated strong desire to increase household incomes. One means of doing this, according to informants, was marketing of crafts and local resources. Some of the Rwenzori plants are potentially of great pharmaceutical importance. Concern was expressed, however, over the problem of intellectual property rights and the impacts of international trade agreements. These topics would be useful ones to pursue in future SSE technical assistance, training, and networking visits.

F. Human pressures

One of the most important hypotheses this project can test is whether the various alternative activities being promoted will provide sufficient substitutes for resources people have been accustomed to get from the park. To do this, it will be necessary to have better baseline data on current levels of resource extraction. The needs assessment done in 1993 provided some general information along these lines, but much more detailed quantitative data will be required in order to measure the degree to which resources are being utilized and whether these utilization patterns are actually changing through the adoption of substitutes.

Human pressures on the protected area may have been reduced, according to anecdotal information provided by park personnel and parish residents. There has been a reduction in the number of people entering the park to collect resources, in part because of fear of arrest and because of increased environmental awareness. The number of arrests for illegal hunting are on the decline (UNP data). A worrying trend is the increase in the number of women being arrested for collecting firewood in the park. There was some dissatisfaction expressed by parish residents concerning the arrests of women, which they felt to be particularly unfair given the importance of firewood to the local economy.

G. Technical assistance and training

The Rwenzori project staff are well-qualified, highly competent, and dedicated individuals with experience in other projects of this type. They generally are foresters with some background in community work, and feel a need to diversify expertise through specialized training and adding staff with different skills. The staff members have not yet had time to take away from own work to make exchange visits to ICDPs outside Uganda, something it that they feel would be extremely useful. (Staff expressed a preference to see other ICDPs that are only a little more advanced rather than those so advanced that they only serve to emphasize the development gap and discourage the visitors.)

The project does have a continuing need for technical assistance and training in specific areas of applied social research. There is a substantial pool of qualified labor available to draw upon to meet many of these needs regionally if not locally. However, many Ugandan

experts are already "spread too thin," so there will be continuing needs for expatriate training and technical assistance.

The project has provided both formal and in-service training to park staff. The climate is right for establishing a full-fledged park/community partnership. For this process to be successful, additional training inputs will be necessary. The park will probably require organizational development assistance and training in program planning, management, and budgeting. This is particularly true for those individuals who will be part of the park community relations and extension unit. These needs are included in the phase II project plans and budget.

AID/Uganda's Grants Management Unit, of which the Rwenzori project in its second phase is expected to be a major component, has a training program, and conducted an M & E training workshop in December 1993. Another is scheduled for August 1994. In this situation, from a strategic point of view, it makes sense to question the investment of SSE resources in providing routine technical backstopping of M & E programs for this project.¹² Its continued involvement should look instead to opportunities to develop the research agenda, systems, and tools to investigate underlying hypotheses and distill lessons that may be applicable in other ICDPs.

H. Conclusions

One of the outputs of the SSE work in RMNP has been to give greater weight to social science and applied research issues. Because of recommendations by SSE, a broader and more participatory set of approaches to development are being utilized in the project. The SSE program assistance was crucial in part because of timing -- the project had made a number of critical assumptions without having mechanisms in place to check them regularly. (This is more or less a constant in ICDPs, with the initial need to get things going on the ground outweighing information needs.) The phase II project design includes a substantial capability for monitoring and evaluation, including ecological as well as social considerations. The recent needs assessment provides a framework for identifying key research priorities. In the future, SSE inputs will need to be more specialized, focusing on such topics as microenterprise promotion, ecotourism, and assistance in detailed socioeconomic data collection.

¹². This point was a subject of some disagreement by the SSE and WWF Uganda staff, who would prefer to continue with the current arrangement, feeling that the locally available technical assistance does not meet their needs as well. Still, the evaluation team would recommend that rather than duplicating services, AID should look into this issue further to see if the locally available program can be expanded or adapted, which should be a much more efficient use of resources than continuing to provide assistance from Washington.

This project differs from Sierra de las Minas in its strategic approaches. Perhaps most important, in Uganda the park agency has physical domain of the park lands and clear legal authority and personnel to manage them. But the park has not had particularly good relations with residents and communities -- in fact there has been outright hostility. As a result, the WWF project made affirmative efforts in its initial stages to distance itself from the park. There were reasons for this approach, primarily to be able to develop working relationships with surrounding communities suspicious of the national park establishment.

This separation of the project and the park, combined with the high turnover rates in park staff, has meant that while project staff have good access to SSE staff, materials, publications, and workshops, park staff seem unaware that they exist. Park staff also need access to theoretical and practical information on ICDPs. Workshops, publications, and training materials could play a useful role in building skills for park-community relations and improving morale. WWF has taken affirmative steps in the past year to see that the park and the project work more closely together. The project has requested that the park assign counterparts to all project staff in the second phase.

Several important lessons have been learned about implementing ICDPs from this project. The first is the importance of applied biological and social scientific work as early as possible. Such a strategy would have resulted in earlier realization of the importance of women's resource procurement and labor inputs. Second, it is critical to have social science and development inputs throughout the life of a project. The contributions of SSE to this project at various points have helped ensure that it has moved to ensure participation and a balance between conservation and development objectives.

A third lesson is that ICDPs must take into consideration the broader contexts in which they are being implemented. The RMCDP operates in a highly fluid political environment. Uganda is undergoing a program of decentralization, delegating national authority and programs to the district, county, and subcounty levels. One of the three districts included in the project, Kasese, is a pilot district under both the national decentralization plan and the National Environmental Action Plan process. This provides opportunities if WWF is a savvy political player, but also threats. Appropriate actions need to be taken to ensure that programs and project activities fit into the larger sociopolitical context and that policy dialogue with decision-makers at all levels is maintained.

This project, with its capable staff, secure financial footing, and solid start on biological and social monitoring, represents both a solid initial investment by SSE and an opportunity to advance the state of knowledge about ICDPs. Continued investment in the project, as described above, is recommended.

Field report 3. Southern Africa Community-Based Natural Resources Management Network, Namibia and Zimbabwe

A. Background

The Southern Africa Community-Based Natural Resources Management (CBNRM) Network is a communications and technical exchange mechanism supported by the Wildlands and Human Needs project over the past three years. Its objective is to distill and share lessons from resource management projects in the region. It is not a formal network in the sense of having a membership and regular events or communications channels; rather, it is a group of implementers and collaborators in WWF-supported projects, whose membership has varied but includes a core of long-term participants.

In southern Africa, WWF-US generally does not itself implement programs. All WWF offices in Africa are managed by WWF-International, responsible to the headquarters office in Switzerland. WWF-US's role is to be the project leader in USAID projects such as LIFE in Namibia and ADMADE in Zambia, and in other activities, to provide financial and technical support.

The projects that form the core of the Southern Africa CBNRM Network all focus on development and empowerment of local communities and institutions to manage wildlife and other natural resources, and to share in revenues earned from their use. They include:

- The Regional Natural Resource Management Project of USAID, which includes Botswana, Zambia, Zimbabwe, and Malawi. This project seeks to increase the capabilities of rural communities on marginal lands to meet basic human needs by broadening their resource base and managing resources in a sustainable manner. Project strategies include technical assistance, training, grants, networking, and information dissemination.
- Zimbabwe's CAMPFIRE program (Communal Areas Management Program for Indigenous Resources) -- headquartered in the Department of National Parks and Wildlife. WWF-International collaborates through its Multispecies Animal Production Systems (MAPS) project.
- Zambia's ADMADE project (Administrative Management Design). Originally administered by the Wildlands and Human Needs Program, ADMADE is now managed by WWF-US's East and Southern Africa regional program.
- The LIFE project in Namibia, which supports community-based resource management projects of the Namibian NGOs IRDNC (Integrated Rural Development and Nature Conservation), Nyae Nyae Development Foundation, and others.
- The Bazaruto Archipelago Conservation Project in Mozambique, supported by revenues from the Bazaruto National Park, the Endangered Wildlife Trust, and the South African

Nature Foundation.

