



WHOSE HERITAGE? THE STATE, LOCAL COMMUNITIES AND GAME IN SOUTH
LUANGWA NATIONAL PARK (SLNP) OF EASTERN ZAMBIA, 1890-2001.

BY
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LUSAKA

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ABSTRACT

The study examines a history of conflicts between humans and wild animals (human-animal conflicts) and conflicts between humans and the government (human-state conflicts) in the South Luangwa National Park (SLNP) and the surrounding Lupande Game Management Area (LGMA) from 1890 to 2001. SLNP located in Mambwe District was in about 1830s inhabited by the Kunda people from the Democratic Republic of Congo whose socio-economic wellbeing depended on subsistence hunting and a bit of crop cultivation. Their utilisation of wildlife resources before colonial era conflicted with the interests of wild animals. This began human-animal conflicts (HACs). It is argued in this study that the Kunda's access and control over natural resources, including game, was undermined with the imposition of colonial conservation policies in 1890. The study found that the local people's culture, traditions and taboos helped them to better use wildlife resources than in the colonial era.

It is also argued in this study that the birth of the SLNP in 1971 and the creation of the Zambia Wildlife Authority (ZAWA) in 1998 both negatively impacted the wellbeing of the Kunda. The study further found that even though in the 1980s the local people were co-opted into wildlife operations through community based conservation programmes, conflicts did not abate. The study argued that although conservation policies brought jobs and markets to the local people for their agricultural merchandise and crafts, the majority had their wellbeing undermined. Conservation laws to a greater extent benefited the government through revenue collection. Finally, the study found that centralisation of wildlife resource management and utilisation by the government clearly shows that SLNP is the state's heritage and that it was the centre of conflicts.

DEDICATION

To my departed father Watson John Kumwenda, my inspiration in academia.

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ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

ADB:	African Development Bank
ADC-	Area Development Committee
ADMADE-	Administrative Management Design
AVP-	Amalgamated Village Policy
BSAC-	British South African Company
CBC-	Community Based Conservation
CBNRM-	Community Based Natural Resource Management
CHA-	Controlled Hunting Area
COMACO-	Community Market for Conservation
CRB-	Community Resource Board
DC-	District Commissioner
DGTC-	Department of Game and Tsetse Control
DNPW-	Department of National Parks and Wildlife
DWFNP-	Department of Wildlife, Fisheries and National Parks
ECP-	Elephant Control Policy
ELV-	East Luangwa Valley
FAO-	Food Agricultural Organisation
GER-	Great East Road
GFD-	Game and Fisheries Department
HAC-	Human-Animal Conflict
HSC-	Human-State Conflict

IUCN-	International Union for Conservation of Nature
KNA-	Kunda Native Authority
KNRMB-	Kakumbi Natural Resources Management Business
KVTP-	Kawaza Village Tourism Project
LEA-	Law Enforcement Activity
LGMA-	Lupande Game Management Area
LIRDP-	Luangwa Integrated Resource Development Project
LLSC-	Local Level Sub-Committee
LSA-	Luangwa Safari Association
MIA-	Mfuwe International Airport
MLNR-	Ministry of Lands and Natural Resources
MTA-	Ministry of Tourism and Arts
MTENR-	Ministry of Tourism, Environment and Natural Resources
NAZ-	National Achieves of Zambia
NCA-	Nsendamila Cultural Association
NCS-	Norman Carr Safaris
NFA-	Nsefu Fishing Association
NGO-	Non- Governmental Organisation
NGR-	Nsefu Game Reserve
NPWB-	National Parks Wildlife Bill
NPWS-	National Parks and Wildlife Services
PC-	Provincial Commissioner
SEKA-	Sensitizations of Education through Kunda Arts

SLAMU-	South Luangwa Area Management Unity
SLCS-	South Luangwa Conservative Society
SLGR-	South Luangwa Game Reserve
SLNP-	South Luangwa National Park
UNZA-	University of Zambia
VAG-	Village Action Groups
WCP-	Wildlife Control Policy
ZAWA-	Zambia Wildlife Authority
ZWA-	Zambia Wildlife Act

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION AND HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The centre of attention of this study is to examine the human-animal and human-state conflicts in South Luangwa National Park (SLNP) and the surrounding Lupande Game Management Area (LGMA) from 1890 to 2001. The term ‘human-animal conflict’ in this context has been used to mean clashes that were experienced between the local people and wild animals over wildlife resources. Similarly, the term ‘human-state conflicts’ has been used to mean were clashes experienced between the local people and the governments or the wildlife officers over the management and utilisation of natural resources including game. In order to provide a rich historical understanding of human-animal and human-state conflicts from 1890 to 2001 the study begins by investigating how the indigenous Kunda people sustainably managed and utilised wildlife resources including game prior to colonial era. The year 1890 was when colonial policies began getting imposed on Northern Rhodesia following her control by the British South African Company (BSAC). The year 2001 signified the end of the first decade of the Movement for Multiparty Democracy administration in Zambia when several wildlife conservation policies were either modified or promulgated.

South Luangwa National Park (SLNP) is one of the 20 national parks in Zambia. From 1902 SLNP was part of the Luangwa Game Reserve (LGR). In 1938 it became South Luangwa Game Reserve (SLGR). From 1942 to 1971 the SLGR together with what became known as Controlled Areas (CAs) were placed under the Game and Tsetse Control Department (GTCD). In 1971 the South Luangwa National Park (SLNP) was established, together with 9 Game Management Areas (GMAs) formally called CAs. SLNP was placed under the National Parks and Wildlife

Services (NPWS) which took over from GTCD. From 1999 to 2015, management of the SLNP was placed under a parastatal organisation called the Zambia Wildlife Authority (ZAWA). Further changes in March 2015, placed the SLNP and ZAWA officers under the Department of National Parks and Wildlife (DNPW). Currently the Department is under the Ministry of Tourism and Arts (MTA), formerly the Ministry of Tourism, Environment and Natural Resources (MTENR).¹

SLNP, a world renowned wildlife sanctuary with a beautiful scenery along the Luangwa River and associated with ox-bow lagoons has an area of 5,090km². It is found in Mambwe District of the Eastern Province of Zambia encompassing the mid-Luangwa Valley which forms part of the Rift Valley System. On the west is the Muchinga Escarpment and the river forms the major portion of the park boundary to the east (See location of SLNP on map 1). The area covered by SLNP is characterised by a hot and dry climate and receives most of its rainfall from November to March. Mopane woodlands dominate the area with scattered grasslands and stunted Munga and Miombo trees. This environment provides a home for abundant wildlife. The poor soils coupled with tsetse-flies inhibit crop cultivation and commercial livestock-keeping. Therefore, before the declaration of SLNP local people largely depended on hunting and gathering with a bit of crop cultivation along the alluvial banks of the tributaries of the Luangwa River. Here the incompatibility of man and game requirements for sustenance clashed leading to early human-animal conflicts. The valley was inhabited by semi-nomadic subsistence crop cultivators, the Bisa speaking people. The Bisa migrated from the kola region in present day Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) in about 1650 and in the early eighteenth century were finally settled

¹ Oliver Dreike, "An Investigation in to Tourism Certification: A Case Study of the South Luangwa National Park (SLNP), Zambia," Master of Science in Conservation and Tourism: University of Kent, (2007), P. 14. [Online: <http://www.olidreike.com/RESUME-files/Oliver Dreike Tourism Certification South Luangwa 07.pdf>], (Date Accessed 18th July, 2017); [On line: <https://www.lusakatimes.com/2015/03/13/ZAWA-abolished/>], (Date Accessed: 5th September, 2017); [On line: <https://www.conservationtanganyika.org/communities/Zambia-wildlife-authority/>], (Date Accessed: 5th September, 2017).

in the Luangwa Valley. During their migrations within the valley, the Kunda, one of the Bisa ethnic groups crossed the Luangwa River and settled on the east bank in the 1830s, an area in which the SLNP was later established in the twentieth century, leaving the Bisa on the west.²

Having settled in the valley, the indigenous people lived by subsistence hunting in order to meet their local household needs socially, economically and culturally. Through African traditions local communities enjoyed full heritage over land and natural resources including game. The state was non-existent and the few Human Animal Conflicts (HACs) that were experienced could easily be sorted out by the local communities concerned. For instance, when an elephant destroyed people's crops the animal concerned could be killed and its meat eaten or exchanged for grain and other food stuffs. Hunting provided additional dietary protein, clothing and support for traditional ceremonies as well as a way of dealing with animals that destroyed crops.³ Marks notes that HACs were usually a consequence of gathering and a little of crop cultivation in which the local people engaged to supplement their local food requirements. Crops like pumpkins, millet, rice and cassava, together with granaries were constantly eaten or destroyed by wild animals such as elephants, hippopotami, buffaloes and birds.⁴

Apart from helping to deal with HACs, subsistence hunting also improved relationships between hunters and chiefs through payment of tribute allowing hunters to rise into leadership positions but was also an important source of food for European explorers, traders, colonial troops and early settlers. Through hunting, local and international barter trade across borders in wildlife

² Stuart Marks, *Large Mammals and a Brave People-Subsistence Hunters in Zambia* (London: Transaction Publishers, 2005), 13.

³ Robert K. Hitchcock, "Traditional African Wildlife Utilisation: Subsistence Hunting, Poaching, and Sustainable Use," in Herbert H. T. Prins, Jan Geu Grootenhuis and Thomas T. Dolan (eds.), *Wildlife Conservation by Sustainable Use*, (London: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 2000), Pp. 390-391; Adam Pope, *Luangwa Safari Association Tourism Study*, (Lusaka: Whydah Consulting Ltd, 2005), P. 15. [On line: https://www.fsg.afre.msu.edu/Zambia/resources/Final_Report-rev2.pdf], (Date Accessed 15th July, 2017); Graham Child, "Ownership of Wildlife," in Herbert H. T. Prins, Jan Geu Grootenhuis and Thomas T. Dolan (eds.), *Wildlife Conservation by Sustainable Use*, (London: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 2000), P. 248; William Beinart, *The Rise of Conservation in South Africa: Settlers, Livestock, and the Environment 1770-1950*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), Pp. 64-65.

⁴ Marks, *Large Mammals and a Brave People*, Pp. 46-47.

products such as ivory through which people acquired goods like grain, clothing and metal tools that they needed was also made possible.⁵ Subsistence hunting was also central in all ritual and magic performances essential to the wellbeing of humans in the local set up and was also a means of preserving wildlife. Men who were not initiated in it could not hunt. Marks argues that traditions made the indigenous people know which animals to hunt and which ones not to. He pointed out that:

Lions were only hunted when they posed danger to the community whereas chameleons and hyenas were conserved for religious reasons or superstitious fear while monkeys, crocodiles and elephants were totem animals that could not be eaten.⁶

Additionally, local communal hunting methods such as “use of traps, spears, snares and axes were designed for specific animals”⁷ which meant that people knew which animals to hunt and when to hunt. Therefore, certain animals were conserved as opposed to the white man’s firearms that mostly involved individual hunting and could not select. However, the imposition of foreign rule and influence of tourism in Africa led to indigenous subsistence hunting being referred to as poaching and barbaric, hence its criminalisation.⁸ Thus by law, the indigenous people lost their heritage over land and natural resources, including game. This affected the livelihoods of the local people as conflicts increased both with wildlife and the colonial state.

Hence, the history of human-animal and human-state conflicts has its roots in the colonial era of Northern Rhodesia (today Zambia) before the declaration of SLNP as a wildlife tourist centre in

⁵ Marks, *Large Mammals and a Brave People*, P. 61; Huntington Henry P, *Wildlife Management and Subsistence Hunting in Alaska*, (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1992), Pp. 15-16; Clark C. Gibson, *The Politicians and the Poachers – The Political Economy of Wildlife Policy in Africa*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999), P. 4.

⁶ Marks, *Large Mammals and a Brave People*, Pp. 62-65.

⁷ Graham, “Ownership of Wildlife,” PP. 253-254; Marks, *Large Mammals and a Brave People*, PP. 72, 80-81.

⁸ John S. Akama, Shem Maingi and Blanca A. Camargo, “Wildlife Conservation, Safari Tourism and the Role of Tourism Certification in Kenya- A Post-Colonial Critique,” *Tourism Research* 36, 3(2011), P. 283. [Online: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/02508281.2011.11081673>], (Date Accessed 15th July, 2017).

the valley. Following the occupation of Northern Rhodesia in 1890, the British South Africa Company (BSAC) imposed a total ban on the hunting of elephants due to massive exploitation by the Chikunda people from Mozambique and the Arab traders from Malawi. By 1902 through their trade, the Arabs and Portuguese had “offloaded 100,000 firearms, over 4,000,000 pounds of gun powder, millions of percussion caps and rounds of ammunition in British and Germany East African colonies.”⁹ However, possession of guns and gunpowder by the Africans under colonial rule was curtailed. The colonial government’s aim was to suppress the slave trade and gain control over the lucrative trade in ivory. These restrictions began in 1891 followed by the establishment of the Mweru Marsh Game Reserve in 1899.¹⁰

In 1924 the British crown government took over from the BSAC and in 1925 promulgated the first Game Ordinance. This Ordinance did not limit the number of species to hunt. However, in 1931 only those with a £3 licence were allowed to hunt as many animals as they liked. This measure together with an increase in firearms, contributed to the reduction of the number of wild animals in the region.¹¹ Fraser F. Darling noted that by 1931 Northern Rhodesia had a lot of firearms. The increase in firearms was related to the increase in the human population (13,846 Europeans, 176 Asiatics and 1,330,000 Africans) who together were in possession of 33,237 firearms.¹² The reduction in the number of wild animals compelled the colonial government to promulgate more game conservation policies in 1931. Three game reserves were set aside as sanctuaries namely; the Victoria Falls Reserve, Kafue Gorge Reserve and the David Livingstone Memorial Reserve. However, depletion of wild animals through illegal hunting continued.¹³

⁹Marks, *Large Mammals and a Brave People*, Pp. 15, 72.

¹⁰ Gibson, *The Politicians and the Poachers*, P. 105.

¹¹ Marks, *Large Mammals and a Brave People*, P.72.

¹² Fraser F. Darling, *Wildlife in an African Territory. A Study made for the Game and Tsetse Control Department of Northern Rhodesia*, (London: Oxford University Press, 1960), P. 120.

¹³ Darling, *Wildlife in an African Territory*, Pp. 120-121.

Some British conservationists became concerned over the destruction of wildlife in British colonies particularly Norman Carr who in 1938 was offered employment as an Elephant Control Officer by the Northern Rhodesian government. He was in the same year posted to Fort Jameson. While working in the Luangwa Valley, Carr acknowledged that the tribesmen in the Luangwa Valley also contributed to the depletion of wildlife there by draining game from their habitat.¹⁴ In the same year he recommended the Luangwa Valley area to have a game reserve that would exclude the indigenous people from accessing wildlife resources as before. The local people accepted the idea upon being assured that the revenues from the tourists and cropping schemes would benefit the local community.¹⁵

In 1938 the Luambe, North and South Luangwa Game Reserves were established followed by the setting up of the Department of Game Reserves. In 1938 another Game Ordinance was drafted and passed in 1941. The passing of the 1941 Game Ordinance gave rise to several infrastructure developments in the East Luangwa Valley. Dreike points out that in 1949 a camp was established at Nsefu, then at Chilongozi in the south in 1955 followed by Big Lagoon in 1957 in the north, the Old Mfuwe camp in the centre in 1960 and in 1961 the Walking Safaris for which the SLNP is known was established.¹⁶ The establishment of the game reserves did not solve the HACs and conflicts between the colonial state and local people in the region. Between 1965 and 1970, elephants, buffaloes and hippos were reported to have destroyed the wildlife habitat, local peoples' crops and their property in the valley.¹⁷

The situation compelled the Zambian government in 1970 to fund a United Nations Development Project to address these wildlife conservation issues. The conclusion to the matter was to create a tourism industry and ground work was laid. SLNP was established in 1971. Park roads were

¹⁴ Norman Carr, *Return to the Wild. A Story of the Two Lions*, (London: Collins Clear- Type Press, 1962), P. 62.

¹⁵ Norman Carr, *The White Impala-The Story of a Game Ranger*, (London: Collins St James Place, 1969), P. 25.

¹⁶ Dreike, "An Investigation in to Tourism Certification," P. 16.

¹⁷ Dalal- Clayton and Child, "Lessons from Luangwa," P. 8.

constructed followed by the Luangwa Bridge at the entrance. Other bridges crossing Luangwa River's tributaries were also constructed. The Mfuwe International Airport (MIA) was opened in 1975 to ease transportation.¹⁸ The establishment of the SLNP did not solve the HACs just as scout patrols in the 1960s and 1970s did not end poaching even after the arrest of a lot of poachers. This was evident in the reduction in numbers of elephants and rhinos.¹⁹ Dalal-Clayton and Child noted that "as from 1975 black rhinos had reduced from 8, 000 in 1970 to less than one hundred in 1980 and are now extinct whereas in the same period the number of elephants dropped from 90,000 to less than 15,000 and to as low as 2,500 in 1989."²⁰

Continued downfall in the numbers of wildlife compelled the government through the department of NPWS which succeeded the GTCD in 1971 to intensify conservation through local community involvement from the 1980s. This was aimed at curtailing the prevalence of conflicts between the local people and the wildlife authorities. Therefore, community programmes such as the Luangwa Integrated Resource Development Project (LIRDP), Administrative Management Design (ADMAGE) and the South Luangwa Area Management Unit (SLAMU) were set up in 1986, 1987 and 1999 respectively. Various scholars such as Marks,²¹ Dalal-Clayton, and Child²² and Child²³ showed that part of the SLNP's wildlife resources benefited the local people for conserving wildlife resources well, yet HACs and Human State Conflicts (HSCs) remained prevalent in the area.

¹⁸ Dalal- Clayton and Child, "Lessons from Luangwa," P. 8.

¹⁹ Marks, *Large Mammals and a Brave People*, Pp. 77-78.

²⁰ Dalal- Clayton and Child, "Lessons from Luangwa," P. 8.

²¹ Marks, *Large Mammals and a Brave People*, Pp. 230-233.

²² Dalal-Clayton and Child, "Lessons from Luangwa," Pp. 8-9, 13.

²³ Brian Child, "Making Wildlife Pay: Converting Wildlife Comparative Advantage into real Incentives for having Wildlife in African Savannas, Case Studies from Zimbabwe and Zambia," in Herbert H. T. Prins, Jan Geu Grootenhuis and Thomas T. Dolan (eds.), *Wildlife Conservation by Sustainable Use*, (London: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 2000), Pp. 282-283.

The above community programmes and other tourism developments were not a complete failure since through them the nation benefited and the socio-economic lives of the local people were positively impacted. Yet little historical scholarly attention has been paid to SLNP. Additionally the majority of non-historical studies available like those by Zimba,²⁴ Pope²⁵ and Dreike²⁶ focus on the development and management of tourism from the colonial era to date with little background information of SLNP. They neglect to assess in detail how the indigenous people managed the wildlife resources before the colonial era and the declaration of SLNP and how they have responded to SLNP -tourism related developments. It is against this background that this study was undertaken to investigate how the indigenous people managed wildlife resources before colonial rule and how the declaration of the SLNP and the wildlife conservation policies impacted the lives of the local people. The study also attempted an assessment of how indigenous people responded to SLNP-tourism developments from 1890 to 2001.

Statement of the Problem

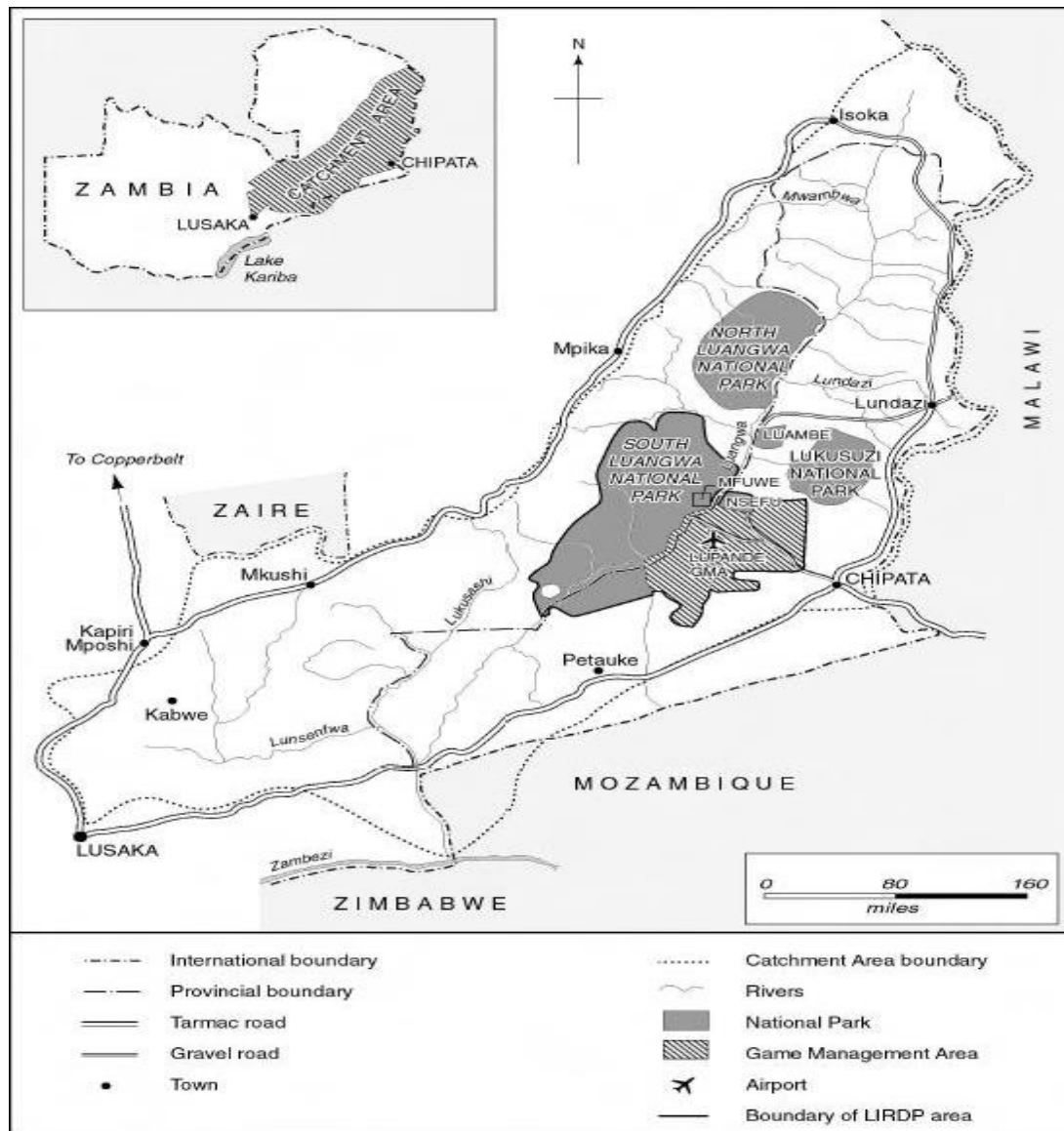
Even though colonial conservation policies were enacted to protect wild animals in the SLNP and the LGMA, research in history focused on how the Kunda people used wildlife resources including game, is inadequate. Neither has there been any research in history focused on how colonial conservation policies and SLNP's declaration impacted the lives of the local people or on how the latter in turn, responded to colonial conservation policies from 1890 to 2001. The study intends to address the above lacunas and assess how attempts to conserve game not only failed to end poaching but in fact intensified human-animal and human-state conflicts.

²⁴ Godfrey Joe Zimba, "The Management of South Luangwa Towards Sustainable Tourism Development," Master of Philosophy in Development Studies: Norwegian University, (2006), Pp. 1-2. [Online: <https://brage.bibsys.no/xmlui/bitstream/handle/11250/265274/126250-Full Text01.pdf>], (Date Accessed 15th July, 2017).

²⁵ Pope, *Luangwa Safari Association- Tourism Study*, Pp. 12, 83-85.

²⁶ Dreike, "An Investigation in to Tourism Certification," Pp. 14-16.

Map 1: National Parks in the Luangwa Valley, 1990



Source: LIRD 1996 and 1997 Annual Reports.

This study was aimed at reconstructing a history of human-animal and human-state conflicts in the SLNP and the surrounding LGMA from 1890 to 2001.

Objectives: The specific objectives of this study were to:

- (i) Investigate how the indigenous Kunda people used the wildlife resources for their socio-economic wellbeing before the colonial era.

- (ii) Examine the responses of the local people to colonial wildlife conservation policies and the declaration of SLNP's developments from 1890 to 2001.
- (iii) Assess the impact of the colonial wildlife conservation policies and SLNP's developments on the livelihood of the local people from 1890 to 2001.

Rationale

The SLNP has received a lot of scholarly attention. However, there is lack of historical works on the socio-economic impact that the conservation policies and SLNP's tourism development have had on the lives of the local people. Focus of the available works has been on the government's conservation initiatives and tourism development. There is also no literature on how the indigenous Kunda people managed wildlife resources before the SLNP's declaration. This study therefore will be a contribution to the already existing knowledge by providing a historical dimension of human-animal and human-state conflicts in SLNP and LGMA from 1890 to 2001.

Geography of the Study Area

The study is about SLNP and the surrounding LGMA situated along the Luangwa Valley in Mambwe District, Eastern Province. The Park has an area of 5,090km,² encompassing the mid-Luangwa Valley which forms part of the Rift Valley System. Part of the Park is in Mpika District of Muchinga Province. The Park's main settlement is Mfuwe area. The Park boasts of several private owned lodges and camps which provide excellent facilities to visitors from far and wide. SLNP is bordered on the west by Muchinga Escarpment while the Luangwa River forms the park boundary to the east. The temperatures in the Valley sometimes reach a maximum of 40 degrees Celsius whereas rainfall received in the plateau part reaches slightly over 1000milimetres annually decreasing to 900 and less towards the Valley. Mopane woodlands dominate the Valley with stunted Munga and Miombo trees. The Park extends to LGMA comprising Kunda chiefdoms; Kakumbi, Nsefu, Mnkhanya, Msoro, Jumbe and Malama. Chiefs Mnkhanya, Msoro

and Jumbe form the Upper LGMA while chiefs Nsefu, Kakumbi and Malama form the Lower LGMA.²⁷ See the map of Zambia for her national parks.

MAP 2: NATIONAL PARKS IN ZAMBIA, 1998



Source: NPWS, Chilanga Headquarters, 1998.

²⁷ Mulongo A. H, "History of the Luangwa Valley: Its Wildlife and its People," in Dalal-Clayton Barry (ed.), Proceedings of the Lupande Workshop- An Integrated Approach to Land Use Management in the Luangwa Valley, Zambia, (Government Printers: Lusaka, Held on 19th- 22nd September, 1983), p. 11; Norman Carr, The White Impala-The Story of a Game Ranger, (London: Collins St James' Place, 1969), Pp. 30-31; Norman Carr, Return to the Wild, A Story of the Two Lions, (London: Collins Clear, 1962), P. 62; Barry Dalal-Clayton and Brian Child, "Lessons from Luangwa: The Story of the Luangwa integrated Resource Development Project, Zambia," Wildlife Development Series, 13, (London: Old Acres, March 2003), P. 7. [Online: <http://www.iied.org>], (Date Accessed 15th July, 2017).