- WWF's Lake Malawi National Park project, and the Malawi-German and Kusungu beekeeping projects in Malawi.

The network consists of a core group of "key contact" persons in Namibia, Zimbabwe, Botswana, Tanzania, and Zambia. WWF staff and collaborating agencies and organizations from Malawi, Mozambique, and the Republic of South Africa have also participated in workshops and other contacts with WWF staff, and receive occasional mailings and materials distributed among participants.

The network had its beginnings at a 1991 workshop convened to establish contact among implementers, analyze issues, and develop case studies and other training materials. WHN staff had observed that several projects in the region were developing community-based approaches to conservation, each operating independently and with little opportunity to learn from approaches tried by others. WHN contracted a consultant team skilled in the Harvard Business School teaching-case methodology to design and facilitate a workshop, with the objective of developing a series of case studies on community-based natural resource management projects.

When the workshop convened, however, it turned out that the participants -- 26 project managers from eight countries -- had different agendas. Leadership in community-based conservation and natural resource management is a sensitive issue in southern Africa, and there was strong participant sentiment, especially from representatives of projects in Zimbabwe and Namibia, that they should develop their own agenda, priorities, and principles, which might be different from the format originally proposed. After much discussion of experiences, priorities, and lessons learned, the participants adopted a set of principles for community-based natural resource management projects, and decided to meet again. Although at first there had been skepticism about the teaching-case methodology, five projects eventually became the subject of teaching cases, prepared by project managers with assistance from WWF staff and the workshop facilitators.

Wildlands program staff followed up the workshop with a questionnaire and personal contacts, and in early 1992 contracted a consultant to assess training needs in the region. The consultant distributed materials, assessed what was available in the region, and met with governmental and nongovernmental organizations, project implementers, and project supporters. Although at that time the network was mostly an idea, and a mailing list, rather than a functioning entity, participants from the first workshop were exchanging ideas about the place and theme for a second. Brian Child of Zimbabwe's CAMPFIRE program proposed a workshop centered on that program's revenue-sharing concepts. In February 1993, 22 project managers and community leaders from seven countries, including some who had participated in the first workshop, convened in Zimbabwe to observe and discuss CAMPFIRE's community wildlife programs. Participants observed the actual distribution of revenues to members of a CAMPFIRE community that had established trophy hunting quotas

**The Hwange Principles
Guiding Principles for Community-based Conservation**

1. The conservation of biodiversity can be promoted by adapting appropriate land-use systems.
2. Communities must be empowered through the promotion of the community's role in decision-making, planning, implementation, evaluation.
3. Effective communication to community members of information for decision-making and empowerment is necessary.
4. Dialogue with all stakeholders and relevant parties is essential.
5. Community must have appropriate control over, access to, and responsibility for the wise and sustainable use of natural resources.
6. Promotion of self reliance and competence at various levels is vital to avoid long-term dependency or failure.
7. There must be a clear understanding that benefits are inextricably linked to the sustainable utilization of the resources.
8. For community-based conservation to succeed, appropriate, representative, and acceptable institutions must be developed for decision-making, management and consultation.
9. There should be a strategic selling of the programme at levels above the field (eg, district, regional, national and international) by the implementing agency and sponsors with increasing legitimation and involvement of the community.
10. Enabling legislation must be enacted that allows for decision making power to be vested in local institutions and for communities and individuals to derive direct benefits from the sustainable utilization of the resources.

(for elephant, buffalo, lion, and other species) and contracted a concession with a safari operator.

In addition to the two workshops, activities of the network to date have included:

1. Ivan Bond and Charles Mackie of WWF-International's MAPS project in Zimbabwe,

together with Brian Child and Emanuel Kawadza of the Zimbabwe Department of National Parks and Wildlife Management's CAMPFIRE program, visited Namibia in July 1993. They visited areas where the NGO IRDNC conducted programs, including East and West Caprivi, where they met community game guards and project staff. They also visited Linshulu Lodge, which has instituted a bed levy for conservation. They visited Eastern Bushmanland and Kunene Province (IRDNC, Wereldsend Environmental Education Center), and spoke to officials in the Ministry of Environment and Tourism and others involved in development and conservation activities in Namibia. SSE also supported Bond's participation in a wildlife symposium in Costa Rica and visit to WWF-US.

2. Sheila Ramsay of Mozambique's Bazaruto Archipelago Conservation Project visited Namibia in May 1994 to participate in workshops in Caprivi and Kunene provinces, training project field staff and communities. Ramsay was interested not only in the content of the workshops but also in developing skills in training and experiential learning. She hopes to apply social research, training, and environmental education skills in the Bazaruto project.

3. There is continuing contact among network members and SSE staff. Research results have been distributed (e.g. those of the WWF Multispecies Animal Production Project and the Center for Applied Social Sciences at the University of Zimbabwe). SSE has distributed materials, and provided network participants with information on project evaluations and technical papers, and names and addresses of contact people.

B. Impacts on field projects

Participants in the network interviewed by the evaluation team all had positive comments about the value of meeting and knowing each other and learning from other projects. The Zimbabwe-Namibia exchange provided an opportunity to compare the advantages and disadvantages of two very different approaches: CAMPFIRE's "econocentric" distribution of wildlife revenues to communities and IRDNC's "socially centered" focus on community empowerment. Seeing the positive results of sharing revenues from safari hunting in a Zimbabwean community, IRDNC decided to move quickly to include wildlife-generated revenue sharing in its own programs. (Revenue sharing also became a policy issue, as changes in Namibian law were necessary before communities could be granted economic authority over wildlife resources.)

The exchange visit by Zimbabwean project staff to the Namibian site brought further refinements in IRDNC's plans, including lobbying the government to set allocation of wildlife revenues in such a way as to make wildlife economically competitive with livestock as a potential use of communally managed lands. The policy input from the Zimbabwean project came at a time when the Namibian law was still in process and thus could be adjusted. Looking at the policy framework in which CAMPFIRE operates was also useful to Namibian government agencies currently establishing a policy for community ownership and management of wildlife resources.

CAMPFIRE staff also benefited from observing the program established by IRDNC in Namibia, observing that community empowerment was itself a valuable component of a resource management program. CAMPFIRE had initially focused almost exclusively on the economic benefits to communities of wildlife management and use, but as a result of the visit, began to see community organization in a different light. They have also diversified their program to include not just safari hunting, but also community campsites, tourism, and other development efforts.

The experience gained through networking in southern Africa has encouraged several countries to re-examine their national environmental legislation and procedures. In Zambia, it was agreed that greater efforts needed to be made to ensure that benefits under ADMADE were distributed more widely. The Botswana approach to CBNRM has profited from discussions of participatory methods of community development. A practical result of the exchange visit by Zimbabweans to Namibia was the decision to improve the implementation of electric fences, something that already has cut recurrent project costs.

Workshops sponsored by the network allowed for the free flow of ideas and the critical assessment of approaches employed. The observations of the distribution of economic benefits at Mahenye in Zimbabwe served to underscore the importance of working closely with regional and district-level institutions as well as at the grassroots level. The creation of new institutions (e.g. ward wildlife committees), while a good idea in many cases, does not necessarily serve to ensure greater community involvement in decision-making and access to economic resources and social services. This lesson was not lost on the Namibian representatives, who have begun to re-think their approach to community participation and benefit distribution.

Networking also has extended WWF's impact and improved project implementation in other, more subtle ways. Opportunities to meet colleagues and exchange information are important as a morale builder for staff whose daily work is arduous, and whose results are often long-term. The friendships developed among people from ministries and other governmental agencies, NGOs, and local leaders have fostered better understanding of the different groups' points of view, and have increased openness to participatory approaches to training and resource management. Other types of professional contacts have also proved useful. For example, the facilitator hired by SSE to conduct the needs assessment was later hired directly by the Namibian organization, and helped them develop skills and confidence in managing their own training events. "Those workshops have given us tools for a participatory way of doing workshops," said the IRDNC co-director.

C. Documentation

The five training case studies have not yet been distributed or used in a systematic way¹³, but they are finding an audience. Barbara Wyckoff-Baird, who has worked with the LIFE project in Namibia since leaving the Wildlands program, has used the cases in teaching courses at a Namibia technical college that trains field personnel for governmental and nongovernmental resource management institutions. The case studies may also be used in an IUCN-sponsored course, "Human and Social Perspectives in Natural Resource Management," at Zimbabwe's College of Applied Social Sciences later this year.

D. Conclusions

The CBNRM network is a good example of a WHN program initiative that adapted and changed to meet the needs of the target audience. What started as an effort to develop materials became a less formal communications channel. The network operates in a context of existing strong organization-to-organization connections and other channels of communication. WWF appears to play two very important roles in making connections between implementers of ICDPs in southern Africa. One is as a provider of funds for workshops and travel. The other is as an impartial or neutral observer, and asker of tough questions, in the sometimes competitive environment of ICDPs in southern African countries.

WWF has had obstacles to overcome in defining its program in southern Africa. Many Africans are convinced that development policies pursued by international agencies have served to undercut the self-sufficiency of their households. Local communities, and particularly indigenous peoples, have rarely been consulted about development projects or land reform. Substantial portions of southern Africa's landscape have been set aside as national parks and game reserves, requiring people to relocate. Hunting laws have restricted their access to wildlife resources. Capital-intensive development programs have focused on industrialization, mining, commercial agriculture, and ranching, and have sometimes resulted in expropriation of substantial blocks of territory by white settlers, foreign companies, and entrepreneurs. Numerous communities and individuals in southern Africa have called for a new approach to development -- one which is not socially and environmentally destructive.

The CBNRM network is fortunate to have the opportunity to assess critically some of the most innovative projects in integrated conservation and development being implemented anywhere in the world, from the IRDNC community game guard and ecotourism activities in northwestern Namibia and the Caprivi Strip to the revolving loan fund of ADMADE in Zambia. The CAMPFIRE program has been cited frequently as a model of community-based resource management, for its emphasis on re-empowerment of local communities through

¹³. Approximately 55 copies have been circulated to workshop participants and other colleagues.

providing them with access to, control over, and responsibility for natural resources. It is also seen as a useful means of raising revenues for investment in development activities.

These programs also have their problems. Many of the decisions about resource management come from outside the producer community. This can be seen, for example, in those cases where the district councils make suggestions to lower-level institutions as to how they should spend the money obtained from wildlife revenues. It should be stressed, however, that some of the people at the ward and village level have begun to lobby hard for greater decision-making power.

The southern African CBNRM network has enhanced the process by which lessons are being learned and information disseminated. It is important to recognize, as WWF has done, that a key factor in its acceptance is the paramount role played by the local participants. Although WWF might like to regularize the meeting schedule, or select topics for consideration on an annual basis, or support a newsletter, ultimately it should be left to the participants, who are at least as qualified as WWF staff and consultants, to determine their own needs and the usefulness of the network. For this reason, the evaluation team believes that WWF made the correct decision in shifting most of the financial support of the network out of the SSE program and into the Central and Southern Africa subregion, where it can be managed in a responsive mode and funded on an "as-needed" basis. It may be helpful to the southern African project implementers to have contacts with other ICDPs outside this region at some point. However, the southern African projects, because they are based on somewhat uniquely valuable wildlife resources and policy environments, would have limited application in ICDPs whose central biological feature is trees rather than large game animals.

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HOW WWF HAS ADDRESSED
RECOMMENDATIONS FROM MID-TERM EVALUATION

RECOMMENDATIONS	STATUS	ACTION/OUTPUTS
<p>A. HEADQUARTERS</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Clearly define program goal. • Maintain integrity of present unit (Director and 2 project officers). • Move WHNP to Science Department. • Establish an internal coordinating panel. • Abolish advisory committee. 	<p>Yes</p> <p>FY93 Yes FY94 No</p> <p>Yes</p> <p>No</p> <p>Yes</p>	<p>Revised Program Description (9/92). "What's in a Name?" paper, written by Wyckoff-Baird. SSE plan/objectives.</p> <p>In FY 93, had three staff. In FY 94, staff includes Direct 1/3 time, one Program Officer and Senior Fellow. Departure of Wckoff-Baird/Ack changed program structure. Saw logic and necessity of merger with Conservation Finance to create SSE. Created expanded inter-disciplinary approach to Wildlands. In process of hiring social scientist.</p> <p>R&D provides institutional "home." Cooperation with Conservation Science enhances M&E work. Since February 1994, R&D (formerly science) provides administrative support. Management efficient.</p> <p>Other mechanisms are in place, such as weekly Program V.P. meetings, day-to-day contact between SSE Director and Regional V.P.s and staff; annual planning process in place (see SSE notebook).</p>
<p>B. WHNP UNIT ACTIONS (Definition and implementation of WHNP)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • WHNP Staff retreat. • Consultation with country desk officers. • Clear definition of assistance WHNP can provide. • Activities must fall within goals of WHNP (field project). • Three WHNP staff will devote all of their time to grant. • All project management assigned to regions. • Establish a library. • Mechanisms for accessing dev. NGOs. • Roster of consultants. 	<p>Yes</p> <p>Yes</p> <p>Yes</p> <p>Yes</p> <p>No</p> <p>Yes</p> <p>Yes</p> <p>Yes</p> <p>Yes</p>	<p>WHNP program retreat April 1992 to discuss program priorities. Consulted with regional Program Officers before and after.</p> <p>Retreats with each region December/January 1993-1994. Joint prioritizing, program planning. Regular, ongoing day-to-day contact.</p> <p>WHNP Strategic Plans and Program Statement; SSE Memo of Collaboration.</p> <p>See 93/94 Matrix of Activities.</p> <p>See above (Section A, bullet 2).</p> <p>Done by end 1992.</p> <p>Really a documentation center; share bibliographies; loan and give materials to field projects.</p> <p>Wyckoff-Baird NGO Directory; informal contacts in country.</p> <p>See list.</p>
<p>C. FIELD PROGRAM</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Assist local organizations with planning. • Fund only activities relating to programs. • For other activities, network with other donors. • Major thrust on NGO strengthening. • Baseline, M&E for all projects. • Provide TA to field projects. 	<p>Yes</p> <p>Yes</p> <p>Yes</p> <p>Yes</p> <p>NO</p> <p>Yes</p>	<p>See Matrices, Workshop Reports.</p> <p>See 93-94 matrix of Activities and Financial Reports.</p> <p>WWF Match/Moriah, etc. Networking with in-country organizations.</p> <p>Workshops/capacity-building emphasis.</p> <p>See Sierra de las Minas, Rwenzori & Lake Malawi reports evaluations/planning documents, also CAR, Zambia and M&E workshop reports.</p> <p>See 93/94 Matrices of Activities.</p>
<p>D. REPORTING TO AID</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Improve on loose and late reports, with no designation of which activities funded by AID. • Submit to AID retreat report. • Project list. Staff workplans. • Monthly minutes coordinating panel 	<p>Yes</p> <p>Yes</p> <p>No</p> <p>No</p>	<p>Last two annual reports on time or 1-2 weeks late (but AID approval received). See financial reports/general ledger.</p> <p>Sent June 11, 1992.</p> <p>Overall workplans and project lists included in annual reports to AID.</p> <p>See above.</p>

Annex 3. List of contacts

Washington, D.C., June 6-10, 1994

WWF SSE program staff:

Gary Hartshorn, vice president, research and development
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Annex 6

Lessons from WHN/SSE Research and Development Activities

By Robert K. Hitchcock, PhD
Evaluation team anthropologist

WWF's goal is to assure conservation and sustainable use of natural resources in perpetuity and to promote human well-being and sustainable livelihoods. Toward this end, WWF's work has focused on strengthening the local organizational capacity, technical skills, and interest necessary to manage natural resources. The WHN program program has developed and disseminated "ecologically sound, economically feasible, and culturally acceptable" development alternatives in local communities.