Literature Review

A review of literature available on the human-animal and human-state conflicts in SLNP exposes several gaps that need to be filled. Several studies available do not examine how the local people managed and utilised wildlife resources in SLNP and LGMA before colonial era. They also do not examine the African responses to and impact on colonial wildlife conservation policies in the area. Consequently, this study uses multidisciplinary literature to engage with scholarly works not only on the HACs and HSCs but also on how the indigenous local people managed and utilised wildlife resources before colonial era largely in East, Central and Southern Africa to address the gaps highlighted above from 1890 to 2001. Studies across the world are also used in this literature review.

Globally, wild animals are very important in every society in trying to meet the socio-economic livelihoods of its members. A study by Marc Engelman, Carl-Johan Loyerkvist and Ing-Marie Greu notes that apart from providing food and trophy trade to local societies, wild animals caused damage to the animal habitat by browsing and bark stripping. They also caused road accidents, human deaths and destruction of human property. The study provided insights to the current study on the value of wild animals to societies.²⁸

Additionally, wild animals increase risks of disease transmission to livestock and people as noted by the 2015 Food Agricultural Organisation (FAO) report. The report first gives the general genesis of HACs that these occur when the interests of wild animals encroach on those of the human populations or vice versa. Such conflicts have occurred since the dawn of humanity; however, they have increased over recent decades due to government's wildlife conservation policies, human population growth and their activities and the inability of institutions to manage

²⁸ Marc Engelman, Carl-Johan Loyerkvist and Ing-Marie Greu, "Hunters' Trade-Off in Variation of Different Game Animals in Sweden," *Journal of Forest Policy and Economics*, No. 92, (2018), Pp. 73-74.

such conflicts effectively.²⁹ The report notes that the transmission of diseases affects not only wildlife and livestock populations but also human populations. Although the report is silent on how indigenous people used wildlife resources before the imposition of colonial rule, it is informative on the impacts of HACs such as property damage, loss of human lives and the likelihood transmission of diseases from wildlife to humans such as Nipah virus (a disease which affects livestock and people from fruit bats), rabbit haemorrhagic (a disease in domestic rabbits which affects wild rabbits) and rinderpest in buffalo which affects cattle as well as canine distemper, a disease which affects wild dogs. The study also provided preventive measures to such transmissions like fencing livestock.³⁰ These diseases affected the socio-economic activities of people. The study provided insights to the current study on the socio-economic impact of wildlife diseases on people and livestock.

The socio-economic benefits of wild animals to governments intensified conservation laws worldwide. This shows that the welfare of wild animals began receiving more attention than livestock, people and their activities as noted by Stuart R Harrop in his study. For instance, the ban of African traditional hunting methods like use of traps and illegal trading was prohibited by law through International Trade in Endangered Species as enshrined in the World Trade Organisation and the International Union for Conservation of Nature³¹ These laws, it is argued in this study, conflicted with the local people's lives though the matter has been under played by other scholars.

Prins' work is similar to the 2015 FAO report as it also addresses the issue of diseases transmitted by wild animals in East Africa. The study looks at the competition over natural resources

²⁹ FAO, *2015 Sustainable Wildlife Management and Human-Wildlife Conflict Report*, P. 1.

³⁰ FAO, *2015 Sustainable Wildlife Management Report*, P. 1.

³¹ Stuart R Harrop, "The Dynamics of Wild Animal Welfare Law," *Journal of Environmental Law*, Vol. 9, No. 2, (1997), Pp. 287- 290; Daniel J. Ingram, Lauren Coad, Ben Collen, Noelle F. Kumpel, Thomas Breuer, John E. Fa, David J. C Gill, Fiona Maisals, Judith Schleicher, Emma J. Stokes, Gemma Taylor and Jorn P. W Scharlemann, "Indicators for Wild Animal Off take Methods and Case Study for African Mammals and Birds," *Journal of Ecology and Society*, Vol. 20, No. 3, (2015), Pp. 2-3.

between livestock and wild animals. It points out that through competition over natural resources, animals contracted diseases. This affected the lives of the local people, an aspect the current study investigated.³² To Prins the presence of wild animals in the surrounding habitats transmitted diseases that affected man socio-economically. The study offered insights on the human activities that affected wild animals which in turn affected the socio-economic livelihood of the local people. Similarly, Grootenhuis points out that apart from tsetse transmitted diseases, there are a number of diseases from wild animals that affected man and livestock such as, African swine fever from warthogs and bush pigs; bovine virus diarrhoea (a disease that affects cattle); canine distemper (a viral animal disease similar to rinderpest) that affected dogs but is also found in wild animals like the hyena, the bat, the wild dog, and lion and rabies from saliva of an animal bite.³³

Another work on wildlife conservation is by Hitchcock. His study explores the significance of subsistence hunting in East Africa before tourism was introduced. Just like Marks, Hitchcock argues that the hunted game provided the local people with household needs and stored some of the hunted game meat which they shared with those that did not hunt.³⁴ This according to Hitchcock conserved wildlife since not all Africans were involved in hunting. Wildlife resource utilisation also promoted an aspect of social obligation by which people depended on one another. The study is important to the current study for being informative on the roles of the hunted game and by highlighting the principle of community involvement in the conservation of wildlife through sharing.

³² Herbert H. T. Prins, "Competition between Wildlife and Livestock in Africa," in Herbert H. T. Prins, Jan Geu Grootenhuis and Thomas T. Dolan (eds.), *Wildlife Conservation by Sustainable Use*, (London: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 2000), Pp. 51-53.

³³ Jan Geu Grootenhuis, "Wildlife, Livestock and Animal Disease Reservoirs," in Herbert H. T. Prins, Jan Geu Grootenhuis and Thomas T. Dolan (eds.), *Wildlife Conservation by Sustainable Use*, (London: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 2000), Pp. 82-90.

³⁴ Hitchcock, "Traditional African Wildlife Utilisation," P. 389.

The report by Nkurayija explores the economic benefit of tourism development on developing countries in East Africa. She argues out that although colonial policies leading to tourism development were rough to the local people, the benefits could not be underestimated. Tourism attracted a lot of foreign investment, employment opportunities and national income among others. The study also acknowledges the factors that hindered tourism development in Rwanda such as limited accommodation, inadequate human resource development and inadequate sanitation.³⁵ To Nkurayija, tourism in a country is an engine of economic development. The current study derived insights from the study in an attempt to assess how the local people and government benefited from the SLNP's tourism industry.

The study by Ondicho looks at the problems and challenges that affected tourism in Kenya. In his study Ondicho dwelt much on certain problems that affect tourism development in a country such as political instability and lack of local trained tourism personnel. He argues that training of the local personnel in a tourism industry guarantees them with more jobs in tourism related working places like lodges, wildlife conservation programs, airports and camps there by empowering them economically. The study also explores the basic amenities that tourists require. Some of these are good road network, good post and telecommunication system, no vandalism, electricity, accommodation, good medical services and facilities, good water and sanitation, market and banking services.³⁶ To Ondicho, a country that has violent protests, civil wars, perceived violation of human rights, or mere threats to tourism activities, may be a hindrance. Although the study concerns challenges faced by the tourism sector in Kenya, it provides insights

³⁵ Jean de Croix Nkurayija, The Impact of Globalisation on Africa's Development: Rwanda as a Key to Mobilise Revenue and Investment, National University of Rwanda, 15th March, 2011, Pp. 1-2. [Online: www.culturaldiplomacy.org/academy/content/pdf/participant-papers/211/april/biec-roa-nua/the/impact], (Date Accessed 15th July, 2017).

³⁶ Tom G. Ondicho, "International Tourism in Kenya: Development Problems and Challenges, *East African Social Science Research Review* 16, 2 (June 2000), Pp. 53-54, 60-63. [On line: <https://www.ajoi.info/index.php/eassr/article/view/22710>]. (Date Accessed 15th July, 2017).

and perspectives that I took into account in my study on tourism in the SLNP and on its socio-economic impact on the livelihood of the people.

Allan and Lucy's work on conservation of wildlife argues that unless the wildlife resources accrued are adequately shared with the local people and wildlife management, the local people will never be convinced enough to maintain good relations with wildlife and conserve it. However their study concentrated on the economic benefits of tourism by citing examples on Kenya, Zimbabwe, South Africa and Namibia with regards to huge foreign exchange earnings generated through tourism. The study also notes that tourism creates job opportunities, supports entrepreneurs' both in the tourism sector and secondary industries.³⁷ One limitation of this study is that it only concentrated on Southern African countries where tourism industry was doing fine in the 1990s. However, the study is important to the current study as it has insights that helped identify the challenges the tourism industry faces, the tourism related developments that are important for the local people and the impact of uneven distribution of wildlife proceeds on the community.

The report by D. Hulwe and M. Murphree on Southern Africa explores how the Pre and Post-Colonial African governments centralised the formulation of wildlife policies in an attempt to develop tourism. In their report the two scholars argues that colonial conservation policies undermined the socio-economic livelihoods of the local people. This is so because the local people and the traditional leaders could not access land and use the wildlife resources freely within and around the Okavango Delta Park in Botswana.³⁸ This posed problems in the daily lives of the local people. However, the report does not discuss the roles of traditional leaders in

³⁷ Allan Earnshaw, Lucy Emerton, "The Economic of Wildlife Tourism: Theory and Reality for Landholders in Africa," in Herbert H. T Prins, Jan Geu Grootenhuis and Thomas T. Dolan (eds.), *Wildlife Conservation by Sustainable Use*, (London: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 2000), Pp. 315-318.

³⁸ Hulwe D and M Murphree, *Harnessing Natural Resources for Sustainable Development in Southern Africa. Opportunities and Challenges in Tourism Sector. United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (UNECA)*, March, 2012.

unifying the local people over sustainable utilisation of wildlife resources in the chiefdoms, an aspect that this study addressed.

Cheteni analysed the ant poaching techniques for rhino across Africa so as to increase the numbers in Southern Africa. The study argues that the exclusion protectionist approach where the locals were excluded from the parks is not a solution to reducing poaching. This is simply because the decline of rhino and other wild animals were caused by problems emanating from outside the protected areas, mainly the attractive prices of the wildlife products on the international market.³⁹ Although the study focused on rhino conservation it is informative to the current study on the right wildlife conservation techniques to adopt in order to develop tourism in the SLNP and the surrounding LGMA.

Like Ondicho, Magambo explored the development of tourism and accommodation sector in Malawi since independence. She points out influential factors towards tourism development such as transport, and communication, infrastructure and accommodation facilities. The economic impact of tourism on the local people such as job creation, foreign exchange earnings and economic growth is also pointed out in the study. The study however, is silent on the HACs though wild animals like elephants were reported to have been destroying crops in the areas closer to game reserves and national parks,⁴⁰ an aspect that this study discussed.

Stuart Marks' study of the Bisa in the Luangwa valley explores how the indigenous people took advantage of the wildlife resources before the colonial era and the declaration of the park. The study argues that the presence of tsetse flies in the valley prevented the Bisa from domesticating

³⁹ Privilege Cheteni, "An Analysis of Ant- poaching Techniques in Africa: A Case Study of Rhino Poaching," *Environmental Economics* 5, 3 (2014), Pp. 63- 67. [Online: [URL:https://mpa.ub.uni-mueche.de/59031](https://mpa.ub.uni-mueche.de/59031)]. (Date Accessed 15th July, 2017).

⁴⁰ Alice Magambo, "The Development of Tourism and Accommodation Sector in Malawi since Independence," Master of Arts in Tourism Studies: University of Witwatersrand, (2011), Pp. 28-29. [On line: [https://www.wiredspace.wits.ac.zm/bitstream/handle/10539/11424-Alice Magambo](https://www.wiredspace.wits.ac.zm/bitstream/handle/10539/11424-Alice%20Magambo)], (Date Accessed 15th July, 2017).

animals like cattle which would have given them a protein diet. The tsetse flies transmit trypanosomiasis to cattle and sleeping sickness to humans. Additionally, the crops grown in the alluvial soils of Luangwa's tributaries which were constantly destroyed by wild animals like elephants and hippopotami left them with no food. In such times the people conducted barter trade using wildlife products such as game meat, animal skins and ivory for them to restore their granaries among other things. Hunting also maintained good relations between hunters and the chiefs through tribute paying using the wildlife products.⁴¹ The study is informative to the current study on wildlife resource utilisation.

The work by Marks explores the use of hunting tools, rituals and taboos by the Bisa people which helped to conserve wildlife. The study argues that by using African traditional tools such as poisoned spears, axes, traps, and rituals and taboos when hunting certain wild animals were conserved as hunters knew which ones to hunt and when. For example, crocodiles and elephants could not be eaten because they were totem animals while the hyenas and chameleons were conserved for religious or superstitious purposes.⁴² This study is important to the current study as it provided critical information on how the Bisa exploited but at the same time conserved wildlife resources. Another study by Marks explains the commencement of colonial wildlife conservationist policies in Northern Rhodesia. The study notes that the need to suppress the slave trade and gain control of the lucrative ivory trade compelled the BSAC to begin wildlife conservation policies. The policies began in 1891 when possession of guns and gunpowder by Africans was curtailed followed by the establishment of the Mweru Marsh Game Reserve in 1899. The 1900 International London Conference came up with measures against accessing wildlife resources illegally such as illegal hunting in the British colonies.⁴³ The policies

⁴¹Marks, *Large Mammals and a Brave People*, Pp. 46-47, 61.

⁴² Marks, *Large Mammals and a Brave People*, Pp. 62-64.

⁴³ Marks, *The Imperial Lion*, Pp. 105-107.

conflicted with the local people's livelihoods though the matter has been under played by scholars.

Norman Carr's study explains the conservation roles he played prior to the enactment of conservation policies in East Luangwa Valley. He notes that by 1938 the valley had plenty of wildlife and the locals were depleting it at an alarming rate using muzzleloaders. Carr concluded that there was need for the setting up of a game reserve. Later, he succeeded in convincing the local people to have SLGR established in 1938. His study advocated for local community involvement in wildlife conservation and equal sharing of the wildlife proceeds.⁴⁴ The study is not only informative to the current study on the enactment of conservation policies but also for highlighting the principal of community involvement in wildlife conservation.

Gibson explores colonial policies towards wildlife in independent African countries and how they helped to mould the political scenario of the early independent governments of Zimbabwe, Kenya and Zambia. The study also discusses the advent of colonial policies towards wildlife conservation in Zambia and briefly how the indigenous people managed wildlife resources prior to colonial conservation policies. Upon taking over from the BSAC, the study notes that the British government in 1925 adopted the Game Ordinance which created game licences, game regulations and protected areas.⁴⁵ This prevented the local people from accessing wildlife resources as the case was before; hence, human-state conflicts began. However, the study has little or no details on human-animal and human-state conflicts, a gap which the current study addressed.

Gibson's study also notes that the three countries above experienced long periods of rule by strong men who centralised authority over natural resources including game. The Zambian

⁴⁴ Carr, *Return to the Wild*, Pp. 61-63.

⁴⁵ Gibson, *The Politicians and Poachers*, Pp. 4, 14-15, 21-22.

government under the United National Independence Party (UNIP), for example in 1968 submitted a new Wildlife Bill to the National Assembly by which authority over wildlife was given to the central government. The study argues that centralisation of authority over wildlife resources in the three countries might have caused the wildlife authorities to fail to have conservation intended results.⁴⁶ However, the study does not mention why centralisation might have failed in wildlife and tourism activities. The study is also informative and important to the current study in assessing the impact of the centralisation approach on the administration of wildlife conservation programmes and tourism activities.

Child's work was slightly different from that of Hitchcock and Marks in that his study assesses the impact of the transformation of subsistence hunting from being a public asset to one to which an economic value is attached. His argument is that due to the economic value that was attached to wildlife resources in Zimbabwe, tourism development faced constraints induced by poaching, human settlement, uncontrolled tourism development and habitat damage by over populated wildlife species such as elephants and hippopotami. The study provides some economic importance of wildlife. Child's work also explores wildlife community conservation programmes in the 1980s and 1990s such as Administrative Management Design and Luangwa Integrated Resource Development Project which attempted to reduce poaching in the SLNP and the surrounding LGMA.⁴⁷ Apart from providing information on community based conservation initiatives to the current study, the study provides this study with insights into the impact of tourism development in the park. The current study also learned insights from the study on preventive measures that the government devised against destructive wild animals.

Dreike's work explores the conservation of wildlife resources in SLNP that led to tourism development. The study though non-historical also concentrated on the origin and infrastructure

⁴⁶ Gibson, *The Politicians and Poachers*, Pp. 15, 21-22.

⁴⁷ Child, "Making the Wildlife Pay," Pp. 336-337, 382-383.

developments in the SLNP and surrounding areas. His work notes that after Nsefu camp opened in 1949 in the area, several other tourism infrastructures were constructed. Such tourism developments in the area created employment opportunities for the people although there have been little or no historical documented details.⁴⁸ The study is important to the current study not only for the historical background information of SLNP but also for information on the tourism related infrastructural developments that impacted the Kunda's livelihood. Dreike's study is similar to Adam Pope's in that it explains the historical background of SLNP and the infrastructural developments. It also assesses the economic impact of tourism on the national economy and the local people. He notes that "by 2003, 700 people were employed in the tourism sector, over 50 were qualified tourist guides and a lot of public institutions received donor funding."⁴⁹ Even though the study is silent on HACs and how the indigenous people used wildlife resources before the introduction of SLNP in the Valley, it is however valuable to the current study on the historical background of the park's tourism infrastructural facilities and the impact the development of tourism had on the local people and public institutions.

Darling's study explores the events that compelled the BSAC and the British colonial government to set up game reserves in Northern Rhodesia that later led to the declaration of the SLNP in 1971. The study points out that a number of events played a role in the depletion of game in Northern Rhodesia before the SLNP was declared such as; the outbreak of the rinderpest in 1895 and 1902 and the commencement of the development of copper mines in 1925 on the Copper Belt. This attracted a lot of people which increased the demand for game meat.⁵⁰ This study is informative to the current study on the creation of game reserve and the declaration of the SLNP.

⁴⁸ Dreike, "An Investigation into Tourism Certification," Pp. 15-16.

⁴⁹ Pope, *Luangwa Safari Association Tourism Study*, Pp. 2-4, 12-17.

⁵⁰ Darling, *Wildlife in an African Territory*, Pp. 119-124.

Dalal-Clayton and Brian Child argue in the case of Zambia that due to political interference in wildlife management, the tourism industry did not do well after 1991. Their study explores the wildlife conservation policies and tourism development. They argue that even though community conservation initiatives were employed such as the LIRDP, ADMADE and Community Based Natural Resource Management (CBNRM) to benefit the communities, HACs and HSCs remained rampant in the area. The study also argues that despite some people being employed in tourism related Infrastructures like lodges, Camps and MIA; conflicts have not abated.⁵¹ An aspect the current study addressed. The two scholars further noted that total centralisation of wildlife projects by Dr Kenneth Kaunda was abandoned when the Movement for Multi-Party Democracy (MMD) formed government in Zambia in 1991. Restructurings carried out from the 1990s not only affected the wildlife operations in the park but also conflicted with people's livelihood. For instance, the two Co-Directors of LIRDP were replaced by one Project Director in 1992. Again in 1999 NPWS became ZAWA and LIRDP in the same year became SLAMU.⁵² Dalal-Clayton and Child argue that centralisation hinders sound management of wildlife resources and tourism activities as conflicts with the local people do not end. The study however, does not investigate fully the challenges of centralisation which this study intends to do.

A study similar to Dalal-Clayton and Child is that by Godfrey Joe Zimba. It explores the management of SLNP by looking at the local communities' participation and involvement in both wildlife and tourism activities in the park. The study goes further by looking at the HACs. However, Zimba's study was based on oral interviews (primary sources) only. The current study will use secondary sources as well for a more objective historical appreciation of human-animal and human-state conflicts.⁵³

⁵¹ Dalal- Clayton and Child, "Lessons from Luangwa," Pp. 1, 13-15, 23-24.

⁵² Dalal- Clayton and Child, "Lessons from Luangwa," Pp. 23-24.

⁵³ Zimba, "The Management of SLNP," Pp. 15-17, 70-75.

Research Methodology

The study employed qualitative methodological approach which used archival, secondary and oral sources of data. Data collected was analysed thematically. Different centres and sources of information were consulted. The first part of the study involved research at Chizombo, DNPW Camp in the SLNP for archival documents. Books concerning wildlife management were consulted while additional data was collected from tourism related areas such as lodges, camps and MIA. While in the area I conducted oral interviews with the local people and some chiefs like Senior Chief Nsefu, chiefs Mnkhanya and Kakumbi. The three chiefs sampled presided over chiefdoms very prone to human-animal and human-state conflicts and were easily accessible during the time of research. The local people sampled for interviews were reformed poachers and those residing close to wildlife tourism related infrastructural developments. Some of the information gotten from local people was the benefits and adversities encountered with the imposition of colonial wildlife policies. They also provided data on wildlife conservation programmes in area. The chiefs provided data on how the local people used wildlife resources before the colonial era and how the local people got affected by the colonial wildlife conservation policies. I also conducted interviews with DNPW officers at Chizombo.

This was followed by interviews with officers in government institutions such as, District Education Board Secretary in Education, District Sargent Police Officer in Police, District Livestock Officer in Fisheries and Livestock, District Council Planning Officer in the Council and District Health Director in the Health concerning their roles in wildlife conservation and how they supported tourism activities in SLNP and the LGMA. Through the above mentioned interviews I collected data that highlighted how the local people managed wildlife resources before colonialism. The data collected showed the role played by such government institutions in conserving wildlife and also how such institutions are impacted by wildlife tourism in the area. I also got data concerning the sources of human-animal and human-state conflicts (conflicts

between the local communities and the wildlife as well as conflicts between local communities and Wildlife management authorities-the state) with regard to the wildlife resource management and utilisation. The collected oral information helped me to assess the impact of the wildlife and tourism related developments in the area on the local people and the nation.

The next was research at the University of Zambia (UNZA) Main Library where the Special Collection Section was used. In the Special Collection Section the Northern Rhodesia and Zambia government reports, publications, debates among others were consulted for secondary material. Secondary sources like books, journals, theses, dissertations, newspapers and project and tourism reports were also consulted. These sources were analysed in order to have credible material.⁵⁴ Research was then done at the National Archives of Zambia (NAZ) in Lusaka for archival research data where primary sources in form of government documents, books and the files under the BSAC and the Crown government on the colonial and post-colonial conservation of wildlife which yielded vital information on not only how the local people used and managed wildlife resources but also how their livelihoods were impacted by the imposition of wildlife policies. The colonial and post-colonial government reports with minutes of meetings, correspondences between the BSAC and government officials and the local people were consulted. Primary documents about the East Luangwa Valley, establishment of SLNP and the LGMA were also consulted.

Lastly, the Chilanga Wildlife Headquarters' archives were consulted for readings on management of wildlife resources and other documents relevant to the study. Oral interviews were conducted with DNPW officers at Chilanga Headquarters vested with the information on the management, utilisation and conservation of wildlife resources in SLNP and LGMA. Once the data was collected, a lot of time was spent in sorting and interpreting it in order to come up

⁵⁴ Peter J. Buckley, "Historical Research Approaches to the Analysis of Internationalisation," *Journal of Management International Research*, (2016), P. 882.

with a history on how the indigenous people utilised game resources before the colonial era and how the local people responded to conservation laws and the introduction of SLNP's tourism related developments.

Organisation of the Study

The dissertation is made up of five chapters. Chapter one is the Introduction which provides the background to the study. Chapter two examines subsistence hunting and usage of wildlife resources by the indigenous Kunda people in Mambwe district before the imposition of colonial rule. Chapter three examines wildlife conservation in SLNP and the surrounding LGMA from 1890 to 2001. Chapter four examines the African responses to and impact on conservation policies and the declaration of SLNP from 1890 to 2001. The last being Chapter five is the conclusion of the study. It reflects on the main outcomes of the study.

CHAPTER TWO

WILDLIFE RESOURCE MANAGEMENT AND UTILISATION BY THE INDIGENOUS KUNDA PEOPLE PRIOR TO COLONIAL RULE

Introduction

In order to understand the socio-economic impacts that wildlife conservation policies had on the local people, the chapter starts by critically examining the sustainable usage of game resources by the indigenous Kunda people before colonial rule. Not only does the chapter notes that wildlife resource management and utilisation by the indigenous Kunda people was done through subsistence hunting systems, it also examines how traditional hunting tools and practices conserved natural resources including game. Subsistence hunting as argued in the chapter did not only help the indigenous people conserve game but it also sustained their socio-economic and religious livelihoods as opposed to foreign wildlife conservation laws. Hunting therefore performed various roles among the Kunda people which included supplementing their diet, improving their economy, promoting rituals, acting as bait to ascend to leadership positions, enhancement of magic and instilling moral discipline.

Wildlife (Game) Resource Management and Utilisation through Local Hunting

The hunting of game by the Kunda people in the East Luangwa Valley (Eastern Province) was largely done by skilled and initiated hunters called *Ashibinda* or *Afundi* in Kunda language. Thus, the Kunda like any other African ethnic groups largely used their traditional hunting equipment that included traps (mbuna), spears (mikondo), snares (misampha), wires (mawaya) and locally made muzzle loading guns (vigogodela). Hunters using these hunting weapons

Flourished as their socio-economic livelihoods improved.¹ Until the late nineteenth century, the lives of the Kunda people largely depended on this subsistence hunting. The scenario began changing with the coming of the BSAC's wildlife conservation laws in 1890.² Robert K. Hitchcock agrees with Marks on subsistence hunting. He looks at subsistence hunting as "resource dependence primarily outside the cash sector of the economy."³ In other words subsistence hunting was the accessing of game resources for socio-economic and spiritual purposes at a domestic level. Hitchcock noted that through subsistence hunting the indigenous people shared game resources with those in need and preserved some for future consumption. This cultivated a spirit of living together among the indigenous local communities.⁴ Thus, from the onset it must be pointed out that long before the colonial authorities, the Kunda people hunted game animals mainly for food. Some of it was shared among members in the communities since not everyone was a hunter, but a few privileged.⁵ It is argued here that the subsistence traditional hunting methods had more positive impacts and control over wildlife resources than the foreign strategies that increased famine among other challenges by restricting the access of wildlife resources.

Hunting Tools and Strategies

Until the late nineteenth century, most of the men in African ethnic groups belonged to the organised hunting guilds. These were traditionally authorised to exploit wildlife resources using their hunting equipment for local consumption and other domestic uses. Wild animals hunted

¹ Mackenzie J. M, "Chivalry, Social Darwinism and Ritualized Killing: The Hunting Ethos in Central Africa up to 1914," in David Anderson and Richard Grove (eds.), *Conservation in Africa: People, Policies and Practices*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), Pp. 41,45,46; Mwelwa C. Musambachime, "Colonialism and the Environment in Zambia, 1890-1964," in Samuel N. Chipungu (ed.), *Guardians in Their Time- Experiences of Zambians Under Colonial Rule, 1890-1964*, (London: Macmillan Press Ltd, 1992), P. 14; Marks, *Imperial Lion*, P. 106.