WHN operates on a number of explicit assumptions, which are:

(1) that providing people with access to the economic benefits from natural resources will result in their becoming increasingly willing to conserve of those resources.

(2) that making people better off as a result of development programs will result in their refraining from illegal exploitation of protected resources.

(3) that providing people with viable alternatives or substitutes will take the pressure off protected area resources.

(4) that involving the community in environmentally oriented rural development programs will result in people becoming advocates for and guardians of their area's natural resources.

(5) that allowing people to participate in decision-making concerning the management and use of their resources will result in their being more willing to manage those resources sustainably.

(6) that providing people with tenure or stewardship rights over resources will increase the chances of their exercising greater care in managing them.

(7) that greater awareness of the importance of environmental conservation will result in people being more willing to engage in it.

(8) that investments in intensive productive systems (such as organic agriculture and soil conservation) will encourage people to reduce their dependence on extensive production systems, thus lowering pressure on resources and slowing or stopping advancement of the agricultural frontier.

(9) that involving people equitably as active partners in all phases of project implementation, from conceptualization through design and evaluation, will increase the chances for project success.

(10) that by increasing the options for local people to manage their resources for the benefit of current and future generations, better conservation will result.

It is important to realize that the general assumption that development can promote conservation of biodiversity is untested. Part of the reason for this situation is that ICDPs have only been in existence for a few years. Another reason is that methodologies still need to be worked out which allow for systematic measurement of verifiable indicators of socioeconomic and environmental change. Baseline data collection has begun to be carried

out in a number of areas, and monitoring and evaluation systems are being designed and implemented to track change over time.

At the time that WHN began in 1985, there were no training materials or programs on ICDPs. Only now are conservation and development projects up and running sufficiently so that there is a comprehensive set of activities to assess. ICDPs are still experimental, but they are becoming increasingly sophisticated in their designs (Brown and Wyckoff-Baird 1992; Wells and Brandon 1992; Wilcox 1994). Much of the information on these projects at present is anecdotal or impressionistic, although increasingly efforts are being made to come up with quantifiable M & E indicators. It is possible, for example, to note changes that have occurred in the composition of forest management committees, with greater numbers of women in decision-making positions. Whether this means that women have a greater impact on development and resource management is something that has yet to be determined.

In response to rising concerns about biodiversity losses, international agencies, governments, non-government organizations, and local communities have attempted to re-think some of the approaches in order to come up with strategies that are sustainable over the long term. Attempts are being made to frame policies and put into place a variety of projects aimed at integrating conservation and development. The basic assumption behind these projects is that people will not attempt to conserve resources unless they can see the economic and social utility of doing so. When people are able to derive both direct and indirect benefits from the consumptive and non-consumptive use of resources, they are more likely to engage in activities that enhance the well-being of those resources.

A change that has occurred in some ICDPs is that environmental awareness has been raised. It is possible to see the implications of this trend in the case of PNG, where a Malaysian logging company approached some of the local communities with an economically attractive offer and yet was turned down. Clearly, it was evident to the people that the project itself would not offer economic returns of equal value; rather, it promised primarily to preserve forests. People realize there are options in the development process, and they sometimes decide that ecological preservation and quality of life are more important to them than economic returns.

The Annapurna Conservation Area Project (ACAP) in Nepal has been supported by WHN/SSE since its beginnings in 1985 and has, in the eyes of some, become a model ICDP. Residents of the region are involved in co-management activities, and a variety of tasks have been undertaken, ranging from health programs to job-training programs. The project will be localized in the near future, having achieved a status that most other ICDPs have yet to reach.

Since 1985 when WHN began, a dramatic upsurge has taken place in activities designed to conserve biodiversity and promote conservation in an integrated way. Projects and policies aimed at biodiversity conservation increasingly have concentrated on the interface between the biological and social sciences while research efforts have focussed more intensively on the human-environment relationship (Western and Pearl 1989; Brown and Wyckoff-Baird 1992; Wells and Brandon 1992). Evidence collected thus far suggests that ICDPs have had a positive impact on biodiversity conservation in only a limited number of cases. As Wells and Brandon (1992:x) have noted, it is questionable whether many of the project activities have generated local benefits that have reduced pressures on the parks or reserves they are trying to protect. They also pointed out that in virtually all ICDPs, the critical linkage between development and conservation is either missing or obscure (Wells and Brandon

1992:x).

Concerns about the causes and consequences of the loss of biological and cultural diversity have increased substantially. There are several reasons for this situation. First, the rapidly expanding populations of many regions and the diversification of local economies are having major impacts on the environment. Second, outside agencies, including multinational corporations and international development organizations, have increased their efforts to exploit biological and cultural resources. Third, numerous scientific discoveries, some of them drawn from indigenous knowledge, have resulted in an expansion in the uses to which resources are put. Fourth, biodiversity is on the decline as some species have gone extinct and habitats have been altered by a combination of human and environmental factors. A major worry of biologists is that the ability of ecosystems to carry out vital functions such as maintenance of soil fertility, water retention, and cycling of nutrients will be reduced by the loss of biodiversity.

Biodiversity programs range from ecosystem protection to enforcement of endangered species legislation and establishment of germ plasm banks. These programs have important implications for the resource rights of local people. A major shift in conservation activities has been toward linking protected areas with assistance to those people on the peripheries of those areas (West and Brechin 1991; Wells and Brandon 1992). Unfortunately, ICDPs alone cannot address the various threats to biodiversity that exist. Many of the factors that affect biodiversity are large-scale political and economic ones. Some of these factors, such as the environmental or land legislation in a country or the availability of international donor funds, have been the subject of study by SSE staff policy.

In the past, a major problem with biodiversity conservation programs was that they tended to dispossess people or to prevent them from pursuing resource procurement activities. As one Ju/'hoansi woman from the Nyae Nyae region of Bushmanland, Namibia, put it, "Government first took away our right to hunt and then tried to remove us from our n!oresi (traditional territories)." The passing of legislation to control hunting and the setting aside of parks and reserves generally served to exacerbate problems of poverty and resource stress among local communities in Africa, as can be seen, for example, in the areas surrounding Ngorongoro in Tanzania or in the !Xade region of the Central Kalahari Game Reserve in Botswana. The arrests or shooting of poachers, as has been done in a number of African countries, is a costly strategy which has served to alienate local populations.

Members of local communities, non-government organizations, and government personnel have called for alternative strategies which will help rather than hurt local people. Some NGOs, with the support of government environmental agencies, are engaged in promoting projects which increase local incomes and raise standards of living while also carrying out biodiversity conservation. This can be seen in the work of Integrated Rural Development and Nature Conservation (IRDNC) in the Kaokoland region of Namibia, where the loss of black rhinoceros (Dicornis bicornis) was reaching epidemic proportions in the 1980s. With the establishment of a community game guard and tourism revenue sharing system, the numbers of rhinoceros and elephants killed by poachers were reduced significantly. Efforts were made by local Himba to establish guidelines for tourists in order to lessen the impact that they had on local habitats. The success of this project is largely a result of extensive consultation and the participation of community members in decision-making (Owen-Smith and Jacobsohn 1989).

For community-based natural resource management projects to be successful, they must

incorporate careful planning and design that is participatory in nature. They are labor-intensive projects that require extensive discussion and assessment by both staff and project beneficiaries. In some of the evaluations of ICDPs, it has been found that some members of the target communities, notably women, children, the elderly, and minorities, are sometimes inadvertently left out of the consultation, planning, and implementation process (Dankelman and Davidson 1988; Brown and Wyckoff-Baird 1982; Mehra 1993). WHN staff were leaders in underscoring the need for greater attention to be paid to gender and stakeholder representation issues in future projects. Research by SSE consultants and staff have also indicated that the degree to which local people plan and direct project activities tends to be relatively limited except in those cases where they have stewardship over land and resources and have rights to make decisions about allocation of funds themselves (Brown and Wyckoff-Baird 1992; Brandon 1994).

Unfortunately, it is not possible to assess the impacts of many of these projects because detailed baseline socioeconomic and ecological surveys were not carried out or, if they were done, they were not designed in such a way as to include an array of different measurable indicators that could be tracked over time. One of the challenges facing WWF, therefore, is to come up with methodologies for monitoring and evaluation of the various biodiversity projects being planned and implemented. African research organizations such as the Center for Applied Social Sciences (CASS) at the University of Zimbabwe and the Environmental Sciences Department at the University of Botswana have given a great deal of thought to the design of research programs that provide both quantitative and qualitative data on social, economic, environmental, and institutional impacts of projects and policies. Collaborating with these institutions would be a useful way for WWF to become more involved in M & E at the local level and at the same time enable WWF to collaborate in work on topics of mutual interest.

Greater efforts are being made by NGOs and communities to undertake projects that are interdisciplinary and participatory. The creation of partnerships between local communities and agencies involved in project design and implementation is something that will require much more work. In many cases, the project management and staff holds most of the power and resources, while local people have to depend on them for assistance. The formation of community-project committees, training, and efforts to strengthen leadership and local institutions would help in the process of enhancing the decision-making and self-help capacity of local people. Networking among local community organizations, as is being done in southern Africa with SSE support, will enable people to learn lessons about innovative strategies being employed and planned.

True partnerships can only come about when local people are given complete freedom to work out their own ways to solve problems and have sufficient resources to carry out their plans. Agreements will need to be negotiated between members of local communities and conservation and development agencies that allow for protection of the rights of local people, particularly with regard to their access to resources. Culturally appropriate technical assistance and training should be devised, as should training and educational curricula which are relevant to local needs. Decentralization of decision-making authority over resource allocation is critical, as can be seen in the case of the Communal Areas Management Program for Indigenous Resources (CAMPFIRE) in Zimbabwe where middle-level government institutions, District Councils, have tended to exert greater control over financial resources and planning of rural development projects than local communities.

Another area of concern for SSE is the degree to which trade agreements affect biodiversity. The passage of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) could well lead to an increase in monocropping to meet the needs of a world agricultural market. It could also result in the expansion in the number of multinational agencies involved in the extraction of natural resources, something that could potentially result in resource conflicts. A number of such conflicts already exist, as can be seen in central and west African forested zones where European, North American, and Japanese firms have sought logging rights and access to indigenous pharmaceuticals. The expansion of commercial livestock production in the Sahel and the savannas of eastern and southern Africa has resulted in the displacement of indigenous agropastoral communities and the disruption of movement patterns, a process which has contributed to losses of both livestock and wildlife and the impoverishment of local communities.

Project-related fragmentation of the areas within which both people and non-human species exist has resulted in rising social and ecological instability. Efforts will have to be made to plan corridors between protected areas and to ensure that the size of both protected areas and multiple use zones are sufficiently large to ensure that they have enough species and individuals to ensure long-term ecosystem functioning. Greater energies will have to be expended by WWF along with governments, companies, and multilateral development banks to informing people of the implications of changing trade legislation and to plan programs that can counteract the negative effects of trade liberalization.

Over the past decade a tremendous upsurge has taken place in efforts to promote international trade of agricultural products, pharmaceuticals, timber, non-timber resources such as plant-based dyes, and indigenous craft items made from wild natural resources. The passage of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), the establishment of the World Trade Organization under GATT, and the creation of large trading blocs will have significant effects on the commercialization of biodiversity.

As resources have declined in other parts of the world, marginal areas of developing countries have become increasingly attractive to companies and international development agencies hoping to profit from exploitation of mineral, timber, and other valuable resources. European, Asian, and North American drug companies have tapped the knowledge of traditional healers in the efforts to find new species with medicinal value. Some of these species, such as the grapple plant (devil's claw) in the southern Kalahari region of Namibia and Botswana, have proved to be highly profitable to non-African companies who generally gave little in the way of returns to local people who obtained them. One of the issues with which SSE has been concerned is the expansion of income generating projects ("ecoventures") as a means of conserving resources (Clay 1994).

The assumption behind ecoventures is that people will tend to conserve resources if they can realize economic benefits from them. In order to do this, they have to have some guarantee of continued access to resources, or tenure rights. Private (*de jure*) rights are one means guaranteeing rights, but there are others as well, such as usufruct (use) or communal rights (Brandon 1994). There is evidence in a number of areas to indicate that co-management arrangements between local people and government agencies are an effective means of promoting conservation and sustainable resource use, as can be seen, for example, in Australia.

The expansion of tourism in rural areas and the sales of crafts to visitors and marketing organizations has had a profound effect on the livelihoods of local people, particularly

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women. The rising popularity of Botswana and Namibia baskets made from the vegetable ivory palm (*Hyphaene ventricosa*), has led to a decline in the distribution and numbers of palm plants and a threat to its survival in places such as the Okavango Delta. Overexploitation of the plant by people on the payrolls of handicraft marketing agencies has resulted in a loss of important fall-back income for poor women. It has also increased their work effort, cutting into the time that they can spend in other pursuits such as agriculture and child care.

Gender relations are often affected by trade issues. In northwestern Namibia, women became so angry about men making the decisions about craft sales that they threatened to destroy the stands of ivory palm. In Zimbabwe, women complained bitterly about the control exerted by males in the district councils over revenues derived from wildlife utilization and safari tourism and suggested that donor agencies should withdraw their support for conservation and rural development projects. Ugandan brick-making organizations refused to engage in brick production and marketing because they felt that they were being taken advantage of by private businesses.

The linkage between trade and gender issues is something that SSE staff are concerned with. SSE staff are well aware of the dangers of engaging in economic ventures which potentially could have negative effects on the resource base. Careful assessments are being done of the marketing of Brazil nuts and palm hearts from the Amazon. Efforts are being made to work out improved methods of harvesting and ways to reduce post-harvest losses. A crucial area of concern in the promotion of income generation projects is the sustainability of the activities. One of the dangers of these kinds of projects is that people will get so deeply involved in exploiting resources and marketing them that they will exceed the rate of replacement, thus threatening the resource base. One way of getting around this problem is to diversify production and thus reduce dependence on a single high-value product.