² Marks, *The Imperial Lion*, P. 87.

³ Robert K. Hitchcock, "Traditional African Wildlife Utilisation: Subsistence Hunting, Poaching and Subsistence Use," in Herbert H. T. Prins, Jan Geu Grootenhuis and Thomas T. Dolan (eds.), *Wildlife Conservation by Sustainable Use*, (London: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 2000), P. 389.

⁴ Hitchcock, "Traditional African Wildlife Utilisation," Pp. 390-391.

⁵ Interview with Mr Gunduzani Phiri of Chief Kakumbi, 20/11/2017.

included the Kudu, impala and buffalo. Elephant and warthog were hunted in special cases.⁶ His Royal Highness Chief Mnkhanya in an interview also pointed out that the nature of hunting weapons used helped to reduce the destruction of wild animals. Each hunting weapon was meant to hunt specific wild animals. This was contrary to the European improved guns such as rifles which could kill animals indiscriminately. Dogs for instance were only used to hunt impala and other small game, whereas *vigogodela* were specifically made to hunt big game in groups like elephants, buffaloes and hippopotami in times of famine. Their meat was distributed to village members to share for food and trade purposes in order to acquire domestic items that were unavailable.⁷

A reformed poacher, Mr Gunduzani Phiri of Chief Kakumbi affirmed that these hunting weapons were made in such a way that they suited the game they were targeting. *Mbuna*, *mawaya* and *misampha* for instance were used to kill all categories of wild animals except elephants. However, their sizes and styles differed depending on the animal being targeted. Elephants were killed using their few locally made *vigogodela* in groups.⁸ In his affirmation to Gunduzani's point, Marks gave out his argument on the mass depletion of wild animals. He provided data that in "1966-1967 the success ratio for most local muzzle-loading hunters was between 12% and 13%, whereas that of the European modern guns ranged from 33% to 57%."⁹ This could be the reason why Mulongo concluded that hunting for domestic purposes by the Kunda people did not endanger the survival of wildlife as compared to the commercial hunting done by the Europeans in the East Luangwa Valley.¹⁰

⁶ N. Leather-Williams and E. J. Milner-Gulland, "Policies for the Enforcement of Wildlife Laws: The Balance between Detection and Penalties in Luangwa Valley, Zambia", *Conservation Biology*, Vol. 7, No. 3, (September 1993), P. 613.

⁷ Interview with His Royal Highness Chief Mnkhanya, 10/11/2017.

⁸ Interview with Mr Gunduzani Phiri, 20/11/2017.

⁹ Marks, *The Imperial Lion*, P. 95.

¹⁰ Mulongo A. H, "History of Luangwa Valley: Its Wildlife and Its People," in Dalal-Clayton and Lewis D. M (Eds.), *An Integrated Approach to Land Use Management in the Luangwa Valley*, Zambia, (Government Printers: Lusaka, 1983), P. 15.

The Kunda also used spears of different models among other hunting tools to exploit game resources. Marks pointed out that special poisoned bladed and iron weighted spears were used to hunt big game like elephants in big groups. Dr F. Delacerda, a Portuguese explorer described the latter as a very heavy spear, “fit for hunting big game, four palms long, one inch thick with a flat sharp head at one end and the other end embedded in a heavy wooden handle. Its total weight normally was eight pounds.”¹¹ From the information given above, the tools only hunted big game, a situation which helped to reduce the destruction of small game. When using the poisoned bladed and the iron weighted spears, hunters strictly followed certain hunting skills guided by their leader. Informant Andrew Zulu in Chief Jumbe pointed out that:

When using poisoned bladed spears, the group leader could go directly to the herd of the elephants and spears one as others followed to finish killing the wounded animal, whereas for the iron weighted spear the one leading the hunters could climb the tree whose branches covered the animals’ path with the weapon. The group leader attacked one animal as the herd used the path, and other hunters came to finish killing the wounded animal.¹²

Ashibinda also used poisoned bladed axes to hunt the big animals but in groups. In this case all *Ashibinda* hid themselves in the thick forests closer to the paths used by the animals. The animals had their tendons cut using these axes when they went to drink water. The animal wounded was killed in a helpless state.¹³ This hunting technique did not only help to conserve small game but even the big ones as the method allowed for killing only one or two wild animals at a time. Additionally, before contact with outsiders, the Kunda people were already aware of the skill of making muzzle-loading guns. The locally made guns were made from the local *msangu* and *ngobe* trees. In cases where *msangu* and *ngobe* trees were scarce, baobab tree barks were used.

¹¹Burton R.F, *The Lands of Kazembe: Delacerda’s Journey to Kazembe in 1798*, John Murray: London, 1893), P. 271.

¹²Interview with Mr Andrew Zulu in Chief Jumbe, Lugomo village, 20/04/2018.

¹³Interview with Andrew, 20/04/2018.

These guns were used to hunt big game such as elephants and buffaloes.¹⁴ Citing J. E Hughes in his work *Eighteen Years on Lake Bangweulu* Marks stated that baobab tree barks were a substitute for making *vigogodela* by the indigenous people. This was noted by the early British administrators- Melland and Hughes and the colonial hunters Lyell and Letcher who worked in the Valley from 1901 to 1903. During their stay in the Luangwa Valley, they saw that most of the baobab trees had their barks removed. As that was not enough proof, a decayed elephant carcass showed some locally made copper bullets.¹⁵ This clearly showed that the indigenous people also had the skill of making *vigogodela* prior to the arrival of Europeans. However, the colonial authorities viewed these guns as a threat to game preservation.

Despite such condemnation from the colonial authorities, *vigogodela* were not used to hunt animals on a daily basis. The elephants, hippopotami and buffaloes to a lesser extent could mostly be hunted using *vigogodela* in groups when they damaged peoples' crops in the gardens and during famine. A group of ten *Ashibinda* could team up to hunt the destructive wild animals. The meat was normally shared among the village members affected. Those without food could also benefit from the meat. Others exchanged the meat for other items unavailable such as salt and grain in the households. In cases of famine, people were helped through the same way and malnutrition was not heard of.¹⁶ According to the indigenous people, *vigogodela* helped to conserve game as opposed to the rifle introduced by the colonial authorities which was used to kill animals indiscriminately.

Traps used by the indigenous Kunda people were of different types depending on the wild animals targeted for hunting. In other words traps bore different names in the East Luangwa

¹⁴Interview with Chief Mnkanya, 10/11/2017.

¹⁵ Marks, *Large Mammals and a Brave People*, P. 72; NAZ, SEC 6/40 Game Protection and Firearms Report by Mr C. J. Oldedall in March, 1955.

¹⁶Interview with Chief Mnkanya, 10/11/2017.

Valley among which included the harpoon downfall, funnel structured and triangular basket traps. Marks noted that:

Harpoon downfall traps locally called *chisumpi* were used to hunt big game in times of famine. The trap had a poisoned barbed point fitted in wood and suspended by a rope from a tree hanging above the animal's trail. The other end of the rope could be tied to a thin stick closer to the animal's trail. The trap would thus fall on the animal's back forcing it to run into water and dies in a day.¹⁷

Funnel structured traps locally called *muzeka chambala* were also used. Marks noted that the trap was made using vines interlaced between supporting sticks. The trap's wide mouth tapered to one end. The traps were normally put along the paths of small animals and hunters would drive them to the traps. So once the animal entered the trap it would not escape as the trap had sharpened spikes facing inwards."¹⁸ Mr Esau Banda, an informant in Chief Jumbe affirmed that traps were normally made to hunt small animals like impala, baboons and monkeys. This helped to reduce the destruction of some big game. *Misampha* (traps) were used by people even with little hunting skill in order to access game resources. Their meat would be shared among the people for local consumption. Some of it would be dried in the sun or smoked for future consumption.¹⁹ In cases where monkeys, warthogs and baboons destroyed people's crops, triangular basket traps were used to trap them in the gardens. Sorghums, millet and maize cobs were used as bait to invite such animals into the traps. Sometimes people dug trenches around gardens to protect their crops from destructive hippopotami and other animals.²⁰

Game pits were widely used when hunting both big and smaller animals whenever there was need in the local community.²¹ Like the traps, the game pits were also of different types to suit

¹⁷Marks, *Large Mammals and a Brave People*, Pp. 64-65, 80.

¹⁸ Marks, *Large Mammals and a Brave People*, P. 84.

¹⁹ Interview with Mr Esau Banda of Chief Jumbe, Simukanda Village on 20/04/2018.

²⁰Interview with Esau, 20/04/2018.

²¹Marks, *Large Mammals and a Brave People*, P.65.

the animals intended to hunt. One of His Loyal Highness Senior Chief Nsefu's induna, Mr Jonathan Banda pointed out that:

The common *mbuna* was one where hunters dug a pit in the ground and on top some grass was spread to disguise it from the unsuspecting animals. And when the animals passed in their usual paths, they would fall in the pit ready to be killed in that helpless state.²²

Jonathan added that sometimes pits were dug in the paths leading to peoples' gardens. The gardens would be fenced all round and small spaces were left at frequent intervals to invite the game to enter. Heaps of reaped sorghum and the growing sorghum were used as bait to entice the animals. In such cases *mbuna* apart from providing a protein diet were also used to protect garden crops from destructive animals.²³ This to some extent helped to conserve game as not all wild animals were destructive to the local people's crops. Marks grouped *mbuna* into two categories depending on the size of the animal targeted; namely the rectangular and round pits.

For smaller game, a rectangular pit was dug while a round pit was dug for bigger animals. However, for both pits, some sharp sticks were erected from the bottom pointing upwards. On top some grass and branches were spread to cover the pit in order to disguise it from the unsuspecting animals.²⁴

The bottom of the pits was normally reduced in width so that as animals fall in the long pits they would experience some discomfort. Big animals' bodies would be tightly compressed until breathing is cut through painful gasps while small animals would be found alive in the pit.²⁵ This situation made it easy for the hunter to kill the animal in the pits. The Kunda also used *mawaya* when hunting in the East Luangwa Valley. Snares of different types were made and used such as

²²Interview with Mr Jonathan Banda, Senior Chief Nsefu's Induna, Nsefu Village on 13/11/2017.

²³Interview with Banda, 13/11/2017.

²⁴ Marks, *Large Mammals and a Brave People*, Pp. 81-82; Interview with Jonathan, 13/11/2017.

²⁵ Chadwick W. S, *Man-Killers and Marauders- Some Big Game Encounters of an African Hunter*, (Library Press: London, 1929), Pp. 213-215.

the spring pole and noose snares.²⁶ The spring pole snares locally called *chitembo* or *katembo* was used to hunt both small and big animals around water points. On how to use a *chitembo* snare, informant Emmanuel Zulu pointed out that:

A branch acted as a spring while a string noose made from the baobab fibre was held in position over a hole by three smaller sticks which became a trigger. As an animal broke the trigger stick, the string straightened and suspended the animal in the air by its neck, or leg or arm.²⁷

Chadwick also mentions that noose snares were used all over in Northern Rhodesia and that the skill followed the same principles. The only difference was that some of these noose snares hunted birds, small and big animals.²⁸ The Kunda also used drives in an effort to exploit wildlife resources. This method was done in groups on the river valley and mostly for small animals. An area was ear marked for this activity and the hunters armed with spears were divided into two groups surrounding the marked area. Informant Emmanuel further pointed out that:

Before sunrise, hunters armed with *mikondo*, *aphwitika* (machetes) and *vigodela* hid themselves in the bush round a pit dug behind the position where animals would be expected to be coming from. Others would begin driving the animals using dogs towards the only unfenced space. Animals would fall into the pit and get ambushed by *Afundi* and or hurt themselves in the pit.²⁹

²⁶ Chadwick, *Man-Killers and Marauders*, P.211; Marks, *Large Mammals and a Brave People*, Pp. 80-85; Interview with Mr Emmanuel Zulu of Chief Kakumbi, 25/11/2017.

²⁷ Interview with Zulu, 25/11/2017.

²⁸ Chadwick, *Man-Killers and Marauders*, P.212; Marks, *Large Mammals and a Brave People*, Pp.82, 84-85.

²⁹ Interview with Zulu, 25/11/2017.

The utilisation of the hunting tools among the Kunda discussed above clearly suggests that they did not only improve their socio-economic lives but they also helped to conserve wild animals. The Kunda also used several different strategies which were designed to conserve wildlife resources prior the colonial era.

The execution of hunting tools went hand in hand with hunting strategies. Amongst the Kunda people, few privileged men belonged to the hunting guilds. The role of validating one in to becoming *Shibinda* was entrusted with the family elders or the skilled *Ashibinda*. In Chief Jumbe, boys were first involved in trapping birds and small animals before being initiated into *Ashibinda* or *Afundi*. Such boys became hunters through the experience acquired in accompanying the *Ashibinda*. And those who accompanied the *Ashibinda* were usually chosen by the *Ashibinda* themselves.³⁰ However, among the Kunda people of Senior Chief Nsefu before one became a hunter he had to dream and the dream would be interpreted by elders after consulting their family spirits. Jonathan of Senior Chief Nsefu pointed out that:

One night while sleeping, he dreamt of his grandfather telling him to feed the family. When he woke up, the dream was narrated to the village headman who interpreted it that he needed to look for a gun and become a hunter. Upon sourcing the gun the family members assembled and showers of blessings were poured upon him. Ritual performances were also done together with his wife or wives. He was then named after this departed grandfather. Following his first kill, a ceremony was celebrated with other *Ashibinda* armed with *vigogodela*.³¹

Therefore, it is argued that hunters among the Kunda people were mainly food providers. They would also protect the family members' gardens from destructive animals. The information given above also shows that the strategy executed in the recruitment of hunters provided village elders

³⁰ Interview with Mr Duncan Banda of Chief Jumbe, Lugomo Village 9/05/2018.

³¹ Interview with Zulu, 20/04/2018.

with social roles as they controlled the numbers of hunters in every generation. This to some extent helped to conserve game as not all family members could be recruited as hunters.

Hunting timing as a strategy among the Kunda people was not fixed. However, respondent Duncan pointed out that most *Ashibinda* went hunting in the morning and late afternoon hours of the day. They would also hunt game very close to water points or good pastures.³² This was the right timing because that was when animals were trekking to drinking and feeding places. It was also the same time when hunters got their blessings from their ancestors. Most of their kills were also done just after the cold season when vegetation cover was just burnt and a fresh one was shooting up. This provided good pasture and habitat for the animals. Therefore, a lot of wild animals could easily hide in the fresh bushes and got preserved from being hunted except few which fed around gardens and in completely burnt habitats.³³ Thus, it can be argued that the Kunda were aware that late burning of bushes was destructive to the game habitat and game itself. Hence, they hunted immediately after the cold season upon early burning. Their hunting was also guided by their ancestors during the early morning hours. This also promoted their social life through ancestral recognition.³⁴

Selection and Avoidance of Game Species

The selection of animals to hunt by the indigenous people helped to conserve game. Some could not be hunted for various reasons. Marks' works identified buffalo, warthog and impala among other animals that were subsistent hunted as evident from the skulls discovered in the villages.³⁵ This suggests that these animals used to frequent villages there by providing more chances of being hunted. However, among the Kunda people warthog was never eaten when hunted but to provide people suffering from epilepsy with medicine. Kudu, elephants and wild pigs among

³² Interview with Banda, 25/11/2017.

³³ Interview with Banda, 9/05/2018.

³⁴ Marks, *The Imperial Lion*, P. 95.

³⁵ Marks, *The Imperial Lion*, P. 93.

others were also hunted and their meat could be eaten. Stripped animals like zebra, eland (Nsefu) and bushbuck could not be hunted for consumption as this was prohibited by the Kunda tradition. They were also afraid of acquiring skin rashes. Equally, the eland was not hunted since it was treated as queen's animal; hence, their protection.³⁶

Generally, taboos and traditional beliefs played a vital role in the avoidance of certain game meats for food among African societies. For instance, Marks noted that among the valley people, "Pregnant women avoided stripped game animals such as zebra and bushbuck, otherwise it was believed that their children would become spotted like the same animals."³⁷ Induna Jonathan affirmed that tradition was very influential in the prohibition of eating certain game species among the Kunda people. Clan animals like Nsefu from where the Royal Highness Senior Chief Nsefu derives the name were not eaten but could be hunted on special occasions for their tails. The tails acted as a symbol of recognition for Kunda Chiefs. Jonathan added that on the basis of their traditional beliefs, hippopotami meat could only be eaten by the indigenous Kunda when there was famine as it was associated with an appearance of the dirt disease of leprosy. Again Giraffe could not be hunted because it was believed that if one ate its meat one would run mad, while leopards and lions were only hunted when they destroyed property or life, or generally when they posed danger to the community.³⁸

Graham Child underscores that among African societies tradition taught people to live in harmony with wild animals. Hyenas and chameleons were not hunted for religious reasons whereas crocodiles and elephants could not be hunted because they were clan names.³⁹ These prohibitions based on tradition helped the indigenous people conserve such wild animals.

³⁶ NAZ SEC 6/33, Report on Memorandum on game protection in Luangwa Valley, R. B. Reid, 8/09/1954, P. 7; Interview with Emmanuel, 25/11/2017; Interview with Duncan, 9/05/2018.

³⁷ Marks, *Large Mammals and a Brave People*, Pp. 99-100.

³⁸ Interview with Banda on 13/11/2017.

³⁹ Graham Child, "Ownership of Wild Life," in Herbert H. T. Prins, Jan Geu Grootenhuis and Thomas T. Dolan (eds.), *Wildlife Conservation by Sustainable Use*, (London: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 2000), PP. 253-254.

Sometimes some game food avoidance was imposed by an African diviner who provided cure for the patient's illness upon the avoidance of certain game food. In some situations the valley people instituted food prohibitions because of a sinister association with a particular animal type, for instance "an elderly woman would refuse buffalo meat because her close relative was killed by one."⁴⁰ Andrew underscores Child that certain game meat could not be eaten for the prolonged sicknesses that they were associated with. He pointed out that:

Warthogs would normally show signs of madness and unconsciousness in the bush. While in this state *Afundi* would just use a pole or *phwitika* or an axe to kill it for medicine for the affected families. From this scenario anyone who showed signs of epilepsy (*njilinjili*) or insanity would be connected to have eaten the warthog game meat.⁴¹

This made some Kunda people to avoid warthog meat and such animals could not be hunted. This in a way helped to preserve such game.

Roles of Hunting and Game Preservation

In Africa, hunting was a critical means of survival both for food and material benefit. To the indigenous Kunda people hunting was an important means of livelihood given that the area could not sustain efficient agriculture and pastoralism. It supplemented the local peoples' diet and improved their economy. Beinart argued that hunting was a skill that Africans developed in order to earn a living.⁴² This gained momentum with the coming before 1890 of the East and West African traders in large numbers looking for ivory and slaves in the territory. These were armed with firearms.⁴³ Citing Antonio Gamitto an explorer, Mulongo pointed out that in September 1832 Gamitto met the local people hunting hippopotami along the lagoons of the Luangwa River

⁴⁰ Marks, *Large Mammals and a Brave People*, PP. 99.

⁴¹ Interview with Zulu on 20/04/2018.

⁴² Beinart, *The Rise of Conservation in Southern Africa*, PP. 31-34.

⁴³ Henriette Moore and Mergan Vaughan, "Cutting Down Trees: Women, Nutrition and Agricultural Change in

Northern Province of Zambia, 1926-1986," *African Affairs*, Vol. 86, No. 34 (1987), P. 523.

using traps. The game meat was shared among them and some of it helped them to acquire food from the Mambari in Petauke district through trade.⁴⁴ The stored game meat would be turned into biltong. Their diet was not only supplemented but was also improved.⁴⁵ The direct benefits from natural resources explain that the indigenous Kunda people had the full control and heritage rights over land and natural resources as opposed to the Colonial rule when heritage was shifted to the state.

Gibson also noted that apart from providing food to the indigenous people, hunting also improved their economy through tribute giving.⁴⁶ The tribute system provided traditional leaders with lots of game products which were traded with other communities for the items they lacked. From 1798, there was a boom in trade at Malambo 100 kilometres north of Mfuwe on the main trade route from Tete in Mozambique to Lake Mweru. The Kunda chiefdoms also expanded through this trade as some people accepted to be under certain leaderships who were considered generous in giving.⁴⁷ Among the tributes given to the Kunda chiefs by hunters were ivory, skins, game meat, tails, tusks and horns. Tails and tusks were a symbol of recognition among Kunda Chiefs. The tails of *Nsefu* and *Numbu* (Wildebeest) were Chiefs' special tributes.⁴⁸ In order to promote tribute giving among the *Ashibinda*, the Chiefs in turn rewarded them with items like beads, game meat and locally made *vigogodela*, beautiful women to marry as wives. In certain cases some of these tributes would be passed to villagers in need who were not necessarily hunters.⁴⁹

⁴⁴ Mulongo A. H, "History of Luangwa Valley: Its Wildlife and Its People," in Dalal-Clayton and Lewis D. M (eds.), *An Integrated Approach to Land Use Management in the Luangwa Valley*, Zambia, (Government Printers: Lusaka, 1983), Pp. 15-16.

⁴⁵ Interview with His Royal Highness Senior Chief Nsefu the 9th, 13/11/2017.

⁴⁶ Gibson, *Politicians and Poachers*, P. 4.

⁴⁷ Langworthy, *Zambia before 1890: Aspects of Pre-colonial History*, (Longmans: London, 1996), Pp. 28-31; GRZ, *Status and Road Map for the Preparation and Production of General Management Plans for Protected Areas*, (Chilanga: ZAWA, November, 2010), P. 1.

⁴⁸ Interview with Senior Chief Nsefu, 13/11/2017.

⁴⁹ Marks, *Large Mammals and a Brave People*, Pp. 61-62; Interview with Esau, 20/04/2018; Interview with Duncan, 9/05/2018.

From the information given above, hunting sustained the socio-economic wellbeing of the Kunda people.

Hunting among the indigenous did not only promote tribute giving but also improved the peoples' economy. Sometimes from animal skins, indigenous people made 'riems' (leather strips), ropes, clothes and shoes which also promoted trade.⁵⁰ Hitchcock underscores that, "game skins provided the local people in the Luangwa Valley with clothing, leather bags and craft items needed at home and during trading with other communities."⁵¹ Similarly, Marks noted that Luangwa Valley people made medicine from the hunted wild animals to cure certain illnesses.⁵² People suffering from *njilinjili* were and are still treated using the medicine from warthog game meat.⁵³ All this showed how the Kunda people sustainably used wildlife resources which to some extent improved their economy and helped to conserve game as hunting was only done when need arose and by a few *Ashibinda*.

Through hunting, magic and ritual performances were promoted. The Kunda people performed social activities for their livelihood such as ritual performances. Zebra, *Nsefu* and *Numbu* for instance were hunted for their tails which were used in performing ritual cerebrations.⁵⁴ This did not only promote their social life but also helped to reduce destruction of wild animals as such animals could only be hunted when such a ritual performance was needed. Ritual performances among the East Luangwa Valley people were also performed when dangerous wild animals like lions threatened peoples' peace. In such situations, Chiefs directed the *Ashibinda* to kill the beast. Thereafter a ritual performance was done involving the *Ashibinda* who killed it. If rituals were not done, the *Ashibinda* who killed it would normally become mentally disturbed.⁵⁵ In all

⁵⁰ Beinart, *The Rise of Conservation in Southern Africa*, Pp. 34-35.

⁵¹ Hitchcock, "Traditional African Wildlife Utilisation," Pp. 389-390.

⁵² Marks, *Large Mammals and a Brave People*, P. 101.

⁵³ Interview with Duncan, 9/05/2018.

⁵⁴ Mulongo A. H, "History of Luangwa Valley," P. 16; Interview with Duncan, 9/05/2018.

⁵⁵ Marks, *The Imperial Lion*, P. 89.

celebrations all *Ashibinda* armed with *vigogodela* were gathered aside in one place locally called *kuamali*.⁵⁶

During the deaths and crowning of people into leadership positions, rituals were performed. Sometimes rituals were performed when a dangerous animal was killed after destroying human life or property or threatening peace in the village.⁵⁷ Ritual performance through hunting enriched the social life of the people. Besides game conservation was done as the *Ashibinda* knew which animals to hunt for the function and when to hunt them. Jonathan provided a narration of how these ritual performances were done. He pointed out that:

When a beast posing danger in the village to human life or property was identified, *Ashibinda* were ordered to kill the beast. When the job was done each *Shibinda* (a hunter) as he entered the village would be given *nkhula* (red powder) and oil by the chief to smear on the face and chest. After the ritual, the *Ashibinda* would celebrate from the *kuamali* joined by villagers.⁵⁸

Apart from ritual performances in relation to hunting, magic was also used. Since the dawn of humanity, hunting among some African societies was believed to have depended on magic. Some hunters carried magic charms each time they went hunting for such reasons as attracting luck. Sometimes the charms carried would help the *Shibinda* hide from the dangerous wild animals or make the animal submissive to the *Shibinda*'s prowess.⁵⁹ Duncan in Chief Jumbe in an interview provided some information about the magic hunters used in the hunting journeys. He stated that:

Each time a *Shibinda* committed adultery before hunting; he carried protective magic from dangerous animals such as *mwenje* leaves. While in the bush *Ashibinda*'s wives at home were also expected to exhibit high levels of moral discipline. For instance, if the *Shibinda* saw animals copulating, that was a

⁵⁶ Interview with Duncan, 9/05/ 2018.

⁵⁷ Gibson, *Politicians and Poachers*, P. 4.

⁵⁸ Interview with Jonathan, 13/11/2017.

⁵⁹ Marks, *Large Mammals and a Brave People*, P. 63.

sign that the wife(s) were committing adultery and when animals were seen lying down then it meant there was a funeral at home. The *Shibinda* concerned had to go home immediately; otherwise he would attract misfortune to himself.⁶⁰

Hunting through performance of magic as noted above did not only help to instil moral discipline among the Kunda, it also helped to preserve game as the *Ashibinda* faced with moral challenges would suspend hunting. Others for fear of being embarrassed refrained from immoral activities. However, in some cases some *Ashibinda* did not practice magic when hunting.⁶¹ Again, some *Ashibinda* used hunting as bait to leadership positions among some Kunda lineage families. This made *Ashibinda* to compete among each other in their hunting industry. They ended up forming a hierarchical structure where the more skilled were rated high and placed on top, followed by those who were good and lastly those who were just starting. All these categories of *Ashibinda* gave tribute competitively in form of game products to their traditional leaders in exchange for rewards. The rewards from chiefs were in form of gun powder, beautiful women to marry and leadership positions among others.⁶² In support of Marks, one informant stated that, the Kunda chiefs believed that a good leader was that one who was a skilled *Ashibinda* as he would take care of the people. Such a one would provide food and protect family members' crops from destructive animals,⁶³ hence, rising to leadership positions.

Human- Conflicts before the Colonial Era Animal

Since the dawn of humanity in the SLNP and LGMA, HACs have always been there. Sometimes local peoples' crops, property and lives were destroyed by marauding wild animals. The crops they cultivated such as sorghum, rice, groundnuts and maize among others along the alluvial soils of the Luangwa River and its tributaries were destroyed by wild animals either in the gardens or

⁶⁰Interview with Duncan, 9/05/2018.

⁶¹Interview with Duncan, 9/05/2018.

⁶² Marks, *Large Mammals and a Brave People*, Pp. 61-62, 88; Interview with Duncan, 9/05/2018.

⁶³Interview with Andrew, 20/04/2018.

during harvest time. Likewise their livestock such as chickens and pigs were also threatened and killed by such dangerous wild animals like wild dogs, leopards and hyenas. Equally, their movements were threatened either by day or night, over land or water by wild animals like elephants, lions, crocodiles, leopards and buffalos when cultivating crops, gathering wild fruits and digging up roots.⁶⁴

In rivers, crocodiles and hippopotami were a threat as some people would be killed by such animals when fishing and drawing water. Some of these animals were also vectors of diseases such as tsetse flies that transmitted sleeping sickness to people and trypanosomiasis to cattle.⁶⁵ Therefore, the risks caused by dangerous wild animals robbed the indigenous Kunda people of their freedom to move and own property. However, because they had ownership and control rights over natural resources including wild animals, the Kunda people found ways of settling such HACs. They could kill edible animals involved and share their meat to provide food or chased them away. Wild beasts were killed under the instruction of the Chiefs. When colonial rule was established over the territory in the 1890s, the BSAC authorities continued to instruct a few recognised *Ashibinda* to kill the destructive wild animals.⁶⁶

Conclusion

This chapter has examined how the indigenous Kunda people of Mambwe district sustainably used wildlife resources including game before colonial rule. The chapter has shown that through subsistence hunting the Kunda conserved wildlife resources. It has examined how the indigenous Kunda people exploited wildlife resources using their traditional hunting weapons which included snares, game pits and traps. The chapter has argued that such weapons did not only help the indigenous people conserve wild animals but they also sustained their socio-economic

⁶⁴ Gibson, *Politicians and Poachers*, P. 4; Hitchcock, "Traditional African Wildlife Utilisation," Pp. 389-390.

⁶⁵ Gibson, *Politicians and Poachers*, P. 4.

⁶⁶ Interview with Banda, 9/05/2018.

livelihoods through free access to game resources. Through-out, the chapter has argued that the main essence of hunting among the indigenous Kunda people was for domestic purposes. The sustainability of the local peoples' livelihoods did not mean they never experienced HACs. The chapter has shown that the indigenous people knew how to deal with HACs. They would chase or kill the animals involved and share the meat of the hunted edible animals.

The chapter has also argued that taboos and beliefs played a vital role in game conservation. Certain wild animals and their meat could not be hunted or eaten because of various reasons. For instance, striped animals such as the zebra and waterbuck could not be eaten because of beliefs that whoever ate the meat of such an animal would suffer from skin rashes. Additionally, not everyone was a hunter as only the skilled and initiated (*Ashibinda*) were allowed to hunt. One would therefore argue that this free exploitation of wildlife resources by the Kunda people was not as destructive as is assumed but was embedded in traditions and beliefs that were very important in the conservation of game.

CHAPTER THREE

WILDLIFE CONSERVATION, 1890-2001.

Introduction

The Chapter examines wildlife conservation in East Luangwa Valley among the Kunda people from 1890 to 2001. The chapter is divided into three sections namely; wildlife conservation under the British South African Company (BSAC) 1890 to 1924, wildlife conservation under British Colonial rule 1924 to 1964 and lastly, wildlife conservation in post-colonial Zambia 1964 to 2001. The first section highlights and discusses game management measures that were introduced by the BSAC during its reign. The promulgation of the 1925 Game Ordinance under British colonial rule is discussed in the second section of the chapter. Also discussed under this section are all the other laws and policies that were promulgated and implemented by the British colonial administration. The last section of the chapter looks at the legal and policy measures that were introduced by the Government of the Republic of Zambia which not only centralised wildlife resource management and utilisation but which in so doing, further deprived the local people of their heritage and involvement in game management. The operations of the Wildlife Department and the creation of the Zambia Wildlife Authority (ZAWA) undermined local people's access to wildlife because it deprived them of possible benefits from game products and tourism related activities. It is further argued in the section that instead of reducing HACs and HSCs such conflicts worsened in the valley.

Wildlife Conservation under the BSAC, 1890-1924

From the onset, it must be noted that most of the human-animal and human-state conflicts that surfaced in the 20th century in the East Luangwa Valley were caused by the colonial wildlife conservation measures. However, wildlife conservation did not start with the BSAC regime.

Before the BSAC, the local people conserved wildlife through their subsistence hunting systems that included traps, game pits, locally made muzzle-loading guns, snares and spears.¹ To the BSAC officials the Kunda subsistence hunting systems were considered as detrimental since they depleted more game.² Fearing that game might be depleted the BSAC was compelled to enact wildlife conservation laws.³ These laws affected the livelihood of the local people.

Enactment of gun laws

Commencement of foreign wildlife conservation laws started when the BSAC began administering North Eastern Rhodesia (NER) in the early 1890s. The need to suppress the slave trade and gain control of the lucrative ivory trade compelled the BSAC to promulgate wildlife conservation laws. In 1891 gun laws were enacted which curtailed the possession of guns and gun-powder in the hands of Africans. The enactment also placed stiff restrictions on those already in African hands.⁴ Firearms and gun powder could not easily be sold to the indigenous people. Even the manufacture of gun-powder by local people was closely monitored under the 1891 Arms and Ammunition Ordinance. In his promulgation, BSAC representative in Central Africa, Harry Johnston suggested that only Europeans under licences should hunt elephants and other wild animals in the region so that they could have full control over the lucrative ivory trade.⁵ Game hunting therefore demanded someone to have acquired the needed hunting licences.⁶ This

¹ Neil Euan Anderson, "An Investigation into the Ecology of Trypanosomiasis in Wild Life of Luangwa Valley, Zambia," PhD Thesis, University of Edinburgh, 2008, P. 66.

² Mwelwa C. Musambachime, "Colonialism and the Environment in Zambia, 1890-1964," in Samuel N. Chipungu (ed.), *Guardians in Their Time- Experiences of Zambians Under Colonial Rule, 1890/1964*, (London: Macmillan Press Ltd, 1992), P. 12.

³ Mulongo, "History of Luangwa Valley," P. 17.

⁴ Musambachime, "Colonialism and the Environment in Zambia," P. 13; Gibson, *Politicians and Poachers*, Pp. 24-25; Marks, *The Imperial Lion*, P. 106.

⁵ NRG, Game and Fisheries Annual Report, (Lusaka: Government Printer, 1938), P. 2; Mulongo, "History of Luangwa Valley," P. 17; Musambachime, "Colonialism and the Environment in Zambia," P. 13; Gibson, *Politicians and Poachers*, Pp. 24-25.

⁶ Anderson, "An Investigation into the Ecology of Trypanosomiasis," P. 67; Gibson, *Politicians and Poachers*, P. 25.

undermined the livelihoods of the Kunda because it became difficult to access game resources as freely as they used to do before the BSAC regime.

Rinderpest outbreaks

The outbreak of rinderpest (mienga in Kunda) in NER had devastating implications on the Kunda people. Many were deprived of the protein diet due to the fact that people in Fort Jameson (now Chipata) could not transport cattle meat to the valley as their cattle had died of rinderpest in the 1890s. To make matters worse, chiefs Kakumbi and Malama areas were also reported to have been badly hit by rinderpest in 1894. The disease claimed lives of a lot of Giraffes and other wild animals in the valley. For instance, in 1895 and 1902 thousands of the wild animals were killed by the outbreak of the rinderpest epizootic. The local people blamed the wildlife laws for the outbreak of the disease and loss of wild animals.⁷ Thinking that they would contract the disease the local people attempted to reduce the spread of the disease through poaching. They embarked on massive poaching on behalf of experienced poachers from Petauke and Chipata districts,⁸ a situation which extended HACs and HSCs.

The continued massive depletion of wild animals compelled the Europeans to convene the 1900 International London Conference. It was attended by thirty seven delegates from Europe and fifteen participants from Africa. This conference provided other stiff measures besides the 1891 wildlife laws against accessing wildlife resources illegally in the British colonies.⁹ Thus, the conference provided a platform for the BSAC to restrict indigenous people from accessing wildlife resources through game laws. In 1902 the Luangwa Game Reserve (LGR) located on the eastern bank of Luangwa River was declared and gazetted in 1904.¹⁰ Following the 1900ILC, in

⁷ NAZ SEC 1/1016, Minutes on rinderpest outbreak in East Luangwa Valley on 23/06/1933.

⁸ Vail L, "Ecology and History," P. 133; Mulongo, "History of Luangwa Valley," P. 15. Marks, *The Imperial Lion*, P. 107.

⁹ Marks, *The Imperial Lion*, Pp. 105-107; Gibson, *Politicians and Poachers*, Pp. 24-25.

¹⁰ Musambachime, "Colonialism and the Environment in Zambia," P. 13; Mulongo, "History of Luangwa Valley," P. 17. Marks, *The Imperial Lion*, P. 106; Anderson, "An Investigation into the Ecology of Trypanosomiasis," P. 67;

August 1902 the NER Ordinance began protecting giraffes (luumbanongo or luumba in Kunda) among other wild animals. This intervention led to the increase in the number of the animal. Henry Scott Thornicroft, Fort Jameson District Commissioner (DC) in a report to the Provincial Commissioner (PC) noted that in 1910, there were ten giraffes but by 1929, the number had increased to 300 giraffes in the valley.¹¹ Though the animal was and is not eaten by the Kunda people, the conservation wildlife laws that applied to giraffes were not optional to other game animals. Therefore, the imposition of wildlife laws undermined the Kunda people's livelihoods since they lost control over wildlife resources.

Prohibition of African indigenous hunting methods

The BSAC did not recognise any game conservation hunting methods utilised by the indigenous people. Thus, in 1905 such hunting methods in East Luangwa Valley like trapping were prohibited by law.¹² The use of dogs by the Africans was put under restrictions in 1912. In 1916 the company repealed the 1912 law on dogs with Notice No: 47 of 1916. The revised dog law provided for registration and control of dogs' in Fort Jameson. Since the Kunda people were part of Fort Jameson, they viewed this regulation as unnecessary because it was against their custom.¹³ Besides, since game laws forbade them from hunting using dogs, registration and control of dogs was considered not important. The ban of traditional hunting methods increased wild animals, some of which posed danger to peoples' lives, livestock and property.¹⁴

The prohibition of African indigenous hunting methods became stiffer following the enactment of the 1941 Game Ordinance. Through the 1941 Game Ordinance, No: 47 of 1941 and Notice No: 333 of 1942, the local people were prohibited from using traps, game pits, snares, muzzle-

GRZ, *Status and Road for the Preparation and Production of General Management Plans for Protected Areas*, (Chilanga: ZAWA, 2010), P. 23.

¹¹ NAZ SEC 1/1016, Extract from the 1933 Rinderpest Outbreak in East Luangwa Valley.

¹² Mulongo, "History of Luangwa Valley," P. 17.

¹³ NRG, *Northern Rhodesia African Affairs Annual Reports 1911-1926*, (Livingstone: Government Printer, 1916), P.51.

¹⁴ Vail, "Ecology and History," Pp. 135, 147; Mulongo, "History of Luangwa Valley," P. 17.

loading guns and other traditional methods. This law was circulated on 17th December, 1942.¹⁵ The reasons for prohibiting traditional hunting were that game pits posed a danger to humans and game. A person could fall into them and hurt himself or an animal that fell in a pit would be left to die of starvation and pain. The use of stakes in these game pits was also declared illegal.¹⁶ To make matters worse Domestic dogs were reported to be spreading rabies in the communities.¹⁷ Locally made muzzle-loading guns were also found faulty by the colonial authority. According to the report by Mr C. J. Oldedall in March, 1955, many marauding elephants after being killed and examined showed that they had suffered from old long wounds caused by slugs from the African made muzzle-loading guns. His report findings blamed the local people for this. It further noted that this explains why the Kunda huts were found near water holes so that they could shoot game that came to drink water.¹⁸ These prohibitions made it difficult for the Kunda to access game resources.

Amalgamated Village Policy

In 1905 the BSAC introduced the Amalgamated Village Policy (AVP) in all districts of Northern Rhodesia. The AVP was aimed at helping the BSAC to monitor illegal game hunting among the Africans. It also helped the BSAC officials in the administration work. Company officials could easily collect taxes from the local people than in scattered huts close to their gardens.¹⁹ The company further argued that the new policy provided protection and security from the dangerous wild animals like lions and bush pigs. It would also maximise crop production as more time

¹⁵NAZ SEC1/1003, Preservation of International Conservation, 1941; NAZ SEC 1/1004, International Convention for the Protection of Game, 1942.

¹⁶ NAZ SEC 1/ 1023, 1941 Game Ordinance, Game (Amendment) Ordinance, 1947; NRG, LEGCO Debates 2nd Session of the 9th Council, 31/05-24/06/1950, Pp. 77-85.

¹⁷ NAZ SEC 6/40, Report on game protection and firearms by C. J. Oldedall, 03/1955, P. 17.

¹⁸ NAZ SEC 6/40, Report on game protection and firearms, P. 17.

¹⁹ Musambachime, "Colonialism and the Environment in Zambia," Pp. 10-11; Vail, "Ecology and History," P. 136.

would be dedicated to their gardens in the amalgamated villages than moving to and from distant gardens.²⁰

Supporting the AVP, the BSAC discouraged the local people from constructing huts close to their gardens. However, according to the indigenous people these huts provided them with accommodation when guarding and protecting their crops from destructive animals such as monkeys, baboons, and elephants and birds until harvest ended.²¹ To the colonial authorities these huts provided the local people with opportunities to continue illegal hunting of game around their gardens. With this policy in place, the Kunda people could rarely hunt without licences because they were now marooned in one place and could easily be monitored. To make matters worse, the colonial authorities in 1906 abolished shifting cultivation as it promoted the construction of scattered huts close to gardens. Shifting cultivation was also abolished because it destroyed the animal habitat as trees were cut down.²² All the above measures were against the Kunda socio-economic ways of life. Crop cultivation was increasingly under threat and access to local game resources by the local people through hunting became more difficult.²³

Curbing the Spread of the Tsetse fly

The intensification of game laws worked to the advantage of the colonial authority. An increase in wild animals resulted in the increase of tsetse flies. The fly transmitted sleeping sickness in people and trypanosomiasis in cattle. By the end of the first decade of the 20th century NER and the valley were free from the fly.²⁴ In order to prevent the spread of sleeping sickness to the East Luangwa valley, the BSAC on 23rd March 1911 published a Government Notice, No: 1 of 1911. The Notice read “Entry or Exit at Serenje and Fort Jameson roads are prohibited.” The Kunda

²⁰ Musambachime, “Colonialism and the Environment in Zambia,” Pp. 10-12; Vail, “Ecology and History,” P. 136; Mulongo, “History of Luangwa Valley,” Pp. 17-18. Marks, *Large Mammals and a Brave People*, Pp. 15-16.

²¹ Marks, *Large Mammals and a Brave People*, Pp. 15-16.

²² Marks, *Large Mammals and a Brave People*, Pp. 15-16. Mulongo, “History of Luangwa Valley,” Pp. 17-18.

²³ Vail, “Ecology and History,” Pp. 135-136; Mulongo, “History of Luangwa Valley,” P. 17.

²⁴ NRG, *Northern Rhodesia African Affairs Annual Reports 1911-1926*, (Livingstone: Government Printer, 1915), P. 16.

people of Chief Malama were greatly affected as they could hardly use the road to the labour centres of Tanzania and Congo region.²⁵ Their chances of earning money through migrant labour to meet their hunting licence obligation were thus constrained. From 1914 to August 1915 sleeping sickness was however recorded in Kakumbi area while in Chief Msoro area the fly was also reported present and a treatment house was erected at the Wayuwayu stream on the Fort Jameson-Msoro road in the 1930s. To prevent the spread of the disease to non-infected people and places, those infected were moved out of the area.²⁶ Another preventive measure was instituted for labour recruits. They were required to carry passes to prove that they were free from the disease. This was because it was noticed that sleeping sickness was spread by Lorries when they entered non-infected areas during labour recruitment.²⁷

To curb the spread of the disease, those going to Congo (present DRC) and German East Africa (now Tanzania) were detained at Madona clinic in the Luapula river valley and all people passing through were systematically examined. Those going to South Africa and Southern Rhodesia would be detained for examination at Kalonga in Malawi. This greatly affected the African labour migrants, the Kunda inclusive.²⁸ The conservation laws mentioned above increased the animal populations in the valley as noted by Letcher in his early 20th century explorations. A variety of wild animals which included; elephant, hippopotamus, buffalo, monkeys, baboon, rhinoceros, kudu, duiker, impala roan antelope and many others were noted.²⁹ Antonio Gamitto, in his explorations as cited by Mulongo also noted a similar variety of wild animals in the 1830s.³⁰

²⁵ NRG, *Preventive Measures to Sleeping Sickness Report*, (Livingstone: Government Printer, 1907), P. 2.

²⁶ NRG, *Northern Rhodesia African Affairs Annual Report, 1914- August 1915*, (Livingstone: Government Printer, 1915), P. 2. NAZ, SEC 2/85, 1935 Eastern Province Annual Report, Fort Jameson, P. 22.

²⁷ NAZ SEC 2/85, Eastern Province 1935 Annual Report, Fort Jameson, P. 18.

²⁸ NAZ SEC 2/85, Eastern Province 1935 Annual Report, Fort Jameson, P. 18; Nyasaland Protectorate Sleeping Sickness Diary, Part two, P. 2.

²⁹ Letcher O, *Big Game Hunting in North-Eastern Rhodesia*, (London: Longman, 1910), Pp. 157-163.

³⁰ Mulongo, "History of Luangwa Valley," Pp. 17-18. Marks, *Large Mammals and a Brave People*, Pp. 14.

Equally, Colonial officials in the 1930s made similar observations on the variety of wild animals stocked in the valley and that further improvement of conservation laws was needed.³¹

Prohibition of Bush Burning

In trying to curb illegal hunting in the East Luangwa Valley the BSAC in 1915 sanctioned the legislation of Government Notice No: 101 of 1915 which prohibited the burning of bush vegetation in Malama quarantine area. The indigenous Kunda people that used burning as a technique in hunting lost one access to game resources.³² That notice was in conflict with the livelihood of the local people. However, blaming the local people for late bush fires was received with mixed feelings by the local people because, scaring away dangerous wild animals was easily done by the same bush fires. In other words bush fires were used to safeguard not only local peoples' lives but also their livestock (pigs, goats, chickens and dogs) and granaries from wild animals. In certain cases bush fires were used to provide ash as a good fertilizer for the crops.³³ The bush fire policy was in conflict with the livelihood of the local people.

Wildlife Conservation under British Rule, 1924-1964

On 1st April, 1924 the BSAC relinquished control and Northern Rhodesia became a British colony. Soon after taking over, the new Colonial administration passed the first Game Ordinance of 1925. Following the passing of the Game Ordinance, a number of wildlife conservation policies were passed. Some of the BSAC policies were just modified.³⁴ To a greater extent the British crown government conservation policies undermined the livelihood of the local people.

³¹ NRG, *Game and Tsetse Control Department 1945 Annual Report*, (Lusaka: Government Printer, 1945), P. 3; NRG, *Game and Tsetse Control Department 1949 Annual Report*, (Lusaka: Government Printer, 1949), P. 9; NRG, *Game and Tsetse Control Department 1961 Annual Report*, (Lusaka: Government Printer, 1961), P. 22; NRG, *Game and Tsetse Control Department 1964 Annual Report*, (Lusaka: Government Printer, 1964), P.24.

³² NRG, *Northern Rhodesia African Affairs Annual Reports 1911-1926*, (Livingstone: Government Printer, 1915), P. 51.

³³ Beinart, *The Rise or Conservation in South Africa*, Pp.38, 45,104,108-109.

³⁴ Musambachime, "Colonialism and the Environment in Zambia," P. 16; Marks, *The Imperial Lion*, P. 107.

The First Game Ordinance

In 1925, the first Game Ordinance was passed though it proved ineffective. It set no limits on the types of animal species allowed to be hunted on licence. Musambachime noted that:

A holder of the £3 game licence was free to shoot as many buffaloes, wild pigs, zebra, wildebeest and elephants as he wished. Four elands, two hippopotami and two kudu would also be hunted.³⁵

Despite the Game Ordinance's inability to limit the number of game to be hunted, the majority Kunda people could not manage to acquire the game hunting licence. Their livelihood was negatively affected. The few who managed could be prosecuted more than the Europeans for shooting more game than what was indicated on the licences.³⁶ Even if some limits were imposed in 1931 to improve the 1925 Game Ordinance, some gaps were noticed everywhere in the territory. The ordinance had become too ancient and loose such that real game conservation was difficult to implement. In order to meet the game conservation provisions prescribed by the 8th October, 1933 International London Conference (ILC), the Fort Jameson Provincial Commissioner, Mr Thomas Frederic Sandford in his lamentation stated that:

...I myself have come across a number of instances of the most cruel animal killings and unnecessary slaughter of game in the territory. Suggestions are therefore submitted to suit the right game conservation like those practiced in Uganda, Kenya and Southern Rhodesia.³⁷

Captain Charles R.S. Pitman's report also noted the decrease in other animal species and an increase in the elephant and buffalo species. His report was published in 1934. It recommended establishment of elephant sanctuaries and an elephant control system as a measure to protect the local people's property and lives. The report also recommended for a revision of the 1925 Game

³⁵ Musambachime, "Colonialism and the Environment in Zambia," P. 16; Darling, *Wildlife in an African Territory*, P. 120; NRG, Extract from the Fraser F. Darling report on Northern Rhodesia Wildlife Submitted to the Game and Tsetse Control Department, 1958, P.88.

³⁶ Musambachime, "Colonialism and the Environment in Zambia," P. 16.

³⁷ NRG, Hansard Debates No: 97, P. 108, Part 1 by Mr Sandford.

Ordinance based on the East African game legislation; a body that regulated conservation laws in the colonial East Africa. One of its provisions was the removal of the local people from game reserves; a move which did not please the Kunda people as they could not access the game resources as freely as before.³⁸

In 1929 the Native Authorities and Native Courts Ordinances were established. The ordinances gave the colonial authorities more control over natural resources including game. Thus, the ordinances were designed to preserve and maintain all that was good in the local customs through the chiefs' on behalf of the colonial authority. Chiefs were allowed to control land for settlements and supervise the economic activities of the local people such as brewing and consumption of beer. They would also adjudicate on civil and criminal cases among their people but lost their authority as leaders over natural resources including game. Their ownership and control over land natural resources was placed in the hands of the colonial authority,³⁹ a scenario which conflicted with the socio-economic livelihood of the local people.

Towards the 1930s game was reported to be bringing in a lot of revenue to the government. Hence, Captain C. R. S Pitman's 1930 Faunal Survey was instituted.⁴⁰ The survey was instituted among other places namely; Serenje in Central, Sothern Zambia, Luapula and parts of the Luangwa Valley. Pitman's conclusion and recommendations reflected the already known colonial game conservation policies which greatly affected the local people. These included; the establishment of the Game Department, rejection to Hingston's suggestion for a South-Central African National Park which would have straddled the border of Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia. Hingston was the first wildlife consultant in Northern Rhodesia. The establishment of parks and reserves and the formulation of the Elephant Control Policy (ECP) in 1930 were also

³⁸ NAZ SEC 1/1021, Pitman game report, 1932-1935, Pp. 138, 141-146.

³⁹ Gibson, *The Politicians and Poachers*, Pp. 151-152.

⁴⁰ Musambachime, "Colonialism and the Environment in Zambia," P. 17; Darling, *Wildlife in an African Territory*, Pp. 121-122; Marks, *The Imperial Lion*, P. 107.

recommended.⁴¹ The main aim of the ECP was to regulate the numbers of elephants that had increased to levels that devastated animal habitat but also to provide the local people with a protein diet. To operationalise the policy, three European control officers and twenty Africans were appointed under the directorship of the Provincial Commissioners. These officers were also expected to protect people's property and lives by shooting the destructive elephants.⁴²

The Pim Report of 1938 was aimed at controlling the fast-growing populations of certain animal species such as elephant, buffalo and hippopotami. The report recommended for game cropping which was expected to earn the colonial authorities a lot of revenue. It was also expected to protect the local people and their property from wild animals. The local people were also expected to be provided with game meat. According to the 1938 Pim's report the colonial authority noted that the ECP was more beneficial to the colonial state since hunters were compelled to acquire game licences which could bring about £2000 annually to the government. This compelled the colonial authority to think of enacting stiff wildlife conservation policies.⁴³ However in trying to control the fast-growing populations of certain animal species through the ECP, the policy contributed to the depletion of wild animals.

Towards the end of 1935, the Elephant Control Policy (ECP) had failed to address the aims that it was set up for which include; controlling the fast growing wildlife populations, providing valley people with a protein diet and mitigating animal habitat destruction as well as HACs. In order to meet these aims, Pitman in his report of 1930-1932 indicated the need for culling of game by government.⁴⁴ In 1935, the colonial authority was now forced to introduce the elephant

⁴¹Jeffrey Schauer, "Imperial Ark? The Politics of Wildlife in East and South-Central Africa, Berkeley." PhD Dissertation, University of California, 2014.

⁴² Norman Carr, "Elephants in the Eastern Province," *Northern Rhodesia Journal*, Vol. 1, No. 2 (1950), Pp. 25-28; NAZ SEC 1/107, Eastern Province Annual Reports on Protection of Native crops, 1938.

⁴³1973 *Department of National Parks and Wild Life Services' Annual Report*, Pp. 18-19.

⁴⁴ Marks, *The Imperial Lion*, Pp. 112-113, 159.

culling exercise under the Luangwa Game Culling Scheme but initiated with the help of United Nations Food and Agricultural Organisation fund. The elephant culling exercise continued to receive a lot of support as noted in a report by Pitman in the 1950s. The report supported by the British East and Central Africa Faunal Conference held in 1956-1957 in the Luangwa Valley maintained the policy of culling of game animals to provide local people with enough protein diet to abate conflicts. The conference was chaired by Dr F. F. Darling and in 1961 the colonial government accepted to incorporate wildlife utilisation into the land use plans. Lumimba GMA piloted the cropping project in 1962 by killing 21 elephants. Luambe Game Reserve followed.⁴⁵

Formation of the Game Department

In 1936 conservationists began pushing for the establishment of a game department to intensify game conservation. In the same year a conference attended by delegates from Kenya, Uganda, Southern Rhodesia, Nyasaland, Union of South Africa and Rwanda among others was held in the Luangwa Valley. The conference was called to address a number of issues. Among them were; providing the local people with some economic advantages, making Luangwa Valley a game reserve, setting up organised elephant control systems, removing the local people from game reserves, setting up a game department and protecting the local people and their crops from wild animals. During the conference, the delegates appointed Mr Vaughan Jones as the Game Warden to address the issues raised. By December 1936 game officials had started educating Chiefs on the economic advantages of the game department such as meat supply and introduction of wealth through professional hunting.⁴⁶

In 1938 the Game Warden, Mr Vaughan Jones forwarded a suggestion on policy concerning the foundation of a game department. This was followed by the International Convention for the Protection of the Game in 1938 held in London. The convention discussed issues on how to

⁴⁵ Marks, *The Imperial Lion*, Pp. 112-113, 159.