One of the major difficulties that women as primary producers must contend with in many areas is that frequently they are excluded from taking part in the marketing of high-value goods. To make matters even more complicated, women usually cannot benefit directly from the value that is added to their goods as they move through the system. In order to overcome these constraints, women have organized themselves into cooperatives, self-help groups, and marketing associations. These organizations have helped to provide credit to their members and have assisted them in gaining access to development assistance and training. Some of these groups have also undertaken soil, water, and floral conservation activities (Dankelman and Davidson 1988; Mehra 1993). SSE is in a unique position to assist women and other rural people in these endeavors, particularly given the high level of expertise in conservation finance. The establishment of revolving loan funds would go a long way toward overcoming the constraint of lack of credit faced by people in marginal areas.

Efforts to control the trade of wild products have sometimes resulted in difficulties for local people, including women. The placing of elephants on Appendix 1 of The Convention on Trade in Endangered Species of Flora and Fauna (CITES), meant that the collection and sale of ivory became less viable as a source of income. While this action that may have helped reduce pressure on elephants, it also caused frustration and a certain amount of economic hardship both at the national and local levels in eastern and southern Africa. Anti-poaching efforts have resulted in deaths, injuries, and arrests of local people, including women and children. As some Africans have pointed out, the state's use of coercive conservation policies has caused social disruptions and has exacerbated tensions between local

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communities and their governments. A more appropriate strategy, in their opinion, is one which guarantees rights of access to and benefits from resources, as is found in some of the community-based natural resource management projects in places such as Cameroon, the Central African Republic, Uganda, Malawi, and Zimbabwe (Brown and Wyckoff-Baird 1992; Wells and Brandon 1992; Wyckoff-Baird 1993; Ack and Child 1993; Mughogho and Overholt 1993).

A significant area of concern of SSE is resource tenure and community-based systems of resource management (Brandon 1994). Tenure provides the basic framework for who can use resources and how they can be utilized. A major factor affecting the success of ICDPs is the resource tenure situation. With increased population and expanded infrastructure and development activities, there has been an intensification of natural resource exploitation and an increase in conflicts among various forms of land use.

One of the major difficulties facing rural areas in developing countries is land degradation. The process of land degradation has been attributed both to natural and social factors. Some analysts see anthropogenic factors as being crucial to land degradation, notably the keeping of large herds of livestock on communal rangelands, resulting, it is argued, in overgrazing and desertification. Other analysts attribute land degradation to a complicated set of interacting biological and social processes. It is important to specify the variables affecting land quality, and to demonstrate the degree to which each variable contributes to processes of environmental and social change. This argues for a combination of socioeconomic and biological monitoring, something that SSE can provide if it cooperates closely with Conservation Science in WWF.

Listen to the People: Community Empowerment and Participation

In the past several years, suggestions have been made by researchers, government agencies, and development organizations that development and conservation goals can best be achieved if people are empowered to make their own decisions and they are given opportunities to participate fully in planning and implementing activities (Associates in Rural Development 1992; Brown and Wyckoff-Baird 1992; Wells and Brandon 1992). Participatory development has become a catchphrase for the kind of approach that many agencies and policy analysts are advocating. Various means of bringing about local participation have been advocated, including the provision of training and education (investment in human resources), and assuring that local people have control over their own land and natural resources. It is evident that sustainable development can only be achieved if careful attention is paid to local people's participation in decision-making, strengthening of resource management institutions, a multi-faceted approach to economic promotion, and environmental conservation and education efforts.

The concept of participation is one that is not easy to define. It can mean the right to make decisions about development action. Participation can also mean the process whereby local communities take part in defining their own needs and coming up with solutions to meet those needs. In addition, participation can refer to situations in which local communities and individuals share in the benefits from development projects and are fully involved in generating those benefits. As Robert Chambers has said, "Rural development can be redefined to include enabling poor rural women and men to demand and control more of the benefits of development." Participation can thus be said to mean simply putting people first.

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The degree of willingness of individuals to take part in development action and to take responsibility for decision-making often varies tremendously, not only within specific areas, but frequently within the same family. In order to determine the various goals and objectives of local people, concerted efforts have to be made to collect information and seek feedback at the local level. What this means is that an investigatory program must be built into all ICDPs. It also means that continuous monitoring and consultation has to be done during the course of project identification, design, implementation, and evaluation. If it is found that local people do not agree with the ways in which the projects are designed or being put into practice, then changes must be made or new approaches must be taken.

A number of rural development and natural resource management projects have taken an approach in which communities contribute resources of their own to the development efforts, including cash or payment in kind (e.g. labor). Those projects that have avoided handouts have tended to be more successful than those that gave goods or provided services free of charge to people. A crucial concern at the local level was the capacity of institutions to handle funds. While some communities had no problem raising money through various activities, they were not always able to agree on what to do with it. In some cases, this has meant that changes had to be made in national legislation so that the institutions could manage their own finances. Promotion of literacy and numeracy among local people is an important means of providing assistance, as is training in business management and accounting.

Some governments and non-government organizations have developed what they term a participative extension approach to rural development (e.g. the Boscosa Project of the Conservation Foundation and WWF on the Osa Peninsula in Costa Rica). This kind of approach places emphasis on community involvement in all aspects of project design and execution. In some instances, this approach results in the formation of local organizations (e.g. farmers associations or woman's multi-purpose development groups). It also contributes to situations in which efforts are made to provide local communities with rights over land and other resources. Agroforestry projects, for example, are being done more and more at the household level, and tenure rights are being defined in such a way that individuals and groups have de jure rights, rather than simply de facto control.

One strategy to promote participation has been to appoint local people as "change agents" or "community extension workers". By having these people at the grassroots level, it is possible for trust to be built up and for detailed knowledge about local situations to be drawn up on assisting communities. It is crucial, however, that these individuals are not seen as trying to direct the process of development; rather, they must be viewed more as facilitators and serve as advisors or information-disseminators. These individuals sometimes serve as a link between community organizations and outside agencies. In this capacity, they can provide a kind of communication function.

Another strategy of empowerment and promotion of participation is institution-building or institution-strengthening. Most, if not all, local communities have informal associations of people who have common interests and/or who cooperate on various tasks. Peasant communities have cooperative labor units and informal working arrangements among members who share in agricultural work or other activities (e.g. construction of storage facilities). Pastoral populations have social arrangements whereby livestock is cared for and managed for individual stockowners who allow the caretakers to use the products and energy of those animals. Some agricultural societies have groups which manage water (e.g. in

Mexico). There are also voluntary associations such as producer and marketing groups in many places, particularly in west Africa and Asia. These institutions can be used as the basis for promoting development at the community level. Providing them with training, as done by SSE in Asia and Brazil, is a beneficial means of enhancing institutional capacity and promoting local-level socioeconomic development.

The building of capacity for local decision-making can be done in a number of ways. It can be brought about through the holding of workshops or community discussion sessions in which ideas about democratic processes of public policy formation are addressed. It can be promoted through training of various kinds (e.g. in how to form committees, draw up constitutions, and run meetings). It can also be facilitated through problem solving exercises, case studies, and role plays about situations in which communities find themselves. These kinds of strategies have been very effective in Central and South American rural communities, among women's groups in Africa, and among farmers associations in Asia.

It has sometimes been said that local elites or extant authority structures often get in the way of participatory development. One way of getting around this problem is to involve the elites and local authorities in the development process. This was done among ridge elders and opinion leaders in the parishes around the Rwenzori Mountains by the staff of the Rwenzori Mountains Conservation and Development Project, and it proved to be very effective. Consulting local leaders at all phases of project formulation and implementation enables communities and development organizations to obtain information, and it helps to ensure that the leaders are fully aware and supportive of program activities.

A strategy for promoting sustainable rural development currently being debated is the use of local common property resource management (CPRM). Common property resource systems combine local control of resources with measures to promote sustainable use. More and more communities and non-government organizations are arguing in favor of community-based resource management as a sustainable development strategy (Associates in Rural Development 1992). There are growing numbers of projects and community activities which are attempting to implement CBNRM projects that are participatory in their orientations. Some of these projects have been relatively successful, while others have faced constraints ranging from lack of sufficient resources to the unwillingness of higher-level institutions to decentralize authority to grassroots-level organizations.

There are relatively few examples of truly participatory development and community empowerment programs and projects in which local people have been fully involved in processes of change. One reason for this situation is that often development projects have short life spans, whereas institutional development and community empowerment requires long periods of time and a great deal of patience. Another reason is that often the development or conservation programs being advocated do not lay the groundwork necessary to ensure that the local people have a stake in the projects (e.g. they do not gain the support of the government so that legislation is changed to make possible local control over resources).

A third reason that participatory approaches to development are overlooked is that easily definable projects outputs such as infrastructure construction or agricultural yield increases are given preference over less precisely quantifiable indicators such as institutional strength and resource management capacity. Often, greater emphasis, funding, and technical support are given to outside agencies (e.g. contracting groups, non-governmental organizations) rather than to community-based organization (CBOs). If local communities are to be empowered

and participatory development actually carried out, then there will have to be a significant change in the ways that development agencies, donors and voluntary organization deal with local people and their concerns.

It has become a truism that the failure of many development projects is a result of lack of direct and indirect participation of local people who theoretically are supposed to be beneficiaries. In some cases, development agencies take a "top-down" approach in which local people are not consulted before, during, or after the implementation of the project. In other cases, people may be asked whether they agree with the project goals, but they do not have any say in the ways in which the project is implemented. One of the problems with ICDPs is that local people end up being passive beneficiaries rather than active participations (Brown and Wyckoff-Baird 1992; Appleby et al 1992).

The most effective development projects are those which incorporate local people in decision-making at every stage of the development process. Consultation alone however, is insufficient. Local people must play a role in the identification of problems and constraints; they must assist in designing interventions to address those factors; and they must be part of the management of whatever programs or projects are established.

There are examples of projects in which management authority is ceded over target areas by government agencies to NGOs. There are relatively few examples of situations in which governments have allowed local people total control over resource management and development action. Local communities do sometimes get control over specific resources (e.g. grazing in the case of pastoral associations in eastern or southern Africa, or water in the case of irrigation organizations in Morocco). Governments can assist local communities through passage of enabling legislation, as occurred in the case of Appropriate Authority status granted to District Councils in Zimbabwe under the Parks and Wildlife Act of the establishment of multiple-use areas in Niger and Uganda.

It is interesting to note that many of the conservation projects established for preservation of biodiversity have had more indirect than direct benefits for local people. In cases such as Amboseli in southern Kenya for example, the idea was to promote conservation and tourism by declaring the area a national park. Local Maasai were supposed to be able to continue their traditional land use patterns in the buffer zone around the park while at the same time gaining access to economic benefits from tourism. As it has worked out, wildlife has increased, which has encouraged more tourism, but the benefits accruing to most of the Maasai are relatively small from an economic standpoint. Some Maasai have, however, been able to gain full legal title over land.

Many of the benefits of rural development projects that ostensibly are for local people end up going instead to middle-level institutions. This situation can be seen in the case of the Kajiado County Council near Amboseli, for example, and it is also a feature of some of the district councils in the Communal Areas Management Program for Indigenous Resources in Zimbabwe. In some cases, local leaders divert some of the resources to their own purposes, as was arguably the case in ADMARE in Zambia. An important of ICDPs is that efforts have to be made to ensure that local communities receive direct benefits in exchange for the costs that they bear. Another lesson is that social and economic benefits flowing to local people tend to be unevenly distributed; consequently, care must be taken to track the distribution of benefits and to work out ways for them to be disbursed as widely as possible in order to alleviate the potential for social conflict. The Wildlands and Human Needs program of WWF has done an excellent job of identifying many of the crucial issues

that affect the success of conservation and development programs. It has highlighted major lessons learned and has provided recommendations on ways to plan, design, and implement ICDPs. A major contribution has been the identification of the need for better socioeconomic and biological studies prior to the initiation of projects, the importance of broad-based participation in all aspects of project planning and implementation, the significance of providing viable and culturally appropriate alternatives and production packages to people, and the importance of making explicit the linkages between development and conservation.

The critical concern facing WWF now is the need to specify exactly how ICDPs specifically and development activities generally lead to enhanced protected area management and sustainable resource use. In order to do this, more detailed data on ICDPs and their environmental and socioeconomic contexts are needed. Some of the projects carried out with Matching Grant assistance have conducted detailed baseline surveys (e.g. the RMCDP in Uganda). Information has also been acquired through periodic visits by project officers to sites and through evaluations. There is a need for an M & E system that is cross-project and cross-region in nature. There is also a need within SSE to work out a series of scientifically sound hypotheses with test implications which can be evaluated in the field. Some of the hypotheses as stated currently in the log frame of the Matching Grant project can be characterized more as general observations than as testable statements. SSE should re-examine its hypotheses about conservation and development and come up with a set of definitive, carefully thought out, testable statements along with specific test implications for each hypothesis. One of the first tasks of the new social scientist in SSE should be to review the log frame and list of researchable questions and make recommendations for a research agenda. Having a set of explicit hypotheses which can be tested through collection of specific data will ensure that SSE meets its own objectives as well as those of the Matching Grant.

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Annex 4
Scope of Work

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FINAL DRAFT

29 April 1994

SCOPE OF WORKFINAL EVALUATION OF THE
WILDLANDS AND HUMAN NEEDS MATCHING GRANT PROGRAM
WORLD WILDLIFE FUNDBackground:

In September 1988, A.I.D. awarded World Wildlife Fund (WWF) a second Matching Grant for five years to support the Wildlands and Human Needs Program (WHNP). The original program description was replaced in August 1989 through an amendment to the cooperative agreement. As a result of the project's mid-term evaluation in March 1992, there was a second amendment and a revised program description in September 1992. As stated in the Revised Program Description, the purpose of the Cooperative Agreement is "to increase the effectiveness of WWF and recipient organizations in Latin America/Caribbean, Africa and Asia to meet development needs within an integrated conservation and development framework through providing technical assistance, training, analysis and information dissemination/networking."

Purpose of the Evaluation:

The Cooperative Agreement states that an independent mid-term and/or final evaluation is to be carried out. The mid-term evaluation was carried out in January-April 1992. This document outlines the scope of work for the final Matching Grant evaluation scheduled to take place in May-June 1994.

In response to recommendations of the mid-term evaluation, since May 1992 increasing emphasis has been placed on the role and importance of the Matching Grant program in building skills through training, technical assistance and analysis and information dissemination/networking, with concomitantly decreasing emphasis placed on funding project implementation. Both WWF and AID agreed that this was a more effective use of program time and resources. This evaluation will assess the shift in focus and recommend how WHNP may best continue to strengthen WWF in undertaking community development as it relates to conservation.

The specific purpose of this evaluation is three-fold:

- (1) to document implementation of the program since the 1992 mid-term evaluation as outlined in the 9/92 revised program description;
- (2) to identify factors that have facilitated or inhibited implementation of program activities; and

(3) based on the findings, to recommend those changes that, in the evaluator's opinion, may improve WWF's effectiveness in continuing to integrate conservation and development.

Focal Questions:

The final evaluation will be guided by the following general questions. Specific questions are included under each evaluation activity as described below.