⁴⁶ NAZ SEC 1/993, Formation of Game Department, 1936.

reduce illegal accessing wildlife resources from the gazetted protected areas. Following this convention, the South Luangwa Game Reserve (SLGR) was declared in 1938. The SLNP was in 1971 declared in the SLGR. In 1941 the second Game Ordinance was enacted followed by the Department of Game and Tsetse Control (DGTC) in 1942.⁴⁷ The enactment of the 1941 Game Ordinance greatly impacted local peoples' lives through the game laws that were introduced.

Creation of Protected Areas and Hunting Licences

The 1941 Game Ordinance resulted in Government Notice No: 335 of 1942 which declared some areas as Protected Areas (CAs). These included National Parks, Game Reserves and CAs. The declaration was done by the Chief Secretary to the Governor on 19th December, 1948 following the Northern Rhodesia Government Legislative Council (NRG LEGCO) debates of September 1942.⁴⁸ In order to easily monitor the conservation of game in the territory, the Ordinance declared Chilanga as the Headquarters of the Department of Game and Tsetse Control (DGTC) in 1942. The South Luangwa Game Reserve (SLGR) and Nsefu Game Reserve (NGR) of 1938 and 1949 respectively were also established based on this Ordinance. The 1941 Game Ordinance looked at CAs as “buffer zones” between game reserves and the ordinary hunting areas where specific animal species were preserved. Within CAs local people had no claim of property damaged by wild animals.”⁴⁹

The declaration of CAs in the mid-1940s began the introduction of the Game Management Areas (GMAs). GMAs were estates in communally owned lands used primarily to benefit the nation and the local communities for regulated hunting and photographic hunting. The introduction of GMAs as buffer zones for national parks in the mid-1940s further shifted the ownership of

⁴⁷ NAZ SEC 1/1004, Correspondence on foundation of game department by Hubert Young to Vaughan Jones, 21/01/1938; NAZ SEC 1/1005 Correspondence on Game Preservation of International Convention by W. M. Logan; Darling, *Wildlife in an African Territory*, Pp. 121-122; Gibson, *Politicians and Poachers*, P. 26.

⁴⁸ NAZ SEC1/1003, Preservation of International Conservation, 1941.

⁴⁹ NRG, Legislative Council Debates First Session of the 7th Council 6th-20th December, 1941, Pp. 246-248; NAZ SEC 1/1004, Game Preservation and International Convention of game, 1939.

wildlife resources including game from the traditional to state control. As one of the 36 GMAs in Zambia, LGMA largely surrounds the SLNP (see map 3 on the next page).⁵⁰

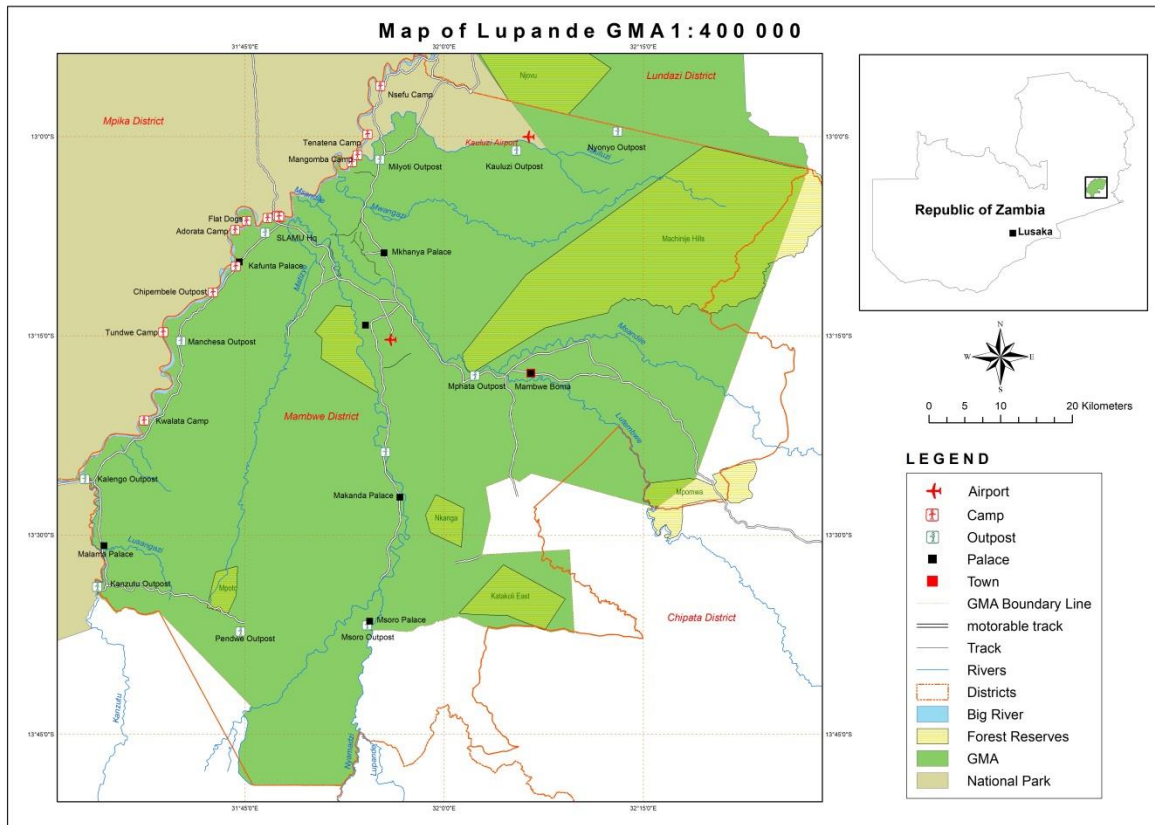
The 1941 Game Ordinance also revised game hunting licences. The African game licence was replaced by the ordinary hunting licence which was issued to an African to be used in his own area. A professional hunting licence was given to one who conducted hunting parties for pay. Professional hunters were normally hired to hunt for a person lawfully entitled to hunt.⁵¹ The owner of the land was given an owners' game licence and his consent allowed any occupier or servant of such land to hunt game mentioned in the licence. The ordinance also provided the visitors' game licence which allowed a non-resident to hunt game for not longer than a month. A visitor would also get an ordinary hunting licence and after some time, a special game licence. Apart from forbidding licence holders to hunt game animals not stated on the licence, the 1941 Game Ordinance also forbade local licence holders to hold two or more game licences in a year.⁵²

⁵⁰ Phyllis Simasiku, Hopeson I. Simwanza, Gelson Tembo, Sushenjit Bandyopadhyay and Jean Michel Pavy, *The Impact of Wild Life Management Policies on Communities and Conservation in Game Management Areas in Zambia*, (Lusaka: Government Printer, 2008), P. iii.

⁵¹ LEGCO Debates 1st Session of the 7th Council, 6/12-20/12/1941, P. 248; NAZ SEC1/1003, Preservation of International Conservation, 1941.

⁵² NAZ SEC1/1003, Preservation of International Conservation, 1941.

Map 3: Location of SLNP and LGMA.



Source: DNPW Chilanga Headquarters, 2018.

As the number of people and firearms increased in the country, the colonial administration thought of revising game hunting licences under the 1954 Faunal Conservation Ordinance. This was to be in line with the International London Convention for the protection of game that was depleted.⁵³ African and ordinary game hunting licences were changed among others. The previously 2/6 (two shillings, six pence) charge for the African licence was seen to be destructive. It could be used to kill 90 animals thereby contributing to massive depletion of game.⁵⁴ Under the new arrangement, the African licence was now moved from 2/6 to £1 per month while non-Africans would pay £1 for a week. The new arrangement allowed the Africans to hunt less game than the non- Africans even in Controlled Areas. The fees raised would go to the government

⁵³ NAZ SEC1/ 1006, Report Extract on Game Preservation and International Convention, 29/05/1941.

⁵⁴ Musambachime, "Colonialism and the Environment in Zambia," P. 18.

treasury.⁵⁵ Ordinary licences which were previously used by the Europeans to shoot animals outside their own local residence were raised from £2 to £15. Additionally, another licence was provided at £5 which allowed Africans to slaughter outside one's own residence. The government also allowed two instead of four elephants to be killed per annum. These would cost £35.⁵⁶ Many of the local people could not manage to pay for this licence as noted by Kunda chiefs in a meeting held by the Kunda Native Authority at Chief Jumbe palace on 9th October, 1953.⁵⁷

In order to strengthen game conservation in the territory in 1962, the colonial authority made amendments to the 1941 original Game Ordinance. The amendments were enshrined in the 1962 Faunal Conservation Act. The Act replaced the 1954 Faunal Conservation Ordinance. This Act provided for a transfer of ownership of wildlife from traditional chiefs to the central government.⁵⁸ The Act further empowered the GFD over wildlife even in customary lands.⁵⁹ One of the other game laws amended in 1962 was a new form of owner's game licence. This licence was issued by the Director of GFD to allow the owner to hunt specified numbers and species of game on his property.⁶⁰

Changes were also made in the late 1960s on hunting in CAs so as to restrict people from shooting game in these areas. Previously only hunting by Europeans and local people whose residence was outside the CAs was restricted, but after changes were made even those residing inside the CAs were affected. Those who resided outside were required to pay more than those who resided within (they were expected to pay £5 per week).⁶¹ Again residents with permits to hunt in CAs had to be accompanied by game guards in order to check on overshoots. However, more game

⁵⁵ NAZ SEC 6/15, Extract from Northern Rhodesia Gazette No: 2006, 27/05/1958.

⁵⁶ Marks, *The Imperial Lion*, P. 109.

⁵⁷ Musambachime, "Colonialism and the Environment in Zambia," P. 18.

⁵⁸ GRZ, *ZAWA Working Paper towards the Development Policy for the Management of Elephant in Zambia*, (Chilanga: ZAWA, 2003), P. 3.

⁵⁹ Nott K and Kelly M, *Community-Based Natural Resource Management Manual*, (Norway: WWF-SARPO, 2006), P. 9.

⁶⁰ NRG, 1963 *Game and Fisheries Department Annual Report*, (Lusaka: Government Printer, 1963), P. 2.

⁶¹ Marks, *The Imperial Lion*, Pp. 108-109.

was hunted as opposed to what was indicated on the permits by Europeans. The situation compelled the government to reduce the number of permits and game animals to shoot. This time, instead of shooting four buffaloes and two elephants, only two buffaloes and one elephant were allowed on the permits.⁶² These changes negatively affected the Kunda people as their only source of livelihood was attached with restrictions.

Prohibition of bush burning

The British colonial government continued the prohibition of bush burning which was started by the BSAC. During the 8th Legislative Council debates (LEGCO) of the 4th session in March 1948, the delegates debated on the control of bush fires and trespass in enclosed lands. Their recommendations based on the 1939 Bush Fires Ordinance supported early burning as opposed to late burning of bushes.⁶³ They argued that the late burning disturbed the animal habitat. In order to enforce the law, every year government notices on early burning were circulated from the District Commissioner (DC) to the Paramount Chiefs Mpezeni, Undi and the Senior Chief Nsefu. These would notify their people through headmen and Chief Retainers. Any violation of the law was punishable. Villagers in a village where fires were started without government knowledge would be asked to put out the fires and no compensation would be given for the damage to the crops and property.⁶⁴ For instance, in 1954 no one was allowed to burn bushes after 30th June and therefore damages to crops were not compensated.⁶⁵

In his wildlife survey of 1956-1957 Dr F. Fraser Darling, a conservationist noted that game conservation could only succeed with the involvement of local people. In support of the bush fire policy Darling noted that early bush fires protected vegetation for both wildlife habitation and agricultural purposes. However, some local people started late bush fires as a game hunting

⁶² NAZ SEC 6/113, Correspondence on Kunda controlled areas by M. S. Visagie to the Provincial Biologist, 8/02/1950.

⁶³ NRG, LEGCO Debates 4th Session of the 8th Council 6/03-24/03/1948, Pp. 171-173.

⁶⁴ NAZ SEC 6/163, Letter Extract on early burning by T. L. G Target to Chiefs in East Luangwa Valley, 15/06/1951.

⁶⁵ NAZ SEC 6/163, Letter Extract on early burning by Mr T. L. G Target, 25/05/1954.

strategy. In this situation the local hunters would drive the animals in a desired direction; hence, the colonial government was compelled to adopt the policy.⁶⁶ The adoption of the bush fire policy did not stop the Kunda from accessing game resources using bush fires in the SLGR. The bush burning hunting strategy destroyed both the animal habitat and animals in the SLGR in the 1960s.⁶⁷ This compelled the government in 1967 to enact the Fire Protection Policy. The policy was enforced through fire protection programmes and patrols by the Game and Fisheries Department (GFD). The policy was enforced through the fire protection programmes and patrol by the GFD. By 1972 good work had been achieved. Late bush fires in the SLNP was minimised compared to other national parks in the valley. This was evident in the same year when poachers only burned 18% of the entire park s compared to 85% of North Luangwa National Park and 90% each of Luambe and Lukusuzi National Parks respectively in the Luangwa valley.⁶⁸

Post- Colonial Zambia Wildlife Conservation, 1964-2001

On 24th October, 1964 Zambia got her political independence from the British government. Changes in the wildlife department were inevitably done to suit the proposal of the Zambian constitution and its requirements.⁶⁹ Firstly, the Department of Game and Tsetse Control (DGTC) became Game and Fisheries Department under the Ministry of Lands and Natural Resources (MLNR).⁷⁰ This was followed by several law modifications and promulgations with regards to wildlife conservation.

Elephant Control Policy, 1965

The Elephant Control Policy was continued by the GRZ as the Wildlife Control Policy (WCP) in 1964 embracing the same aims.⁷¹ However, in trying to control the fast-growing populations

⁶⁶Darling, *Wildlife in an African Territory*, P. 80; Extract from Darling report, P. 61.

⁶⁷ 1967 *Game and Fisheries Department Annual Report*, P. 35.

⁶⁸ 1972 National Parks and Wildlife Services Department Annual Report, (Lusaka: Government Printer, 1972), P. 6.

⁶⁹ GRZ, *Department of Game and Fisheries Annual Report*, (Lusaka: Government Printer, 1964), P. 2.

⁷⁰ Marks, *The Imperial Lion*, Pp. 113-119.

⁷¹ NAZ SEC 1/107, Eastern Province Annual Reports on Protection of Native crops, 1938; GRZ, *Department of Game and Fisheries Annual Report*, (Lusaka: Government Printer, 1965), P. 31.

of certain animal species through the policy, the Wildlife Department through the WCP heavily depleted game in the East Luangwa Valley (ELV) in the 1960s to 1970s. During the same period out of the estimated 100, 000 elephants in Eastern Province, an estimated 31,000 elephants came from the ELV, where the SLNP was declared out of which 379 elephants were cropped in 1970.⁷² See table 1.1 below for details.

Table 1.1: Statistical estimates of Game animals and numbers cropped in the ELV, 1962-1971

Elephant	Year	1962	1963	1964	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971
	Estimated #	-	-	47,980	44,550	40,100	37,700	35,300	33,180	31,000	27,200
	Cropped	21	27	27	47	204	374	411	448	379	-
Hippo	Estimated #	-	-	19,500	16,100	14,020	11,600	9,100	7,000	5,900	3,150
	Cropped	-	-	20	9	218	224	67	87	300	376
Buffalo	Estimated #	-	-	28,000	23,800	20,500	16,200	12,800	9,500	6,000	3,550
	Cropped	-	-	46	33	100	59	18	27	100	-
Impala	Estimated #			31,000	25,200	20,500	14,000	9,800	7,100	4,500	2,200
	Cropped	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	137	-	-
Total Cropped		21	27	93	89	522	657	496	699	779	376

Source: Marks, *The Imperial Lion*, Pp. 160-161.

⁷²1973 *Department of National Parks and Wild Life Services Annual Report*, Pp. 18-19.

The table above shows a lot of wild animals that were hunted through the ECP which contributed to the depletion of large wild animals which could have benefited the local people and their future generations.

By late 1965 government had begun selling the meat to urban populations. To improve services, an abattoir was constructed by the United Nations Food Agricultural Organisation fund at Kakumbi in 1965 and was equipped together with refrigerators. In order to boost production of meat at the abattoir, a small canning factory and an additional cold room at Kakumbi abattoir was set up 1966 and became operational in 1968.⁷³ Most of the game meat was transported chilled to urban markets. Some of it however was given to prisoners in prisons, patients in hospitals, pupils in boarding schools as well as some to government officials. The culling programme was later found not to be making profits because business in the urban markets for game meat proved low even when the Cold Storage Board took over the operations. Hence, the GFD could not raise enough money to meet the maintenance works on the refrigerators and the abattoir at Kakumbi that needed some technical expertise. Additionally, in 1970 conflicts over the operations of the project became prevalent and in 1971 only hippopotami were allowed to be cropped because their populations remained almost static during the cropping period. Finally, the game culling programme came to a halt in 1972 due to serious wild animal depletion. The exercise resumed in 1976 when the numbers of hippopotami began increasing. See table 1.2 below for statistics.

Table 1.2: Data for hippopotami in SLNP and LGMA, 1976-1983

Year	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983
No: of Hippo	1,134	1,425	1,744	1,670	1,891	1,633	2,082	2,262
% Annual increase	-	0.2	0.2	-0.04	0.1	-0.2	0.2	0.1

⁷³ GRZ, *Department of Game and Fisheries Annual Report*, (Lusaka: Government Printer, 1967), P. 33.

Source: Dale M and Lewis P, “Wildlife Potentials in Lupande Game Management Area,” in Barry Dalal-Clayton and D. M Lewis (eds.), *Proceedings of the Lupande Game Management Area Workop- An Integrated Approach to Land Use Management in the Luangwa Valley, Zambia*, (1983), P. 74.

From the table above it can be concluded that the number of hippopotami did not reduce drastically because the animal’s meat was not on high demand during the market boom period (mid-1970s-1980s) and the local people could only eat the meat in times of famine. The culling exercise was once more postponed in 1994 due to the depletion of game but was resumed in 1995 when over-population of hippos was reported to be threatening the ecological health and biodiversity of the area. 507 hippos were culled with their carcasses processed by Area Development Committees and sold to the public. In 1996 another 234 hippos and 28 buffaloes were culled whereas a further 750 hippos were planned to be culled in 1997 but could not due to hurdles in tendering procedures.⁷⁴ The culling programme continued in 1998 when 353 hippos were culled giving the government an income of 104. 50 Zambia Kwacha rebased (ZMW).⁷⁵ In 1999, a total income of ZMW144. 00 was raised from the culling of 352 hippos. However, it must be noted that the entire culling exercise was not beneficial to the local people neither was the activity profitable since the local people did not have cash with which to buy meat from cropped animals. Hence, very little meat was left for them.⁷⁶ This situation displeased the majority Kunda people. They remained poor as most of the income raised went into government coffers.⁷⁷ Instead HACs and HSCs escalated in the area. See Table 1.3 for the details.

⁷⁴ Dalal-Clayton and Child, *Lessons from the Luangwa*, P. 101.

⁷⁵ Munyenyebe, *1998 LIRDPA Annual Report*, P. 5.

⁷⁶ Marks, *The Imperial Lion*, P. 160.

⁷⁷ Astle W. L, “A History of Wild Life Conservation and Management in the Mid- Luangwa Valley, Zambia,” *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Vol. 27, No. 1, (March, 2001), PP. 171-172; Marks, *The Imperial Lion*, PP. 160-161.

Table 1.3: Hippo culling revenues, 1995-1999

Year	No. of hippos killed	Income per hippo (ZMW)	Total estimated income (ZMW)
1995	507	258.382	131, 000
1996	234	418.80	98, 000
1997	-	-	-
1998	353	296	104, 500
1999	352	409	144, 000
Total	1,446	1,382.182	477,500

Source: Dalal-Clayton and Child, *Lessons from the Luangwa*, P. 102.

The uneven distribution of wildlife resources between the government and the local people discouraged the latter from taking an active part in wildlife conservation. Through an interview, Joseph of Mnkhangya Community Resource Board (CRB) lamented that:

The game culling programme did not benefit the majority Kunda people because at that time the area did not have a single boarding school, tarred road neither a prison and the only Kamoto Health Centre then (Kamoto RCZ Mission Hospital now) was not well established to admit a good number of patients who could benefit from the programme directly.⁷⁸

The 1968 National Bill (NPWB Parks Wildlife)

The government through the Minister of Local Government, Mr Sikota Wina acting as minister of MLNR passed the 1968 NPWB. It resembled colonial conservation laws in a number of ways. For instance, it introduced the district and national game licences. The district game licence was to be issued by the local authorities who would retain the fees paid whereas the national game licence was to be issued by the Director of GFD. The revenue collected was for the central

⁷⁸Interview with Mvula, 17/05/2018.

government. Professional and supplementary licences remained as they were during colonial rule but attracted an extra fee. The bill also allowed the local people to hunt in certain PAs which were reclassified as 'open' to hunting, but under licences and right hunting methods.⁷⁹ In trying to support the bill in the first session, Sikota Wina pointed out that only poachers would be against the bill because they would always offend it. On the contrary, Harry Mwanga Nkumbula argued and called all those who supported the bill as 'honourable English squires.' In his speech Nkumbula criticised the bill by noting that it would work against candidates during the coming general elections. He stated that the bill resembled songs sung by rural people country wide with lyrics like the following:

During the next general election, we shall see whom we shall vote for, between the protectors of wild animals (UNIP ruling party) and the opposition. Definitely we shall vote for those who talk of protecting people and UNIP supporters shall ask wild animals to vote for them.⁸⁰

Gibson added that when Nkumbula was asked to quit the National Assembly debates for his deceptive remarks against wildlife receiving more protection than local people, the bill was passed. The passing of the 1968 NPWB clearly indicated that the government had begun centralising wildlife management in the country. Following the passing of the 1968 NPWB, the Minister of Lands and Natural Resources, Mr Solomon Kalulu promised to order game guards to shoot anyone illegally hunting wild animals. The Minister announced this during the 2nd session of the 1968 National Assembly Debates.⁸¹ The bill and the statement of the minister did not take into consideration the socio-economic interests of the Kunda people which largely rested on

⁷⁹ GRZ, *Parliamentary Debates*, (Lusaka: Government Printer, 1968), Pp. 573-576; Gibson, *Politicians and Poachers*, P. 33; GRZ, *Daily Hansard No: 16k, 5th session of the 1st National Assembly*, (Lusaka: Government Printer, 30/10/1968), Pp. 8-9.

⁸⁰ GRZ, *Parliamentary Debates*, (Lusaka: Government Printer, 1968), Pp. 583-584.

⁸¹ *National Assembly Debates, 2nd Session, 7th January-25th March, 1970*, Pp. 550-551.

hunting. In support of the bill, one of the back benchers, Mr Mitchley commended the parliamentarians for passing it. In his remarks Mitchley stated that:

I am glad that the bill has declared stringent penalties on poachers. The whole nation must know that it is easy to remove an animal from its habitat but very hard to replace it. Therefore, poachers need to watch out.⁸²

In order to easily and efficiently control the operations of wildlife in the country, the GFD switched ministries from that of Rural Development to the MLNR. In early 1969, the GFD changed its name to Department of Wildlife, Fisheries and National Parks (DWFNP). Internal changes concerning officers were also affected to facilitate communications among staff.⁸³ Towards the end of 1970, the Department was divided into the National Parks and Wildlife Service (NPWS) and Fisheries Service, each under a Deputy Director.⁸⁴ In 1970, the government through the department of NPWS promulgated the 1970 National Parks and Wildlife Act (NPWA) effective early 1971 which gave birth to the declaration of SLNP in 1971.⁸⁵ The NPWA issued out a number of Statutory Instruments in 1971. For instance, Hunting Licences and fees were stipulated in Statutory Instrument No: 2, Hunting Methods in Statutory Instrument No: 4 and the Prohibition of the Human Activities in PAs in Statutory Instrument No: 9 of 1972. Statutory Instrument No: 44 of 1972 enshrined the declaration of SLNP.⁸⁶

Centralisation of wildlife operations was intensified when the country was declared a one party state on 25th February 1972. The declaration consolidated power in the Republican President and the only party, United National Independence Party than in parliament. The Party could adopt

⁸²*Daily Hansard Debates No: 16k, 30/10/1968, Pp. 10-11.*

⁸³*1969 Wildlife, Fisheries and National Parks Department Annual Report, P. 2.*

⁸⁴ GRZ, *Department of National Parks and Wildlife Service Annual Report*, (Lusaka: Government Printer, 1970), P. 4; Marks, *The Imperial Lion*, P. 113.

⁸⁵*1970 Department of National Parks and Wildlife Service Annual Report, P. 4.*

⁸⁶ GRZ, *National Assembly Debates, 2nd Session*, (Lusaka: Government Printer, 7th January-25th March, 1970), P. 550; GRZ, *Daily Hansard Debates No: 16k, 30/10/1968, Pp. 8-10.*

policies before the National Assembly approved them.⁸⁷ The Statutory Instruments did not only centralise power in the Party but they also gave birth to the declaration of the SLNP which equally provided stiffer penalties through conservation laws. Centralisation of wildlife operations as was the case with colonial conservation laws was against the interests of the local people who continued to suffer at the hands of officers from Head-quarters.

The National Economic Slump and Wildlife Conservation

The drop in copper prices in 1975 on the international market did not only affect the economy of the country but also affected the wellbeing of the Kunda people who depended on hunting. As the country's economy deteriorated, poachers everywhere resorted to increased poaching, a development which depleted wild animals throughout the country. The government was compelled to introduce stiff anti-poaching legislations in order to curb poaching which did not work.⁸⁸ The Kunda people like Zambians elsewhere, had no option but to extend poaching for them to sustain their living. Thus, poaching reached alarming levels. Gibson noted that organised gangs of hunters killed about 75% of the country's wild animals from the year 1970 to 1989. From this illegal elephant hunting, the central Luangwa valley did not benefit from about \$172.8 million while the government only got \$10 million.⁸⁹ This clearly indicates a massive unmonitored hunting that greatly contributed to the depletion of wild animals in the valley, a scenario that did not only destroy the economic muscle of the Kunda people but also extended human-animal and human-state conflicts in the East Luangwa valley.

During this period of national economic slump (1975 to 1980s) wildlife officers also got involved in the illegal hunting of wild animals and their products. Some government officials airlifted live

⁸⁷Gibson, *Politicians and Poachers*, Pp. 49-50.