Implementation

1. Were the three components of the program--technical assistance, training and analysis and information dissemination/networking--implemented?
 - in the field
 - at headquarters
2. What were the results of the programs' newest initiatives: Learning Lessons through In-house Sabbaticals Program, the monitoring and evaluation initiative and assistance to the Asia Program?
3. Are the mechanisms and criteria for collaboration between WHNP and the regional programs adequate?
4. What factors have facilitated or inhibited implementation?
5. Has the program been effectively and efficiently managed?
6. Are all components of the Matching Grant monitoring system now in place to measure the effectiveness of projects linking conservation with community development? Are they consistent across program activities? To what extent is this system being used to improve program management?

Impact

1. In what ways has the Matching Grant Program influenced WWF's strategies and programmatic directions? Has the program improved the ability of WWF to participate in socio-economic development issues?
2. How has the Matching Grant Program fostered the integration of conservation and development within WWF's regional program strategies?
3. How has the Matching Grant Program affected WWF's capacity to design, manage, implement and evaluate community development activities as they relate to conservation?
 - What has been the effectiveness of each of the program's components -- technical assistance, training, analysis, and information dissemination/networking?
 - What other approaches might have been employed to build

the organization's capacity to integrate conservation and development?

4. What has been the field-level impact of Matching Grant activities? Have Matching Grant-supported programs helped improve the "ability of biologically-important wildlands to sustainably meet local development needs while preserving ecological values?"
5. How will the merger of WHNP into the Social Sciences and Economics program further the organization's efforts and capability to integrate conservation and development?
6. Any other issues arising during the evaluation relevant to the Matching Grant Program will also be addressed.

Implementation Plan:

Two independent consultants will conduct the evaluation as described in this Scope of Work. WWF will contribute the time of a WWF facilitator both at headquarters and in the field. The evaluation is planned to cover a period of (45) days with a tentative start date of May 15, and will include a review of documents, individual and group interviews, and on-site data collection and observation.

Activity one: Review of project documentation and evaluations, design of data collection and analysis tools

The evaluators will meet with relevant staff at WWF and A.I.D. in Washington, D.C. to review project documents and to finalize the evaluation questions. Based on these discussions, they will design a series of interview guides for collecting data from WWF home office staff, field staff, and project associates. They will review all program documents. WHNP and Matching Grant reports will be used as primary data.

Activity two: Visits to WWF headquarters and A.I.D. (BHR/FVC)

(Interviews with WHNP staff, WWF management personnel who have collaborated with the WHNP, and the A.I.D. Project Officer)

Issues to be addressed during the headquarters visit include:

- Has WWF provided the policy, planning, management and technical support required to support a multi-country integrated conservation and community development program? Have program interventions been timely, useful and relevant?
- Is there a consistent and comparable project monitoring and evaluation system, including collection and analysis of baseline data, stemming from the Matching Grant Program?

- Is there a financial system in place to quantify how much and for what purposes matching grant resources were used?
- Was the program managed in compliance with the Cooperative Agreement?
- What is the relationship between the WHNP Matching Grant Program and the regional programs? Have Matching Grant activities been institutionalized? How will the new Social Sciences and Economics Program address the goals of the Matching Grant program?
- Production and distribution of a conceptual framework, case studies, technical papers, analytical papers, and training materials: have these materials been published? how useful and relevant are they?

Activity three: **A field visit to the People-Centered Conservation and Development Project in the Sierra de las Minas Biosphere Reserve, Guatemala**

Soon after the Sierra de las Minas Biosphere Reserve was created in early 1990, WHNP staff began assisting the NGO Defensores de la Naturaleza, to establish a community-based sustainable agriculture extension program and made one or more technical assistance visits there each year. In 1993, WHNP's Latin America Program Officer facilitated a review of the project that revealed a lack of management skills leading to the resignation of the project director. A new director is now in place and WNF continues to provide assistance to the project.

Questions should be asked on two levels:

1. How successful is this project in meeting its specific objectives and in addressing the purpose of the Matching Grant Program; and
2. What support with what impact has been provided by the Matching Grant Program?

Specific questions should include:

- What are the project's underlying assumptions and do they remain valid?
- How do stakeholders participate in project activities? What lessons have been learned from their participation?
- Has local capacity to plan and implement sustainable development activities been increased?

- What sustainable agriculture technologies have been adopted? Have they resulted in increased agricultural production?
- How have land-use patterns changed since the beginning of the project? Has the rate of forest degradation been slowed? What are the primary factors influencing these changes?
- What assistance has the Matching Grant program provided to the project? With what results?
- Does the project have a continued need for technical assistance and training? How will these needs be met?

Activity four: Project site visit to Uganda

Uganda Rwenzori Mountain Conservation and Development Project - This is a relatively new project that essentially got underway in October 1992 when a new project manager was employed. Making its first visit in February 1993, WHNP is helping the project to benefit from the experience of "first generation" ICDPs through technical assistance, training, resource materials, and exchange visits to other projects. Project staff also participated in the Matching Grant-funded Africa monitoring and evaluation workshop in February 1994.

Questions should be asked on two levels:

1. How successful is this project in meeting its individual objectives and in contributing to meeting the purpose of the Matching Grant Program; and
2. What support with what impact has been provided by the Matching Grant Program?

Specific questions should include:

- What are the project's underlying assumptions and do they remain valid?
- How do stakeholders participate in project activities? What lessons have been learned from their participation?
- Has local capacity to plan and implement sustainable development activities been increased?
- Have new technologies promoted by the project been adopted? Have they produced the desired results?
- Have human pressures on the protected area been reduced?
- What assistance has the Matching Grant program provided to

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the project? With what results?

- Does the project have a continued need for technical assistance and training? How will these needs be met?

Activity Five: Visit with members of the Southern Africa Community-Based Natural Resource Management (CBNRM) Network - Zimbabwe and Namibia

The Southern Africa Community-Based Natural Resource Management Network (CBNRM) is a mechanism through which representatives from governmental and non-governmental organizations from seven countries meet on an annual basis to share experiences and discuss approaches to community-based natural resource management. In September 1991, WWF, with Matching Grant funds, sponsored one of the first workshops in Africa where 26 project managers from eight countries met in Zimbabwe to discuss their respective CBNRM efforts. This meeting resulted in a set of guiding principles and a commitment to regional networking. In February 1993, 22 project managers and community leaders from seven countries (including some from the 1991 workshop) convened in Zimbabwe to observe and discuss the revenue-sharing aspects of community wildlife programs with a Zimbabwean community. Other by-products of the workshops include five training case studies, exchange visits between network members in Zimbabwe, Mozambique and Namibia, a training needs assessment and country-level training workshops.

Specific questions should include:

- How does the experience gained through networking contribute to the implementation of field projects?
- What training materials or lessons learned documentation has been produced? How have they been distributed? How useful and relevant are they?
- What have been the interactions between network members and the staff of the WHNP? What has been the impact of these interactions?

Activity six: Evaluation report writing

Upon completion of the data collection activities, the evaluators will produce an evaluation report. Responsibility for the final report will rest with the Team Leader with contributions from the other evaluator(s). This report should include:

- the degree to which the purpose, objectives and activities of the Matching Grant were fulfilled;
- an assessment of the impact of the Matching Grant Program

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activities on beneficiaries;

- an analysis of deviation between results and planned targets; and
- recommendations and modifications of activities that would lead to an improved program.

A draft evaluation report will be submitted to AID/BHR/PVC and WWF no later than 14 days after completing activity five. The recipients then have ten days to provide written comments to the Team Leader who will ensure that these comments are addressed as appropriate. A camera-ready, unbound final report and a Word Perfect 5.1 formatted diskette containing the final report will be provided no later than 10 days after receipt of the comments. In addition, the evaluation team will provide pre- and post-evaluation briefings for A.I.D.