⁸⁸ Gibson, *Politicians and Poachers*, PP. 50-51; Chansa W and Kampamba G, *National elephant Conservation Plan*, (Chilanga: ZAWA, 2005), P. 2; GRZ, *Working Paper towards the Development of Policy for the Management of Elephant in Zambia*, (Chilanga: ZAWA, 2003), P. 2.

⁸⁹ Gibson, *Politicians and Poachers*, P. 54; Anderson, "An Investigation into the Ecology of Trypanosomiasis in Wildlife," P. 69.

wild animals and animal products from the undesignated Kakumbi air strip in the SLNP. This scenario could have compelled the government to pass the Air Craft Use Law on 25th August, 1993; a law which encouraged commercial flights to land in designated improved airstrips outside the national parks.⁹⁰ Additionally, some local hunters also resorted to hunting game animals illegally for game meat to sell locally in order to sustain their living. This was possible because the Law Enforcement Activities (LEAs) in the valley became too weak especially that the department of NPWS was poorly funded in the mid-1970s. Poor funding reduced the scouts' patrols. Chiefs also connived with business groups using their hunters to deplete wild animals in order to maintain their socio-economic status in society.⁹¹ These economic activities depleted wild animals in the valley to alarming levels. Robison notes that out of 5,000 black rhinos and 100,000 elephants that lived in the Central Luangwa Valley in 1972, only 2,000 rhinos and 50,000 elephants were left by 1981.⁹²

Studies particularly by Leader-Williams and Milner-Gulland affirm Robison's view that from 1979 to the 1980s inadequate LEAs drastically exhausted elephants from about 35,000 in 1970 to 15,000 in 1987 and further to about 2,400 in 1988 in the SLNP. Their work further notes that wildlife conservation was still critical even at the start of 1988 when Save the Rhino Trust came to assist NPWS in curbing poaching. Black rhinos were greatly depleted followed by elephants by commercial poachers. However due to insecurity, some animals could have trekked to neighbouring GMAs like Chisomo and Sandwe to the south and Lumimba and Munyamadzi to the north. The situation began improving in mid-1988 when the Luangwa Integrated Resource Development Project (LIRD) began field operations.⁹³

⁹⁰GRZ, *Post-Colonial Policy for Wildlife in Zambia*, (Chilanga: ZAWA, 1993), P. 24.

⁹¹Gibson, *Politicians and Poachers*, Pp. 54-57.

⁹²Robison S, "Saving the Rhino: Zambia's fight against Big-Time Poaching," *Black Lechwe*, (1981), Pp. 8-9.

⁹³Leader-Williams L and Milner-Gulland E. J, Policies for the Enforcement of Wildlife Laws: The Balance between Detection and Penalties in Luangwa Valley, Zambia, *Conservation Biology*, Vol. 7, No. 3, (1993), P234.

The 1982 Amendment bill

Due to the alarming levels of poaching during the global economic slump, the government in August 1982 through the Ministry of Lands and Natural Resources presented the 1982 Amendment Bill to the National Assembly. It repealed the 1971 NPWS Act.⁹⁴ The outline of the NPWS Act of 1971 stipulated that poachers of elephants and rhino needed to pay a reasonable fine which most poachers did because it was insignificant, whereas poachers caught in national parks were required to pay a fine or face a maximum of five years imprisonment which again was manageable.⁹⁵ The 1982 Amendment Bill as moved by the minister of MLNR had three stiff clauses; clause 6 proposed to imprison any poacher of elephants and rhino to 15 years without an option of fine, clause 7 proposed that any poacher caught in a national park showing poaching intentions or activities be imprisoned for 10 years without an option of a fine while clause 9 was intended to allow the court to confiscate all the weapons and trophies belonging to the convict.⁹⁶

The bill resulted into a two-sided debate, between the front benchers, mostly the ministers, ministers of state and district governors appointed by the Republican President and the back benchers. The front benchers supported the bill so as to promote tourism in the country and for future generations whereas the back benchers opposed it. The latter argued that the bill must have been designed by the expatriates who wanted to protect wild animals at the expense of the local people. They further pointed out that allowing the bill to pass would be turning the country from ‘man-centred to animal centred’ where prosecution of local people for offences committed in trying to access wildlife resources will be a routine. Eventually, Zambians would be reduced to subhuman beings since outsiders from developed countries coming to view the wild animals at a fee will be highly respected.⁹⁷ Reacting to the debate over the bill, honourable W. H Banda,

⁹⁴Zambia National Assembly Debates No: 60th, 10/08/1982, P. 4117.

⁹⁵Zambia National Assembly Debates No: 60th, 10/08/1982, P. 4117.

⁹⁶Zambia National Assembly Debates No: 60th, 10/08/1982, P. 4118.

⁹⁷ Zambia National Assembly Debates, No: 60th, 10/08/1982, Pp. 4118-40.

Member of Parliament for Malambo constituency launched an attack on those in support of the bill that:

If this August house is going to pass the bill in its present form, sir, it will be the most unfair law to be adopted. Such members should not use the bill to attract support from the appointing authority, but must consider the welfare of the rural people.⁹⁸

From the discussion above it was important that the house articulated real issues that affected the Zambian citizens. In trying to amplify the argument, a member from the opposing group highlighted the basic political fact that, “its people who vote, not animals and that during registration of voters he never heard animals being asked to register but people; maybe animals were asked in a different language.”⁹⁹ The debate was furthered by back benchers attacking front benchers. In their attack they pointed out that those in support of the bill would be ready to convince their constituencies that they favour animals than people. They also pointed out that at no time did wild animals participate in the fight against political independence.¹⁰⁰ This kind of debate shows that most parliamentarians did not support the bill as it undermined the welfare of the poor local people.

During the second reading in the 4th session of the National Assembly Debates in 1982, honourable Banda, Member of Parliament for Malambo constituency stated that the law implementers of NPWS would be very brutal once the bill is passed even to innocent local people because that is their nature. In his argument, Mr Banda pointed out that previously people not at fault (without licensed guns for example) were stripped naked and beaten by the department staff. For instance, headman Mwachande of Chief Jumbe was beaten terribly and after being taken to court he was acquitted and the game rangers were convicted but the government did nothing to

⁹⁸ Zambia National Assembly Debates, No: 60th, 10/08/1982, Pp. 4118-19.

⁹⁹ Parliamentary Debates, No: 60th, 10th 1982, Pp. 4480, 4486.

¹⁰⁰ Parliamentary Debates, No: 60th, 10th 1982, Pp. 4129, 4912.

them.¹⁰¹ Another instance where the department was noted not to be doing well in protecting the welfare of the local people was on poor interpretation of the laws. Honourable Banda cited a situation in which wildlife officers were involved. They could keep firearms confiscated from poachers for too long. During that time, the local poachers whose firearms were confiscated would be beaten. One man from Chief Jumbe was beaten and injured with his jaw broken before being reprimanded.¹⁰² Such instances were very common in wildlife related offences which the officers should be educated about as they carried out their duties.¹⁰³

The debate did not end there. Back benchers used a lot of techniques to fight the bill, a situation which obliged the government to withdraw it and when it was brought back four months later certain penalties were softened. The Minister mentioned that harsh sentences were aimed at ‘traffickers’ and that first offender in poaching would have an option of a fine. This did not work out because back benchers knew the intentions of the government and when they threatened to walk out of the house in order to delay the passing out of the bill, the bill was instead passed by the government and it became law.¹⁰⁴

Community Based Conservation (CBC) Programmes, 1983-1999

The poaching spectra in the 1970s to 1980s that greatly depleted wild animals in the East Luangwa valley compelled the government in the early 1980s to do away with the centralised protectionist policy. The policy was viewed as irrelevant not only in the conservation of wild animals but also in that it did not directly benefit the local communities in terms of wildlife resource utilisation.¹⁰⁵ Thus, the government mooted a school of thought that held that wildlife conservation and viable resource utilisation is only possible if local people are directly involved in wildlife operations. This led to the genesis of the Community Based Conservation (CBC)

¹⁰¹GRZ Daily Parliamentary Debates No: 60h, 4th Session of the National Assembly on Friday 13/08/1982

¹⁰²Parliamentary Debates, No: 60th, 10th 1982, Pp. 4480, 4486.

¹⁰³Interview with Mambwe District Inspector of police, Mr Mulele, 04/11/2017.

¹⁰⁴ Parliamentary Debates, No: 60th, 10th 1982, P. 4491.

¹⁰⁵Dalal-Clayton and Child, *Lessons from the Luangwa*, Pp. 5, 8.

activities through the Community Based Natural Resource Management (CBNRM) programmes in the early 1980s. Programmes such as the Luangwa Integrated Resource Development Project (LIRDP) and the Administrative Management Design (ADMADE) in which local people were co-opted with the sole objective of ensuring total local participation in the management of wildlife.¹⁰⁶

Towards the end of 1983 concerned conservationists in Eastern Province submitted the LIRDP proposal to the Norwegian government Aid agency through the National Commission for Development Planning. This was discussed in the Lupande Development Workshop held in Lupande in 1983. On 14th September, 1985 the proposal was approved and former Republican President, Kenneth Kaunda, became the project chairperson with two co-directors; Dr Richard Bell, an ecologist and Fidelis Lungu, a natural resource economist. The LIRDP project was finally initiated on 7th May, 1986 by the chairperson with its headquarters in Chipata.¹⁰⁷ In order to improve the management of wildlife and resource utilisation, steering committees at various levels were set up. Officers from the national, provincial, district and chiefdom levels were recruited. There was the Steering Committee at national level chaired by the Republican President, then an Advisory Committee chaired by the Permanent Secretary followed by Technical Sub-Committees of the Advisory Committee. At provincial level coordination of activities was done by the Provincial Planning Committee while at district council level a committee was set up. The Local Level Sub-Committee (LLSC) followed comprising the six area chiefs each with one advisor, four ward chairmen, the area Member of Parliament and the Senior Administrative Officer for Mambwe sub-district.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁶ Zimba, "The Management of South Luangwa National Park," P. 20; Anderson, "An Investigation into the Ecology of Trypanosomiasis," Pp. 84-85.

¹⁰⁷ Dalal-Clayton and Child, *Lessons from the Luangwa*, Pp. 8-9.

¹⁰⁸ Dalal-Clayton and Child, *Lessons from the Luangwa*, PP. 8-10.

By 1988 the LIRD was fully operational and began working together with the LLSC in wildlife conservation. The Project implementers attributed the high poaching levels in the area to the high poverty levels of the local people.¹⁰⁹ They implied that poaching could be abolished if the local people's economic lives were made better through wildlife resource utilisation. To this effect the NORAD- funded Integrated Conservation and Development Project through LIRD became like a 'mini' government to the local people because of the economic support it started providing them. In trying to achieve the objective of empowering the local people through wildlife resource utilisation and wildlife conservation, a number of activities were programmed. The reintroduction of safari hunting known as Malambo Hunting Safaris, vegetable gardening, farming, aerial survey of elephants and rhinos and environmental education among other economic activities were earmarked.¹¹⁰

In trying to apply the CBNRM policy the LIRD earmarked on activities in two phases. The first phase from 1988 to 1991 was programmed to provide general development to the area. During this phase project officials and area chiefs through committees controlled the activities on behalf of the project. 60% of the revenues realised were for the project's operations while the 40% that remained was for the local communities' development through chiefs as determined by the LLSC. Local communities' developments were mainly through provision of social services and infrastructure. The revenues came from park entry fees, hunting licences, Malambo culling operations, grinding mill fees and transport services among other commercial ventures.¹¹¹ The total revenue collections from 1986 to 1990 were summarised as shown in table 2.1 on the next page.

¹⁰⁹ Dalal-Clayton and Child, *Lessons from the Luangwa*, P. 8.

¹¹⁰ Dalal-Clayton and Child, *Lessons from the Luangwa*, PP. 8-9.

¹¹¹ Zimba, "The Management of South Luangwa National Park," P. 21; Dalal-Clayton and Child, *Lessons from the Luangwa*, PP. 10-11; Anderson, "An Investigation into the Ecology of Trypanosomiasis," PP. 85-86.

Table 2.1: LIRDP wildlife income in ZMW collected and allocation, 1986-1990

Year	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990
Total earnings	132. 50	242.175	1, 012. 50	2, 240	7,500
The Project-60%	79. 50	145.305	607	1, 344	4,500
Community-40%	53. 00	96.87	405	896	3,000

Source: Dalal-Clayton and Child, *Lessons from the Luangwa*, P. 71.

In 1992 an international conference was held in Rio-de Janeiro in Brazil known as United Nations Conference on Environmental Development. It highlighted the need to involve local communities in sustainable development of natural resources.¹¹² World governments were thus compelled to establish various agreements in order to adopt sustainable development even in wildlife resources. To this effect, the Zambian government in 1995 introduced CBNRM programmes based on the ADMADE policy to modify the LIRDP. The LIRDP staff as from 1995 were absorbed and integrated into the CBNRM programmes and most of its vehicles were transferred to other departments or sold.¹¹³ Other LIRDP commercial enterprises were closed; all the Malambo Safaris equipment was sold whereas the Malambo Milling title deeds were secured in order to sell or transfer the property. This was because hiring trucks was found to be cheaper than operating the project's own fleet.¹¹⁴ Restructuring did not only remove local people from employment but also ended the cheap and available Malambo transport and milling services provided to the public which tried to curb poaching and improve local economic livelihoods.

¹¹² Knott K and Kelly M, *Community Based-Natural Resource Management Manual*, (SARPO: World Wide Fund for nature, 2006), P. 14.

¹¹³ Dalal-Clayton and Child, *Lessons from the Luangwa*, Pp.13-14.

¹¹⁴ Dalal-Clayton and Child, *Lessons from the Luangwa*, P. 98.

In 1996 the CBNRM-ADMADE approach began to modify the LIRD operations. The modification co-opted local people so as to improve the wildlife conservation and its utilisation. The local people had more say since the top-down approach was replaced by the bottom-top one.¹¹⁵ The ADMADE policy worked hand in hand with the government's 1993 NPWS policy which elaborated a mission statement for wildlife management embracing local level institutions through community participation.¹¹⁶ The policy in simpler terms began community participation in the management of natural resources. Three layers of local institutions were introduced. The first was called the Village Action Groups (VAGs). Each VAG was made up of at least 300 households. The Area Development Committee (ADC) was the second and the third layer was the LLSC. Each ADC was made up of three to eleven VAGs in their respective chiefdoms. The LLSC comprised the chiefs, their advisors, a woman representative, five elected people from the council and the area MP.¹¹⁷

Unlike the previous LIRD-CBNRM approach which allocated 60% of the wildlife revenues to the LIRD operations and 40% to the local communities, the LIRD in the new CBNRM-ADMADE approach allocated 80% of the wildlife resources to the VAGs where the local communities democratically decided on how to use the revenues. Through this kind of approach local communities accrued a lot of community development.¹¹⁸ The local people were also provided with the rights to households' cash dividends unlike the previous approach where revenues were decided by the chiefs and LIRD officials who in most cases misappropriated such revenues.¹¹⁹ In other words the LIRD in the new CBNRM-CBNRM approach introduced democracy in the manner revenues were used by the local people since aspects of accountability,

¹¹⁵ Zimba, "The Management of South Luangwa National Park," P. 21.

¹¹⁶ GRZ, *Working Paper towards the Development of Policy for the Management of Elephant in Zambia*, (Chilanga: ZAWA, 2003), P. 3; GRZ, *Post-Colonial Policy for Wildlife in Zambia*, (Chilanga: NPWS, 1993), P. 3.

¹¹⁷ Dalal-Clayton and Child, *Lessons from the Luangwa*, P.15.

¹¹⁸ Interview with Mvula, 17/05/2018.

¹¹⁹ Dalal-Clayton and Child, *Lessons from the Luangwa*, P.15.

transparency and equitable sharing were better as opposed to the previous arrangement¹²⁰ where chiefs could not be monitored.

ZAWA Wildlife Management and Resource Utilisation

In order to improve wildlife management and resource utilisation on 1st January, 1999 LIRD ceased to exist. It became South Luangwa Area Management Unit (SLAMU) and the department of NPWS was changed to a parastatal organisation, Zambia Wildlife Authority (ZAWA). This followed the enactment of the 1998 Zambia Wildlife Act (ZWA) No. 12 which replaced the National Parks and Wildlife Act No. 10 of 1991.¹²¹ The 1998 ZWA was an extension of the 1993 Wildlife Policy on the aspect of community participation in wildlife conservation and resource utilisation.¹²² However, the creation of ZAWA despite introducing the local community institutions' of Community Resource Boards (CRBs) distanced the local people from the management and utilisation of wildlife resources. This was evident in the number of draft policies produced following the enactment of the 1998 ZWA which centred on the centralisation of wildlife operations. The policies were conservation policies such as the elephant and crocodile policies.¹²³

In 2000 ZAWA became fully operational and changed the ADCs into CRBs. CRBs comprised members of the local communities democratically elected by the local community with the area chief as patron.¹²⁴ Normally the VAGs' chairpersons, secretaries and or treasurers formed the representation of the CRBs. Each of the six Kunda chiefdoms had its own number of VAGs depending on the number of households, for instance, Jumbe chiefdom by 2000 had nine VAGs

¹²⁰ Knott and Kelly, *Community Based-Natural Resource Management Manual*, P. 14.

¹²¹ Munyenyembe F. E. C, George Malenga and Hasse Ericson, *LIRD Annual Report*, (Chipata: ZAWA, 1998), P. 5; Dalal-Clayton and Child, *Lessons from the Luangwa*, P. 24; GRZ, *Working Paper towards the Development of Policy for the Management of Elephant in Zambia*, P. 3; GRZ, *Policy for National Parks and Wildlife in Zambia*, (Chilanga: NPWS, 1998), P. 30.

¹²² GRZ, *Post-Colonial Policy for Wildlife in Zambia*, P. 3.

¹²³ GRZ, *Policy for National Parks and Wildlife in Zambia*, (Chilanga: NPWS, 1998), P. 30; Zimba, "The Management of South Luangwa National Park," P. 63.

¹²⁴ Zimba, "The Management of South Luangwa National Park," P. 21.

which formed the Jumbe CRB. The CRBs represented local communities and from 2000 started receiving 50% of the wildlife revenues for community developments and the remaining 50% went to ZAWA for wildlife operation costs¹²⁵ (see the breakdown in the table below).

Table 2.2: Safari hunting mandatory revenue allocations

Institution	ZAWA	Village scouts	Chiefs	CRB Administration	Community Projects	Total
Animal fees in %	50	20.5	5	9	15.75	100
Concession fees in %	80	6.75	5	3	5.25	100

Source: Simasiku, *The Impact of Wild Life Management Policies on Communities and Conservation in GMAs in Zambia*, June, 2008, P. 5.

The table above shows how much through CRBs the local communities benefited from the safari hunting wildlife resources. From the safari hunting revenues, 5% went to the chief (CRB patron), 45% to the CRBs directly and the remaining 50% was taken by the ZAWA. Based on the above distribution the government in 2001 to 2002 through ZAWA disbursed to local communities in GMAs in central Luangwa valley with hunting blocks some funds as below.

Table 2.3: Revenues disbursed to central Luangwa valley GMAs in ZMW, 2001-2002

GMA	Lumimba	Musalangu	Lupande	W/Petauke	Sandwe	Munyamadzi
Funds	53,519. 26	116, 296. 66	61,448. 45	83, 202.50	9, 800.54	129, 272.15

Source: 2002 Chizombo ZAWA Commercial Annual Report.

As can be seen from the table above, ZAWA disbursed less money as compared to the money disbursed by its predecessor, the LIRD. This implies that through LIRD the local communities saw a lot of benefits than during ZAWA, a point which justifies why during LIRD the local people began to appreciate the value of wildlife conservation than during the ZAWA period.

¹²⁵Interview with Mvula, 17/05/2018.

Conclusion

The chapter has examined wildlife conservation in SLNP and the surrounding LGMA among the Kunda people from 1890 to 2001 in three sections namely; the BSAC era from 1890 to 1924 followed by the British Colonial rule up to 1964. The last part of the chapter examined the colonial wildlife conservation policies from 1964 to 2001. During the three administrations, it has been argued that to a greater extent the wildlife conservation laws undermined the livelihoods of the local people while benefiting the governments. The governments through game culling, safari hunting and game viewing among other tourist activities realised a lot of revenue. In such cases the local people opted to go for illegal hunting so as to sustain their livelihoods, a situation that extended conflicts. The chapter has shown that the introduction of colonial wildlife conservation laws depleted more wild animals than during the pre-colonial era. Thus, the colonial policies generated human-animal and human-state conflicts. This was because subsistence hunting that constituted their way of life could no longer be freely executed. The chapter lastly noted that despite restricting local people's access to wildlife resources through protectionist conservation laws and the declaration of the SLNP in the area, to some extent benefited some local people through job creation and local community development projects.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE AFRICAN RESPONSES TO AND IMPACT ON CONSERVATION ACTS AND POLICIES, 1890-2001.

Introduction

The chapter examines the African responses to and impact on wildlife conservation Acts and policies in SLNP and the surrounding LGMA from 1890 to 2001. The chapter notes that apart from the local people, Non-Government Organisations (NGOs) and Government institutions were also other stake holders in fostering wildlife conservation. It is therefore argued that despite limited wildlife resources trickling down to the local community, some local people got involved in local community empowerment programmes and land use activities such as livestock keeping, crop cultivation and bee keeping. Through their positive responses not only was the livelihood of some local people improved but also the wildlife conservation improved.

The chapter also notes that the wildlife conservation Acts and policies had more negative impacts than the positive ones on the livelihoods of the local people. The negative impacts examined include the Human Animal Conflicts (HACs), Human-State conflicts (HSCs) and impact of Law Enforcement Activities (LEAs) on people. The positive impacts discussed include the infrastructural developments such as roads, pontoons, lodges, Mfuwe International Airport (MIA), construction and rehabilitation of clinics, schools, bore holes, toilets and provision of other services to the local community. The benefits of wildlife tourism to the government through revenue collection are also discussed. The chapter argues that to a larger extent the revenue raised through tourism did not benefit the majority local people. Throughout the chapter it is argued that centralisation over wildlife resource management and utilisation by the state was the basis of wildlife related conflicts.

African Responses to the Declaration of SLNP and its Developments

The declaration of the SLNP intensified wildlife conservation laws which reduced people's access to wildlife resources including game. In order to sustain a living, the Kunda began other economic land use activities other than poaching. The land use activities began taking shape in the 1980s and were as follows; crop cultivation, Environmentally Sustainable Farming (ESF) based on the Community Market for Conservation (COMACO), carpentry, beehive keeping, poultry, gardening and Livestock keeping. They also got involved in local community tourism empowerment programmes.

Land use activities

Crop cultivation though not on commercial scale was undertaken by the majority of the local people. They engaged in winter crop cultivation along the tributaries of the Luangwa River and rain-fed crop growing. Food crops such as sorghum, maize, sunflower, cowpeas, cassava and millet were grown while tobacco and cotton were grown as some of the cash crops from the 1980s.²⁴⁶ Most of the crop cultivation was done in chiefs Msoro, Jumbe and Mnkanya. The cash crops were sold to companies that came to the area. Sunflower was processed into cooking oil using the village-level oil press while grain crops were stored for future consumption. The growing of vegetables for sale to the tourists and the local community earned the Kunda an extra income.²⁴⁷ Intensified interventions of scout patrols, chilli fencing and electric fences in 1997 and 1998 helped with food security against animal crop damage in the chiefdoms.

Crop cultivation as a land use activity faced a lot of challenges. Most areas in Mambwe district were quite far apart and transport to the outside markets for crops was a challenge. Hence, another land use activity, Environmentally Sustainable Farming, based on the

²⁴⁶ Zimba, "The Management of South Luangwa National Park," P. 18.

²⁴⁷ Atkins, "Socio-Economic Aspects of the Lupande GMA," P. 51, 54-55.

COMACO initiative was adopted in the late 1990s. COMACO was an NGO created by the South Luangwa Conservation Society. The initiative encouraged ESF practices called conservation farming. It provided markets and value-added products closer to the people. The production of cotton and tobacco as cash crops was discouraged; instead food crops like rice, maize, groundnuts, soya beans and sunflower were encouraged.²⁴⁸ Towards 2000, COMACO began providing wildlife conservation lessons through the Sensitisations of Education through the Kunda Arts (SEKA) drama group. Some local people were encouraged to surrender illegal hunting weapons and when the number reached five they were asked to choose one land use activity they were interested in from crop cultivation, carpentry, beehive keeping, poultry and gardening. Material and technical help was provided to help start the activity.²⁴⁹ For instance, seed was given to the group that chose crop cultivation and their produce would be bought from them at good prices. For those who opted for gardening, a trodden pump was made available. Saws for those in carpentry and poultry structure for those engaged in poultry were provided. Charcoal burners were advised to start beehive keeping while charcoal users were advised to begin using fire wood stoves using special trees which they were encouraged to plant.²⁵⁰ The initiative ensured food security, improved the local economy and also kept the local people busy and away from destroying wildlife and its habitat.

Livestock keeping, though on a small scale, was another land use activity in the area. It involved keeping of chickens, pigs and goats up to late 1996. Before 1996 cattle could not be kept because the area was not only infested with tsetse flies but also due to lack of pastoral

²⁴⁸Interview with Mrs Ezelia Zulu, Chikowa village, Chief Jumbe, COMACO District Committee Member, 21/10/2017.

²⁴⁹ Anderson, "An Investigation into the Ecology of Trypanosomiasis," P. 94.

²⁵⁰Interview with Ezelia, 21/10/2017.

expertise, inadequate financial resources and the poor climatic conditions for cattle rearing.²⁵¹ However after 1996, cattle rearing improved with the coming of the Africa Development Bank (ADB). ADB started providing finances for cattle vaccines for the new cattle disease and chemoprophylaxis for trypanosomiasis in cattle.²⁵² In 2000, the Veterinary Department at Kakumbi Research Station also began to freely supply cattle and rabies' vaccines. The rabies' vaccines prevented the transmission of rabies from wild dogs to the tamed dogs and people while pigs affected with African swine fever were treated.²⁵³ ADB also provided lessons to pastoral farmers on how to protect livestock by ensuring that animals were kept in well secured kraals. It would also provide finances to the ministry of Agriculture and Livestock which began monitoring the movements of wild animals using satellites so that livestock was not found in undesignated places.²⁵⁴ By the year 2000, the interventions mentioned above had enabled the district to keep a variety of livestock that found market from the tourism industry and local community. See the table below.

Table 3: Livestock kept in Mambwe district, 2000-2001.

Livestock	Pigs	Goats	Sheep	Cattle	Donkeys	Dogs/Cats	Chickens	Ducks	Guinea Fowls	Pigeons	Rabbits
No: Kept	4,006	8,078	297	3,704	15	3,421	46,863	1,597	569	2,558	54

Source: Anderson, "An Investigation into the Ecology of Trypanosomiasis," P. 94 adapted from the ministry of Agriculture.

Local community tourism empowerment programmes

Apart from the land use activities, the local people also responded to the declaration of SLNP and its developments through tourism related empowerment programmes which also helped

²⁵¹ Zimba, "The Management of South Luangwa National Park," P. 19.

²⁵² Anderson, "An Investigation into the Ecology of Trypanosomiasis," P. 94.

²⁵³ Anderson, "An Investigation into the Ecology of Trypanosomiasis," P. 94.

²⁵⁴ Interview with Mr Lowell Munadimbwe, Mambwe District Livestock Technician, 25/10/2017.

in restraining the local people from poaching activities. These programmes involved cultural tourism and community businesses. The main programmes were; the Kawaza Village Tourism Project (KVTP), Nsefu Fishing Association (NFA), Nsendamila Cultural Association (NCA) and Kakumbi Natural Resources Management Business (KNRMB).²⁵⁵ KVTP was run by the Kunda people through whom some local traditions and cultures were performed for tourists on their way to the SLNP. Established in 1996, the KVTP was located in Senior Chief Nsefu's area. In the same year the local people in the area opened Mwizala village around Kawaza School to visitors for sharing Kunda customs and traditions with the tourists. Using wildlife resources the Kunda people invested in several activities that helped vulnerable people economically. These activities included cotton pressing, local handicrafts, traditional dancing, cooking nshima, and housekeeping, brewing of local beer and lessons at Kawaza School.²⁵⁶

As time went on, in 1996 KVTP began receiving support from Robin Pope Safaris who had supported Kawaza School for several years. Thereafter in 1997 SLAMU came on board when a group of Australian visitors was hosted and ZMW3, 500 was used to buy equipment that included mattresses, plates, bed sheets, radios and telephones. By 1998 the number of visitors had increased to 100 with 35 staying on. In 1999 the number of those staying on reached 47.²⁵⁷ The visitors and local people would share their culture. However, the western culture which could offend the local people like the dress code and use of cameras were avoided. Through these activities the local culture was not only revived but local people earned their leaving as a lot of money was made.²⁵⁸ Another local tourism program was the NCA. It was conceived by one tour operator in chief Kakumbi's area in 1997 but run by the Kunda. NCA

²⁵⁵ Dalal-Clayton and Child, *Lessons from the Luangwa*, P. 131.

²⁵⁶ Dalal-Clayton and Child, *Lessons from the Luangwa*, Pp. 131-132.

²⁵⁷ Dalal-Clayton and Child, *Lessons from the Luangwa*, Pp. 133-134.

²⁵⁸ Interview with Jonathan of Nsefu, on 17/11/2017.

was first situated under a baobab tree close to lodges in Mfuwe but near to the entrance gate of the SLNP so that visitors could see items on sale and the dancing.²⁵⁹ Apart from sharing their culture with the visitors, women and men also did some traditional sweeping, pounding of maize and produced grass mats which were sold to raise money for community development.²⁶⁰

As the human population increased around Mfuwe area, there was a noticeable depletion of wildlife resources through such activities like tree cutting for timber used in the constructions, brick moulding, fish drying and brewing of local beer. This made the local people complain to Kakumbi ADC in 1997 where it was agreed that anyone in need of such natural resources had to pay a fee. Later in the year the KNRMB was formed following a meeting between Kakumbi ADC and Luangwa Safaris Association (LSA). The money raised was distributed as follows:

Table 4: Allocation of KNRMB Wildlife revenues in Chief Kakumbi

Category	% allocation
KNRMB administration	40%
VAGs for conservation initiatives	25%
VAGs for community developments	30%
The Chief	5%

Source: Dalal-Clayton and Child, *Lessons from the Luangwa*, P. 139.

The allocation shown above developed local communities. For instance, in 1998 part of the ZMW13, 000 rebased realised was used to rehabilitate Kakumbi clinic. Another share was used in a tree planting programme on wildlife conservation through drama by the SEKA.²⁶¹ The local people in chief Nsefu also responded through NFA activities. By 1999 all fishermen

²⁵⁹ Dalal-Clayton and Child, *Lessons from the Luangwa*, P. 134.

²⁶⁰ Interview with Miss Brenda Kamuli of Kakumbi Chiefdom, 15/03/2018.

²⁶¹ Dalal-Clayton and Child, *Lessons from the Luangwa*, P. 139.

in the area belonged to NFA charged with the tasks of fishing and issuing fishing licences instead of poaching. Rules on fishing were provided and three community scouts were employed to protect the fishermen while fishing and curb poaching.²⁶² Through NFA activities local people raised money which improved their wellbeing.

Other stake holders' responses to the declaration of SLNP

The declaration of the SLNP and its developments encouraged other stake holders other than the local people such as Chiefs, COMACO and government institutions like education, council and police to perform different conservation roles. Tourism related institutions such as MIA and Project Luangwa also played their roles. In an effort to promote SLNP wildlife tourism, chiefs would persuade their people to hand over illegal hunting weapons such as snares and firearms to them and the South Luangwa Conservation Society (SLCS) through COMACO. In such cases, the reformed poachers would be awarded bags of maize to support them.²⁶³ Chiefs also created harmony between wildlife officers and the local people in times of conflicts. For instance, in October 1999 ZAWA officers hanged a poacher to a tree after he had killed a buffalo. The villagers almost burnt the wildlife camp but were stopped by Senior Chief Nsefu.²⁶⁴

The benefits emanating from the declaration of SLNP compelled government institutions in the district such as education department to reciprocate by conducting wildlife conservation programmes in schools. Between 1990 and 2000 conservation clubs such as Chongololo and Chipembe were started at Yosefe, Chiwawatala and Mfuwe Primary Schools. During club meetings' lessons on wildlife conservation were provided. Tree planting programme as one way of maintaining the animal habitat was also introduced at Yosefe Primary School in 1998

²⁶² Dalal-Clayton and Child, *Lessons from the Luangwa*, P. 137.

²⁶³ Interview with Chief Mnkhanya, 10/11/2017.

²⁶⁴ Interview with Jonathan, 13/11/2017.

and in 2000 spread to other schools.²⁶⁵ Mambwe District Council also collaborated with other stake holders in educating people on wildlife conservation. Animal habitats and corridors were identified and people were told not to do any activity along them.²⁶⁶ Again the police as part of the law enforcement wings also collaborated with other wings on issues of wildlife conservation, unlawful possession of hunting weapons and on dangers of poaching.²⁶⁷

Tourism related institutions such as lodges and MIA responded positively to the declaration of the SLNP. Lodges through Project Luangwa in 1990s began funding community projects through which several health centres, schools, courts and local communities benefited. The MIA also conducted Mfuwe sporting activities for various sports from 1998 through which conservation lessons were provided to people.²⁶⁸ From 1998, workers at Tribal Textiles were taught knitting and the making of curios which were sold for money. The workers also confiscated snares from local poachers and made products like wire balls, candle holders and other curio goods such as ‘dream culture’ which tourists bought. In 2000 through SLCS, lodges began chilli and tree planting.²⁶⁹ These programmes helped people to desist from poaching.

Negative Impacts of Game Conservation Laws, 1890-2001.

The passing of various wildlife conservation Acts and implementation by colonial and post-colonial governments’ policies contributed to the increased numbers of animals in the central Luangwa Valley area. Some of the animals posed danger to peoples’ crops, lives and property while others could not be freely hunted for meat as before, consequently conflicts escalated.

²⁶⁵Interview with Telesa, 25/10/2017.

²⁶⁶Interview with Sibeso, 25/10/2017.

²⁶⁷Interview with Mulele, 02/11/217.

²⁶⁸Interview with Chalwe, 01/11/2017.

²⁶⁹ Interview with Mchenga, 01/11/2017; Interview with Mr Andrew Lungu, Deputy Head Teacher, Mfuwe Day Secondary, 01/11/2017.

The noted negative impacts experienced were the human-animal conflicts (HACs), human-state conflicts (HSCs) and law enforcement activities (LEAs).

Human-Animal Conflicts, 1890 -2001

Human animal conflicts occurred when the activities of man conflicted with those of wild animals in the SLNP and the Lupande Game Management Area (LGMA). The experience of HACs began with the dawn of humanity and became stronger with the imposition of the colonial wildlife conservation policies. The imposition of wildlife conservation laws increased the numbers of animals. For instance elephants and buffaloes, destroyed cereal crops because of their sweet stalks whereas wild pigs and monkeys destroyed cassava roots and maize cobs respectively. In order to protect their crops, the local people constructed huts next to their gardens to chase the destructive animals away. Sometimes they dug deep and wide trenches around their gardens or fenced off the gardens with heavy logs.²⁷⁰ All this work needed young and energetic men who were already away in labour industries in South Africa and Southern Rhodesia from as early as 1903.²⁷¹ Others were by 1905 and 1915 out on the tobacco farms in Fort Jameson and on the mines in the Democratic Republic of Congo respectively providing labour for money to meet the hunting licence obligation.²⁷²

Equally, the increase in wild animals increased tsetse flies which bred diseases. Reports of trypanosomiasis became prevalent followed by sleeping sickness in some parts of the East Luangwa Valley Province (eastern province). From 1904 some cattle in the territory were reported dying of trypanosomiasis and sleeping sickness was rampant in the years 1912-1925 and 1927-1934. By 1938 sleeping sickness had killed 29 people in Petauke and Fort Jameson districts.²⁷³ Studies showed that the outbreaks of these diseases compelled the colonial

²⁷⁰ Musambachime, "Colonialism and the Environment in Zambia," P. 13.

²⁷¹ Musambachime, "Colonialism and the Environment in Zambia," P. 13.

²⁷² Interview with Duncan, 9/05/2018.

²⁷³ Anderson, "An Investigation into the Ecology of Trypanosomiasis," P. 66.

administrations to restrict movement to trading centres.²⁷⁴ The local people resorted to hunting of wild animals in order to reduce both the animal populations and the spread of the diseases. The fly also prevented the keeping of cattle on a large scale. For instance, in 1935 the Kunda mainly kept sheep, pigs, goats, chickens and donkeys and by 1937 livestock keeping in the area had reduced as shown in the table below.

Table 5: Livestock kept by the Kunda people in 1935 and 1937

Year	Chiefdom	Cattle	Sheep	Goats	Pigs	Donkeys	Ploughs
1935	Tindi	2	4	1	1	1	1
1935	Msoro	3	74	181	5	-	1
1937	Mnkhanya	-	8	15	-	-	-
1937	Kakumbi	-	-	6	-	-	-
1937	Nsefu	-	-	4	-	-	-
1937	Jumbe	-	10	5	-	-	-
1937	Msoro	-	24	35	-	-	-
1937	Tindi	-	-	5	-	-	-
Total		5	120	252	6	1	2

Source: NAZ, SEC 2/85; 1935 Eastern Province Annual Report, Fort Jameson, P. 22; NAZ SEC 2/85, 1937 Eastern Province Annual Report, Fort Jameson, P. 19.

As can be seen from the information above, the keeping of cattle was on a small scale if not zero in most Kunda chiefdoms due to the tsetse fly and the unsupportive climatic conditions. The reports also showed that despite the fact that the tsetse flies prevented cattle keeping among the Kunda, the area allowed a bit of cotton agriculture and rice cultivation. These crops were sold in the Fort Jameson market. However, they never received any

²⁷⁴Mulongo, "History of Luangwa Valley," Pp. 14, 18.

encouragement from the government which could have stimulated their production.²⁷⁵ The increase in the wild animals also increased game ravaging of peoples' crops, property and lives in the 1930s which exposed the Kunda people both to famine and to HACs. Game raids and land depredations prevented the local people from cultivating the alluvial areas along the tributaries of Luangwa River.²⁷⁶ In his 1930 Annual report to the Provincial Commissioner Fort Jameson, the District Commissioner for Petauke noted some damages caused by elephants to human lives and property. The report indicated that:

Few years ago a Kunda-Nsenga man was killed on a bicycle in the Great East Road and on the same road another one last month escaped on foot leaving his bicycle which was savaged by elephants. Some were threatened last week by elephants which refused them use of the road.²⁷⁷

The information in the quotation above suggests that elephants posed a real threat to humans and their property. Several reports about elephant damages were recorded. H. C Hall, an English Control Officer reported that in the early 1930s. H. L Hall noted that the Kunda gardens around Rivers Lupande and Kasenengwa were raided by elephants. Villages such as Njerinjeri and Nyamachika in chiefs Kakumbi, Nsefu and Mnkhanya were also victims. The problem was temporarily sorted out by shooting the troublesome elephants by elephant control officers whose meat was shared among the local people and the ivory taken to the government.²⁷⁸ Pitman and Carr as cited by Mulongo also noted that other HACs were experienced in 1932 when about 7,500 elephants in the valley destroyed peoples' crops. They also depredated animal habitat.²⁷⁹ To the surprise of the Africans, despite such HACs the

²⁷⁵ NAZ, SEC 2/85, 1937 Eastern Province Annual Report- Fort Jameson on Livestock, P. 20.

²⁷⁶ Norman Carr, "Elephants in the Eastern Province," *Northern Rhodesia Journal*, Vol. 1, No. 2 (1950), Pp. 25-28; NAZ SEC 1/107, Eastern Province Annual Reports on Protection of Native crops, 1938.

²⁷⁷ NAZ SEC 1/1014, Control of elephant damage and elephant sanctuaries, 2/04/1930.

²⁷⁸ NAZ SEC 1/1014, Control of elephant damage, 2/04/1930.

²⁷⁹ Mulongo, "History of Luangwa Valley," Pp. 17-19.

colonial authorities in most cases could not allow them to shoot the destructive animals but instead told them to be chasing such animals away which they did in certain situations.²⁸⁰

Again on 1st June 1933 tour reports by Rangeley; another elephant control officer confirmed that elephants had destroyed peoples' crops and property in villages such as Kawalika, Kasalika, Chikowa and Chikwete. Equally, on 8th July, 1933, Hall's report extract noted that destructive wild animals continued causing danger to the socio-economic livelihoods of the local people in the area. This was in a new village called Chikwete which was built in the elephants' habitat opposite Kakumbi area and another small village called Daniel nearly opposite the Lupande mouth. This posed a challenge to the officers' efforts to control the marauding elephants from damaging crops in the two villagers.²⁸¹ Killing destructive elephants by a combined force of game rangers from Mpika and Fort Jameson did not abate the conflicts. The Provincial Commissioner had no option but to warn the people who built their villages in places designated for game sanctuaries that their stay in such places was at their own risk.²⁸² The warning by the Provincial Commissioner to the local people of Chikwete and Daniel villages set up a precedence of non-compensation for animal damages.²⁸³ Thus, the protection of wild animals by wildlife officers helped to increase HACs. Every year people lost their property and lives when drawing water and fishing in the Luangwa River. They could be killed by the crocodiles.²⁸⁴

On 9th July, 1933 Rangeley reported that a man had been killed and buried near Iuwewa in Chief Malama. The report stated that this man named Kampango left his village, Chiwale with friends but had stopped at Mumba's village to drink beer while others went on to Malama

²⁸⁰Interview with Esau, 20/04/2018.

²⁸¹ NAZ SEC 1/1014, Extract from Captain Pitman's report, 06/1933.

²⁸² NAZ SEC 1/1014, Extract from Captain Pitman's report, 06/1933.

²⁸³ NAZ SEC 6/50, Extract Letter from the Chief Secretary for Native Affairs, 26 /01/1951.

²⁸⁴ NAZ SEC 1/1008, Correspondence by the Native Affairs Secretary to Department of National Parks and Wild life, 1933, P. 6.

and slept there. The next morning (Tuesday) he passed through Malama under the influence of beer at about 07:00 hours and went back towards Chilongozi alone but never arrived. His friends enquired about him as he was missing and went back to Chiwale. On a Thursday, his brother, Chitambala went out and found his body partly eaten and remains buried under branches by an elephant.²⁸⁵ The report further showed that this was not the first time an elephant had killed a person in Chief Malama without provocation. The previous case was in 1929 near Chilongozi Village where a man named Sumakera was killed. This time 5 elephants were short.²⁸⁶

The reports from elephant control officers in 1935 indicated that villagers' property in Chiefs Msoro, Kakumbi and Malama were destroyed by both elephants and baboons. Baboons destroyed grain bins in the villages where sorghum was stored. Bananas and young maize were also damaged by elephants.²⁸⁷ In 1950 Carr cited by Mulongo observed that elephants did a lot of harm to the crops of the local people. In the rainy season, elephants kept close to the villages. Bulls would graze crops every night and just left before dawn. The damage was great as one elephant could consume about 500 kilograms of food every 24 hours.²⁸⁸ In the 1960s grain bins and huts continued to be destroyed by elephants in search of food, especially sweet potatoes and bananas.²⁸⁹ Other animals like buffaloes, bush pigs, monkeys and baboons also caused similar destruction to the gardens.²⁹⁰

The local peoples' welfare was constantly under threat by wildlife throughout the colonial period. The 1962 Agricultural Officers' tour in the valley noted that apart from their gardens being washed away by the floods in January and February that year, the villages toured had

²⁸⁵ NAZ SEC 1/1016- Control of Garden Raiding Elephants, Tour Report File, 06/1933.

²⁸⁶ NAZ SEC 1/1016, Control of Garden Raiding Elephants, Tour Report, 06/1933.

²⁸⁷ NAZ SEC 1/1017, Protection of Crops 1935.

²⁸⁸ Mulongo, "History of Luangwa Valley," P. 18.

²⁸⁹ Mulongo, "History of Luangwa Valley," Pp. 17-18.

²⁹⁰ Vail L, *Ecology and History*, P.135; Mulongo, "History of Luangwa Valley," P. 18.

some of their crops damaged by wild animals. The animal damages were serious in Chiefs Nsefu and Kakumbi areas. HACs got worse especially that the wildlife officers did not come to the aid of the local people as observed by the agricultural senior camp officer, Mr Fackson Banda.²⁹¹ In certain cases wildlife officers conflicted with game resulting in loss of human lives. In 1965 the Game and Fisheries Department noted that elephants killed wildlife officers namely; the camp cook, Amose Mwayo, game guard Chiulama Ngulube and senior game guard Jim Musonda.²⁹²

Studies particularly those by Marks, Bonner, and Kaempfer and Lowenberg also noted animal damages in the 1970s from November to June. Marks confirmed that chiefs were also in cognisance of the situation.²⁹³ Most of these damages and destructions were done by large animals like elephants. In their work Kaempfer and Lowenberg pointed out that:

An adult bull weighing 5, 000kg would consume 300 pounds of trees and 50 gallons of water daily while covering long distances destroying the habitat and people's property.²⁹⁴

Such damages left the local people vulnerable and in a state of famine. Small wild animals together with flocks of grain-eating birds, insects and rodents also caused destruction to people's crops. Wild animal habitats were also destroyed by large animals causing soil erosion. Properties such as granaries were also destroyed. No compensation was paid or help rendered to the victims by the DGF.²⁹⁵ Consequently, the rate of HACs also increased as the human population in the district increased due to human encroachment in the PAs. For

²⁹¹ NAZ EP 1/1/8, Report on Fire Precautions in the Luangwa Valley, 20/02/1962, P. 4.

²⁹² 1965 Game and Fisheries Department Annual Report, P. 1

²⁹³ Marks, *The Imperial Lion*, Pp. 79-80.

²⁹⁴ William H. Kaempfer and Anton D Lowenberg, "The Ivory Bandwagon International Transmission of Interest- Group Politics," *The Independent Review*, Vol. 4, No. 2, (1999), P. 217.

²⁹⁵ Bonner Raymond, *At the Hand of Man: Peril and Hope for Africa's Wildlife*, (New York: Knopf, 1993), Pp. 43, 45; Marks, *The Imperial Lion*, Pp. 79-82; William and Anton, "The Ivory Bandwagon Transmission of Interest-Group Politics," P. 221; Kreuter P and Simmons Randy T, "Who Owns the Elephant? The Political Economy of Saving the African Elephants," in Terry L. Anderson and Peter J. Hill (eds.), *In Wildlife in the Market Place*, (1995), Pp. 157-158.

instance, in 1980 about ten people were killed by elephants and seven by crocodiles. The numbers rose in the 1990s to twelve by elephants and fifteen by crocodiles. Failure to compensate people on animal damages to crops and loss of human life as stipulated in the 1998 Wildlife Act rendered all attempts at animal conservation problematic.²⁹⁶ Complaints from local people increased over the animal damages caused. These animal damages were also as a result of poor supervision over junior staff by the senior officers in the DGF.²⁹⁷

Interventions for Animal Damages

Interventions were protective measures that various stake holders were asked to employ in order to reduce animal damages on local people's crops and property. However, animal damages in the area continued even when preventive measures were put in place. Elephants still remained a threat against people's crops and property such as houses and granaries. Human lives would also be lost.²⁹⁸ Besides, such interventions proved to be very expensive.²⁹⁹ One of the first interventions was through the work of conservation clubs in schools and local communities. Clubs such as Chongololo and Chipembele introduced in the area in the late 1970s showed a good response to reducing animal damages and helped in improving wildlife conservation. At Yosefe Primary School, the clubs began tree planting in 1980. In that same year the school began a wildlife conservation club. The clubs became vibrant in 1998 when a couple, Ana Tolani and Steve Tolani facilitated the conservation and forest planting projects in schools. During club meetings, lessons and materials on conservation of wild animals were provided to pupils, teachers and local community members.³⁰⁰

²⁹⁶ Interview with Mulele, 02/11/2017.

²⁹⁷ *Game and Fisheries Department Annual Report*, 1964, P. 24.

²⁹⁸ Interview with Zerk, 02/11/2017.

²⁹⁹ Bonner, *At the Hand of Man*, Pp. 215-216.

³⁰⁰ Interview with Mr Nkonde Z, Yosefe Primary School, 01/11/2017; Interview with Mr Andrew Lungu, Deputy Head teacher, Mfuwe Day Secondary School, 01/11/2017.

In the 1990s the local people in Malama Chiefdom were advised to erect solar wire fences around their fields in order to protect animal damages. Enclosing their fields with chili fences as they would choke elephants was another intervention that was recommended. As the animal populations in the valley swelled towards the end of the 1990s the local people were also encouraged to fire chili 'bomba' guns apart from use of blank bullets to scare wild animals.³⁰¹ People were advised not to keep maize bran and any food liked by elephants. They were also advised not to build houses and granaries on animal corridors as well as starting fields or gardens on animal corridors. Instead planting of trees as a way of enriching the animal habitat was recommended.³⁰² These interventions and scout patrols were opposed by villagers especially in Lugomo of chief Jumbe, Masumba area in chief Mnkanya and some villages under Chief Kakumbi. This is because they were found to be very expensive. Chili planting continued to be recommended in the area as late as in the 2000s.³⁰³ All the above interventions improved food security in Mnkanya, Jumbe and Msoro Chiefdoms as there were fewer cases of animal damages, a situation which to some extent improved people's wellbeing.

Human-State Conflicts (HSCs)

The imposition of the colonial wildlife conservation policies intensified conflicts between the local people and the wildlife officers or the state. Like the HACs, HSCs also to a greater extent undermined the livelihoods of the indigenous Kunda people. They could not access the wildlife resources including game as freely as during the pre-colonial era. The section

³⁰¹Interview with Mr Zerks Mwale, Wildlife Officer, Chizombo Wildlife Camp, 02/11/2017; Nancy and Semwaiko, *Africa Our Home*, P. 15.

³⁰²Sosha Norris, Nancy Gladstone and Godfrey Semwaiko, *Africa Our Home: The Pan African Conservation Project*, (London: Iceberg Marketing Plc., 1999), 15; Interview with Hambole Sibeso, District Planning Officer, 25/10/2017.

³⁰³1998 LIRDPA Annual Report, Pp. 20-21; GRZ, ZAWA-SLAMU Annual Report, (Mfuwe: ZAWA, 2003), Pp. 9, 11.

examined how the various colonial wildlife conservation policies induced the human-state conflicts from 1890 to 2001.

Wildlife control and culling policies to a larger extent benefited the government more than the local people. The report by elephant control officers on the sales of elephant ivory in the 1930s by the government justifies the argument that the elephant control policy (ECP) benefited the government more than the local people. The report noted that in 1933 the government raised £15,270 from the sale of ivory. 1446 elephants were killed that year.³⁰⁴ Below is a table showing the number of elephants killed under the ECP between November, 1932 and February, 1933 in some local areas.

Table 6.1: Elephants killed under the ECP, 16/11/1932-28/02/1933.

Region	Upper Msandile	Upper Mwangazi	Upper Kambwili	Upper R. Lukusuzi	Total
No: killed	18	5	17	6	46

Source: NAZ SEC 1/ 1016, Control of Garden Raiding Elephants on 2/06 /1933.

Equally, through the Luangwa Game Culling Project that replaced the ECP in 1965 the government realised a lot of revenue. In 1967 15,000 tons of meat from the game animals killed by licensed hunters in the CAs gave the government approximately £300,000 while £9,000 was realised from the sales of ivory. Animal skins added a further £27,000. During the same year (1967) every week 10 tons of meat was obtained from game cropping and 244 tons the whole year. This translated into revenue of £59,685. Animal bones were converted into bone meal while intestines (offal) were given to the local people.³⁰⁵ The uneven sharing of game resources displeased the Kunda people who felt neglected. The situation was made

³⁰⁴ NAZ SEC 1/1016, Control of Garden Raiding Elephants, 2/06/1933.

³⁰⁵ 1967 *Game and Fisheries Department Annual Report*, P. 33.

worse when the Veterinary Services Department sent an officer at Mfuwe for the culling scheme in 1967 to carry out adequate meat inspections. This time the local people were not provided with access to any protein diet since all the meat was taken to urban markets for sale.³⁰⁶ It is argued here that the local people did not see any tangible benefit from the elephant culling project because at this time Mambwe district had no secondary schools, no prison and very few people could afford to buy meat. Equally the money realised from the sales of the game cropped never trickled down to the local level as Mvula noted that:

The Malambo game cropping did not benefit us Kunda people. The colonial authority took most of the game meat to urban areas in the 1960s where they sold it and shared the money raised from the sales of the cropped elephants, buffaloes and hippopotami.³⁰⁷

The high rate of game depletion through the game culling policy alarmed local residents, the Kunda. The key point above is not about Africans and game meat but about depletion of game and its effects on Africans' dietary needs. Cropping of animals not only depleted game but also undermined Africans' access to game meat.

The ban of traditional hunting methods in 1940s resulted in the livelihood of the Kunda people being further undermined. The situation worsened when honey and caterpillar gathering were forbidden on vindictive accusations. Other punishments included forfeiture and confiscation of firearms.³⁰⁸ Those without hunting licences ended up being arrested and jailed for not less than 6 months or fined an amount not exceeding £200 or both. The Kunda people who could not pay were normally imprisoned and the majority had no option but to go as labour migrants in Southern Rhodesia, South Africa and the copper mines of Northern

³⁰⁶1967 *Game and Fisheries Department Annual Report*, P. 34.

³⁰⁷Interview with Mvula, 17/05/18.

³⁰⁸NAZ SEC 1/1016 Report on Control of garden raiding elephants, 2/06/1933.

Rhodesia.³⁰⁹ In the absence of young energetic men the villages were left with women, children and elderly men who could not do the works that were done by the young men. Some people were forced to grow *fodya wa chamba* (cannabis) so as to raise money for the charges.³¹⁰

Bush fire burns were one method that the local people used to access game resources. When the method was banned in 1954 a lot of Kunda people like other Africans in the territory complained. On 11th June, 1954, Chief Jumbe wrote to the District Commissioner (DC) at Fort Jameson that Jackson Njovu of Jumbe village had his finger millet burnt by a Game Ranger named Zosyore on 6th June, 1954 at night. To the surprise of the villagers the response from the DC's office was that the burning was in order under cap 107 paragraph 6. This cap expected villagers to protect their garden crops through early burning.³¹¹ To make matters worse dates for burning bushes were not specific, a situation which greatly affected the local people. In trying to sort out this problem, on 31st June, 1956 the Natural Resource Board under Mr Hall published modified Bush Fire Control policy. This board came up with fire protection strategies and schedules which improved the situation. Few cases of late bush fires were noted in the valley except in Chief Malama where human-state conflicts were very common due to bush fires.³¹² Anti-poaching patrols by wildlife officers were enforced as another strategy to curb bush fires in the Luangwa Valley. However, poaching using the bush fires' strategy never abated. From 9th to 28th September 1960 many bush fires were started. After investigations it was found that the fires started on 28th July, 1960 in Chilongozi Game

³⁰⁹NAZ, SEC1/1003, Preservation of International Conservation, 1941.

³¹⁰Interview with Duncan, 9/05/2018.

³¹¹ NAZ SEC 6/163, Letter Extract on early burning by Mr H. M. N. Lees on 30/11/1954.

³¹²NAZ SEC 6/163, Letter Extract on early burning by Mr S. N. Mbale, 11/11/1970.

Reserve after 6 men were fined £5 for taking buffalo meat killed by a lion and 2 more men from the same village for setting bird snares in the reserve.³¹³

Conflicts over bush fires between the wildlife officers and the Kunda did not end here. On 6th August 1960, a fire was started in the SLGR opposite Nyakanta village following the arrest and conviction of a headman by a resident magistrate in 1960. The headman was sentenced to 6 months imprisonment after being caught in Lusangazi camp for hunting in the SLGR. More fire burnings were experienced in the game reserve between Chilongozi and Lusangazi on 22nd to 23rd August 1960. Again in 1961 Chilongozi camp was burnt by fire started by two poachers in mid-September. These were arrested after they had killed an eland. The two game guards involved were then murdered in the neighbourhood.³¹⁴ The conflicts worsened when the Northern Rhodesia Governor, E. D. Hone ordered game officers to use Bush Fire Control and Trespass Ordinance of 1961 to punish citizens who burnt bushes in pursuit of game.³¹⁵ The Kunda were of the view that a good habitat for wildlife was of no importance to them because the bush fire policy among the several game laws passed constrained their legitimate access to game resources. It was more annoying that outsiders would come to hunt in the restricted areas while the indigenous people were humiliated by a number of game laws.³¹⁶ Therefore, the bush fire policy just heightened human-state conflicts and people's crops continued to be destroyed by destructive animals.³¹⁷

From mid 1940s adherence to the 1941 Game Ordinance's amendments in the game hunting licences became difficult. The local people argued that the colonial state was unfair to them

³¹³ NAZ SEC 6/163, Report on Fire burning in game reserves, 1960, P. 1.

³¹⁴ NAZ SEC 6/163, Report on Fire burning in game reserves, 1960, P. 1; *Game and Fisheries Department Annual Report*, 1961, P. 22.

³¹⁵ NAZ, SEC 6/163, Extract of a letter from the NR Governor to the Department of Game and Wildlife, 22/06/1961.

³¹⁶ Mulongo, *History of the Luangwa Valley*, P. 23.

³¹⁷ NRG, *Northern Rhodesia African Affairs Annual Reports 1911-1926*, (Livingstone: Government Printer, 1915), P. 51; GRZ, "The Magazine of the Wildlife Conservation Society of Zambia," *Black Lechwe*, Vol. 8, NO. 4, (1970), Pp. 21-22.

by pointing out that Europeans were given more privileges by the revised 1941 Game Ordinance. For instance, a European would first get a visitor's licence and when he stayed longer than a month he would get either an ordinary or special licence while a local person was only allowed one licence in a month. Again the right to hunt birds was also scrapped from the local people by fusing the bird licence in other licences. To colonial officials a short gun meant for bird hunting would not only hunt birds, but also small game.³¹⁸ Therefore, holders of short guns also needed to have hunting licences. Additionally, when a destructive animal moved from the Protected Area and damaged crops then went back, the local people were not allowed to kill it outside the garden even with a licence. According to the Kunda the law was unfair as it was not always possible to kill the animal within the garden.³¹⁹ Moreover, they considered animals to be inexhaustible and that nobody should stop them doing what they wanted to do with them. They treated the game to be their heritage.³²⁰ This was contrary to the colonial authority who insisted that a licence was not to be misused.

Sometimes the game hunting licences were misused to the advantage of Europeans in which case Africans complained. In 1947 Paul and Orpen from Luanshya shot game in Chilonga's area of SLGR instead of shooting in a non-protected area. When they were reported by the DC of Fort Jameson to the Game Ranger in Mpika on 11th August, 1947 their response was that they had special licences but were just misled by villagers. Otherwise they thought that they shot game in a non-game reserve. This showed how disrespected game laws had become as the two Europeans involved were not convicted.³²¹

³¹⁸ NRG, LEGCO Debates 1st Session of the 7th Council 6/12-20/12/1941, Pp. 484-485.

³¹⁹ LEGCO Debates 1st Session of the 7th Council 6/12-20/12/1941, Pp. 254-255.

³²⁰ NRG, Report on the proceedings of the sixth British and Central African Faunal Conference, (Lusaka: Government Printer, 1960), P. 22.

³²¹ NAZ SEC 6/163, Correspondence on poaching, complaints and prosecutions, 11/08/1947.

In 1956 when Controlled Areas (CAs) became Controlled Hunting Areas (CHAs), the game hunting licences were made stiffer as the local communities were displaced and restricted from traditional hunting.³²² The local people considered this legislation discriminatory and so very few cooperated with the colonial authority as accessing wildlife resources could only be done with valid hunting licences. This extended conflicts between the state and the local people.³²³ However from these PAs the government got revenue through game viewing and safari hunting among others.³²⁴ The emphasis by the colonial government was more on the security of wildlife than the Kunda and their property. This is because with the declaration of GMAs in the mid-1940s the natural resources including game though being in the customary land, authority over them was vested in the office of the Northern Rhodesia governor and managed by the wildlife department. This dual tenure system coupled with a number of legislations was the basis of human state conflicts.³²⁵ Chiefs also noted in 1962 that the introduction of hunting licences was unfairly executed. In their arguments during the meeting with the District and Provincial Commissioners the Chiefs noted that:

The government should tell people to stop hunting unlike increasing licences. It is pointless to forbid Kunda people from hunting in another Kunda Chiefdom when Europeans are allowed to hunt in all Kunda reserves. Besides, all Kunda people are the children of Senior Chief Nsefu.³²⁶

The Kunda chiefs also complained that the rate at which the local people depleted animals could not be matched to that by foreign guns as reported by the colonial authority when adjusting hunting licences. This was so because very few local people had guns that time.

³²² Simasiku, *The Impact of Wild Life Management Policies on Communities*, Pp. IV, 1.

³²³ Interview with Mvula, 17/05/2018.

³²⁴ NAZ SEC 1/1004, Correspondence on International Convention of games, 27/10/1939.

³²⁵ Simasiku, *The Impact of Wild Life Management Policies on Communities*, P. 3.

³²⁶ Marks, *The Imperial Lion*, P. 110.

Led by Chief Mnkhanya the chiefs argued out that the licence fees were exorbitant and asked for a reduction, a request which was not considered. In his plea Chief Mnkhanya said that:

The Kunda people have heard about the new licences, but cannot manage to pay because their only source of income (hunting) has been restricted. Now if the government can raise the hunting licence fees to that much how does it expect the people to survive?³²⁷

It was also noted that most Europeans were not happy that they were expected to pay more than the local people. In some debate, one European pointed out that:

...sir I do not agree that natives can fail to pay £5 or £3 for a licence the same as I can. However, while I agree that he gets his licence cheaper I ask that the law should be enforced the same as it is does on Europeans. Moreover, in certain parts of the region, to a higher extent, a native depends on his traditional hunting.³²⁸

The local people argued that the game licences seemed to favour Europeans. This was because any violation of game laws by Africans led to arrests and confiscation of their firearms and game trophies. For instance on 18th March, 1951 Keya Ali, a game guard arrested an African named Sampa Malata in the valley for possessing a muzzle-loading gun after two shots were heard. After trial in a magistrate's court, Malata was found guilty and fined 35 pence and his gun was confiscated.³²⁹ Management of wildlife offences continued to be unfair not only for the local people but also for the traditional leaders. Offences committed in the PAs were tried in the magistrate courts instead of native courts. This was noted through correspondence reports on 19th January, 1953 by the colonial authority. Native authorities were thus robbed of the traditional roles of trying their people. They were only expected to

³²⁷ Musambachime, "Colonialism and the Environment in Zambia," P. 18;

Marks, *The Imperial Lion*, Pp. 109-110.

³²⁸ NRG, Hansard Debates No: 100, P. 115, Part 1, by Mr Visagie.

³²⁹ NAZ SEC 6/163, Letter correspondence on poaching, complaints and prosecutions by Mr Bernart, 21st July, 21/07/1951.

educate their villagers about the changes in game laws.³³⁰ Moreover, in 1954 the Kunda traditional authority was not happy that the money raised from game measures did not benefit individual traditional leaders instead it was channelled to Native Authorities. Therefore, the traditional leaders felt that there was little direct benefit trickling from the Kunda native authorities to those living in the affected areas, hence, human-state conflicts were experienced.³³¹

Another case of conflicts between the colonial state and the local people involved changes to hunting licences. A man named Jimu Chipamba; a Kunda-Nsenga of Chief Sandwe in Petauke District of Kapopo village was issued an elephant hunting licence in complete disregard of section 12 of cap 241 of the game laws. He had no ordinary licence but an African licence. It was not pointed out to him that an ordinary licence was also needed to permit him to hunt an elephant. On 19th July, 1958 he shot an elephant in CGR. The following day a Chilongozi game ranger requested him for an elephant licence which he presented. As a penalty for not possessing the ordinary licence he lost the elephant licence, game meat, tusks and temporarily his gun pending investigations.³³² A similar violation to game laws by Europeans happened on 3rd July, 1959. On this day Europeans named Major Taylor, Schultz, Morris and one American went to Jumbe game camp before going to Lion camp, both of LGMA. Here using his gun the American killed an impala as noted by game scout Wailo Chiwalo. The American got the skin and the horns of the hunted game and when he was reported to the Director, the wildlife officer in charge for CGR hid his name.³³³

³³⁰NAZ SEC 6/163, Letter Correspondence on poaching, complaints and prosecutions by Mr Bernart on 22/04/1952 to the Game Director.

³³¹ Mulongo, History of the Luangwa Valley, P. 22.

³³² NAZ SEC 6/42, Letter correspondence on game licences complications by the Game Department Director, 30/01/1959.

³³³ NAZ SEC 6/163, Letter Correspondence on poaching, complaints and prosecutions by Wailo Chiwalo to the Game department Director, 20/01/1960.

On 11th August, 1959 secretariat reported a clarification to the game hunting licences that involved elephant hunting in the valley was issued. The clarification stated that the elephant hunting licence might only be issued to the holder of an ordinary game licence. The holder of an African licence who wished to have an elephant hunting licence was first expected to convert his African licence to an ordinary licence.³³⁴ In their argument, Chiefs pointed out that an African game licence had the same effect as an ordinary game licence in the Native Authority Area of the person concerned. Chiefs therefore concluded that they were being ill-treated together with their people in accessing game resources. Few local people followed the clarification and many ended up being arrested for the violation. For instance, on 29th June, 1960 Amose Chulu and Misaelo Mwanza of CGR in Chief Malama hunted a buffalo in Lusangazi River of SLGR. They were caught by a game ranger, Peter Morris and were then arrested and convicted for hunting in a PA though they had a hunting licence.³³⁵ The hunting licences and permits worsened the relationship between wildlife authorities and the local people.

The ban on hunting hippopotami in 1950 had negative repercussions on the health of the local people. Between 1950s and 1960s cases of malnutrition among the Kunda people were reported. During this time the terms ‘Malambo’ and ‘malnutrition’ became almost synonymous. The 1952 examinations carried out on some people in the valley on their health revealed that most people had dry skin pyorrhoea and dental cavities. These cases seemed to point to protein foods’ deficiencies caused by game laws.³³⁶ The situation was compounded by the fact that hippopotami continued to receive more protection than local people. To make matters worse, most of the elephant control officers did not live in the villages where such

³³⁴ NAZ SEC 6/42, Letter Correspondence on game licences complications by the Game department Director to the Provincial Commissioners, 11/08/1959.

³³⁵ NAZ SEC 6/163, Letter on poaching, complaints and prosecutions by Peter Morris, Game Ranger, to the Game Department Director, 29/06/1960.

³³⁶ NAZ SEC 6/33, Report on Luangwa game reserve Health Survey by W. Gilges, 1952, P. 2.

destructive animals as hippos were prevalent. During the Legislative Council debates (LEGCO) in 1956 one member lamented that wildlife officers needed to be close enough so that they are easily called when there is danger from wild animals.³³⁷ Again in case someone killed an animal in self-defence or for destroying crops without a licence or found an animal dead, he or she was supposed to report the findings to the game department staff because such game was treated as government's property.³³⁸ The Kunda people no longer had easy access to wildlife resources.

The fall in copper prices in 1975 weakened the country's economic strength. However, meaningful game conservation could not be realised due to massive poaching by commercial poachers partly engendered by the boom in wildlife products' trade worldwide. Rhino horns and ivory were sold at exorbitant prices in Japan and Hong Kong where they were used to make medicines and love lotions.³³⁹ In Yemeni and most Asian countries, African rhino horns fetched a lot of money. Tim Inskipp and Sue Wells in the *International Trade in Wildlife products* noted that a rhino horn was sold for \$27 a kilogram in 1975 and \$675 in 1978. In China, the same African rhino horn cost \$16,304 a kilogram in 1989.³⁴⁰ The high prices on the international market also enticed the local people in the valley to extend poaching even at the risk of their own lives.³⁴¹ Conflicts were extended and the poor local people continued to be arrested, fined and imprisoned for failing to pay fines. Others had their firearms and

³³⁷ NAZ SEC 6/50, Extract from Hansard NO: 88, Column 373, by Ng'andu on 12/07/1956.

³³⁸ NAZ SEC1/1003, Preservation of International Conservation, 1941; NAZ SEC 1/1023, 1941 Game Ordinance (Wild animal protection Order) Section 28, 1941.

³³⁹ Mulongo, *History of the Luangwa valley*, P. 24.

³⁴⁰ Gibson. *Politicians and Poachers*, P. 54;

³⁴¹ Kreuter and Simmons, "Who Owns the Elephant? The Political Economy of Saving the African Elephant," in Terry L Andrew and Peter J Hill (eds.), *Wildlife in the Market Place*, (Lanham, Md: Rowman and Little Fields, 1995), P. 47; William and Anton, "The Ivory Bandwagon International Transmission of Interest- Group Politics," P. 149.

trophies confiscated as noted by studies, particularly a study by E. J Milner-Gulland and N. Leader-Williams in 1992, see Appendix 1.³⁴²

The introduction of Community Based Conservation (CBC) activities through Luangwa Integrated Resource Development Project (LIRDP) and Community Based Natural Resource Management (CBNRM) in 1983 also negatively impacted the local people. Firstly, the centralisation in LIRDP adopted by the two co-directors; Dr Richard Bell and Fidelis Lungu never helped the local people in the management and utilisation of wildlife resources. Instead centralisation intensified conflicts between the LIRDP and the department of NPWS, a development that equally conflicted with the local people.³⁴³ The situation got worse with the influence of the first Republican President Kenneth D. Kaunda who favoured LIRDP as opposed to the department of NPWS because of the heavy funding the project received. Secondly, several other accusations followed the project's operations which included that chiefs wielded too much influence over the distribution of funds. Nepotism in job opportunities was noted and that wildlife revenues were too small after paying the village scouts. The situation did not benefit the majority local people, hence, poaching was intensified.³⁴⁴

Political interference also affected the CBC through LIRDP wildlife operations. In 1991 when the Movement for Multi-party Democracy formed government, the LIRDP went under restructuring which to some extent impacted the livelihoods of the people. For instance the two co-directors, Dr Richard Bell and Fidelis Lungu, were in 1992 replaced by Flywell Munyenyembe who further greatly centralised wildlife operations. The new CBNRM policy

³⁴² Milner-Gulland E. J and Leader-Williams N, A Model of Incentives for the Illegal Exploitation of Black Rhinos and Elephants: Poaching Pays in Luangwa valley, Zambia," *Journal of Applied Ecology*, Vol. 29, No:2, (1992), P. 391.

³⁴³ Dalal-Clayton and Child, *Lessons from the Luangwa*, P. 12.

³⁴⁴ Anderson, "An Investigation into the Ecology of Trypanosomiasis," P. 87.

based on the ADMADE approach adapted by LIRD from 1995 to 1999 negatively impacted the local people. Despite the money generated from the wildlife resources by the LIRD and later the South Luangwa Area Management Unit (SLAMU) providing social services (health, education and other infrastructural developments) to local communities, the local people did not see that as direct benefits.³⁴⁵ This is because service provision in the area did not discriminate between those who complied with wildlife laws and those who illegally accessed wildlife resources. The various continued challenges faced by the local people implied that the LIRD failed to positively impact the local people. It did not incorporate local community participation in wildlife operations.³⁴⁶ The Kunda of Chief Malama were not an exception as Atkins noted that:

The majority young population lacked formal education and kept on complaining as their economy was generally unbearable even when they were in the heart of wild animals. Their houses were grass thatched made of mud and wattle structures. 2% had concrete floors and lighting was by means of a jar filled with diesel or paraffin into which a wick was placed and 27 % had hurricane lamps. Six families had a bicycle each and very few had dug out pit latrines and a radio.³⁴⁷

The problems noted in the quote above compelled the local people to consider game as a liability. The management of wildlife resources based on ADMADE policy also seemed to be the source of conflicts between the wildlife officers and the chiefs as noted during the VAG Annual General Meetings in 1990s. During the VAG meetings, each VAG reported on the activities done and on both the successes and challenges faced. The chiefs also reported that by taking the revenues directly to the local people and local communities, the policy did

³⁴⁵ Zimba, "The Management of South Luangwa National Park," P. 83; Dalal-Clayton and Child, *Lessons from the Luangwa*, P. 34.

³⁴⁶ Anderson, "An Investigation into the Ecology of Trypanosomiasis," P. 85.

³⁴⁷ Atkins S. L., "Socio-Economic Aspects of the Lupande GMA," in Dalal-Clayton B and Lewis D. M (eds.), *Proceedings of the Lupande Development Workshop- An Integrated Approach to Land Use Management in the Luangwa Valley, Zambia*, (Lusaka: Government Printer, 1983), Pp. 51-52.

not only undermine their traditional authority but also instilled divisions within the local communities.³⁴⁸ Conflicts were witnessed in 1997 when the six chiefs demanded an additional 9% (1.5% per chief) to their ZMW1, 492.73 monthly salaries. This was not agreed by the National Board of House of Chiefs instead only ZMW1, 500 was agreed to be given to each chief so that they did not make any claim on the local communities' revenues. This translated to about a 0.5% salary rise. The situation compelled the disgruntled chiefs to continue benefiting from the local communities' revenue allocation. The end result was uneven distribution of wildlife resources and continued conflicts. For instance, chief Kakumbi was replaced for misappropriating local community funds in 1997.³⁴⁹

Another conflict between the chiefs and wildlife officers in 1997 was over the principle of producer communities. Chiefs Malama, Nsefu and Kakumbi who adjoin in the park with wild animals argued that they were supposed to get more than other chiefs. In trying to preserve unity among the Kunda chiefs, the argument was not accepted by the National Board of House of Chiefs even when it kept on reappearing.³⁵⁰ The local people also conflicted with the project officers over the sharing of wildlife resources when hunting of elephants was banned in 1997. They argued that there was no need to conserve wild animals when their demand to kill them after they damage crops, property and human lives was turned down.³⁵¹ Following this argument in 1998, two villagers in chief Kakumbi were shot dead by wildlife officers for being suspected of poaching elephants. Villagers were very bitter and ended up beating nine wildlife officers who were hospitalised but two subsequently died from their injuries. Equally, Chief Kakumbi was very bitter about the incident. He immediately broke off relations with the LIRD and openly declared war on wildlife officers. The situation

³⁴⁸ Interview with Mvula, 17/05/2018.

³⁴⁹ Dalal-Clayton and Child, *Lessons from the Luangwa*, P.17.

³⁵⁰ Dalal-Clayton and Child, *Lessons from the Luangwa*, P.19.

³⁵¹ Dalal-Clayton and Child, *Lessons from the Luangwa*, P.22.

worsened poaching as wildlife officers living in the chieftdom had to relocate and scouts' patrols were abandoned for fear of being brutalised by the villagers. Selling of game meat was now done openly in the villages and by the end of 1998 LIRD was openly showing signs of vulnerability through conflicts as noted in the letter by Deluxe Chipazu (Extension Instructor, Nyamaluma Training School for Wildlife) on 1st May, 1998. In the community newspaper called 'Malco News,' he lamented that:

When will the war between the local people and the wildlife officers' end? Scouts cannot enjoy their freedom in doing their work. There is no peace everywhere in the villages and scouts' families are living in fear, a situation which demands a prompt address by the chiefs and warden in order to attain meaningful wildlife conservation.³⁵²

Complete centralisation of wildlife operations by the wildlife departments impeded focussed wildlife resource management and utilisation by the local people. The problem began under colonial rule but worsened in 2000 following the enactment of the 1998 Zambia Wildlife Act (ZWA). Several human-state conflicts were noted since access and management of wildlife resources became difficult.³⁵³ Firstly, lack of prompt response from wildlife officers when animals damaged people's property or lives lost as opposed to when a person killed an animal or was found with animal products was also a source of concern. In such cases conflicts between wildlife officers and the local people were experienced. In 1968 game guard Andulufu Banda of SLGR was murdered by poachers near Kamunshya camp of North Luangwa National Park in Lundazi bordering the SLNP. He had a distinguished record in law enforcement and it was during his untiring efforts to apprehend poachers that he met his

³⁵²Dalal-Clayton and Child, *Lessons from the Luangwa*, P.130.

³⁵³ Zimba, "The Management of South Luangwa National Park," P. 78.

death.³⁵⁴ Even if the killers were arrested and sentenced to death for the murder committed, human-state conflicts did not abate.

In his complaints over property and human loss, one of the central Luangwa valley chiefs in the 1970s noted that the wildlife scouts working in his area were more committed to the welfare of wild animals than people. He observed that whenever they heard gun shots in the night from local people chasing destructive wild animals from their gardens, they would ask who fired the guns, instead of getting committed in the wellbeing of the people.³⁵⁵ Judgement over animal damages to property and human lives had to wait for the central authority which delayed and in most cases the judgement did not benefit the deceased families. For instance, in 1970 an elephant killed a teacher as he was going home in Mnkhanya's Chiefdom around Ncheka Primary School.³⁵⁶ Again in the 1970-1971 farming season the local people's crops and property in Chief Jumbe's area were reported to have been damaged by wild animals. The protocol of waiting for central government to pass a ruling heightened conflicts between the local people and local wildlife officers.³⁵⁷ It is such scenarios that led some officers in the law enforcement wings to suggest that there must be mutual understanding between the local people and other stake holders in the protection of wild animals.³⁵⁸

Additionally, the enactment of the 1998 ZWA made ZAWA officers over centralise wildlife operations. They rarely worked with other stake holders such as CRBs, chiefs and Police in decision making. Community Resource Boards (CRBs) were not considered because most CRB officials sided with the local people so that they remain in office which was against the demands of the 1998 ZWA No. 12.³⁵⁹ In such cases conflicts followed especially that ZAWA

³⁵⁴ 1968 *Game and Fisheries Department Annual Report*, P. 1

³⁵⁵ Marks, *The Imperial Lion*, Pp. 82-84.

³⁵⁶ Interview with Chief Mnkhanya, 10/11/2017.

³⁵⁷ Interview with Eletina Jere, Simukanda village, Chief Jumbe, 12/03/2018.

³⁵⁸ Interview with Zerk, 02/11/2017; Interview with Mulele, 04/11/2017.

³⁵⁹ Interview with Mr Jacob Banda of Mnkhanya Chiefdom, 17/05/2018.

officers acted fast once an animal was poached unlike when an animal damaged people's property or human life was lost. For instance, in 1999 when elephants killed two people in Mnkhanya chiefdom ZAWA officers delayed to respond and the excuse they gave was that the only vehicle available had no fuel. However, the response was prompt when three men were reported to have illegally killed a buffalo. The culprits were arrested and terribly beaten before being tried in a court of law, a situation which angered the chief.³⁶⁰ Equally, in 2001 when an elephant damaged crops for one Mnkhanya CRB officer, no prompt response was received.³⁶¹

Similarly, Mambwe district recorded a lot of deaths by elephants and crocodiles among other destructive animals which normally ended uncompensated except the killing of the concerned animal whose meat would be consumed at the funeral.³⁶² Several such reports did not receive the attention they deserved as the 1998 ZWA No. 12 did not permit compensation.³⁶³ Mulele, a police officer in an attempt to express great dissatisfaction over the attitude of ZAWA officers with regards to wildlife management and resource utilisation pointed out that:

ZAWA officers need to listen to local people as one way of working together. Local people suffer a lot of crop damages, property and human lives are lost. They should not take the law into their own hands by ill-treating people even to death once caught poaching or with animal parts before their trial.³⁶⁴

The views expressed in the quote above suggest that the non-involvement of the local people in decision making made them not appreciative of the value of wildlife conservation. The enactment of the 1998 ZWA also charged ZAWA with full roles in managing National Parks,

³⁶⁰Interview with chief Mnkhanya, 10/11/2017.

³⁶¹Interview with Mvula, 17/05/2018.

³⁶²Interview with Jonathan, 13/11/2017.

³⁶³Interview with Mr Mastano Ng'andu, DNPW Chilanga Senior Extension Officer, 16/06/2018.

³⁶⁴Interview with Mulele, 02/11/2017.

Game Management Areas (GMAs), forestry reserves and heritage sites. This implied that in an effort to conserve wildlife, ZAWA to a greater extent overshadowed other government institutions. For instance, the forestry staff would not enter the PAs without permission from the Ministry of Tourism, Environment and Natural Resources (MTENR) through ZAWA. Equally under the 1998 ZWA, the fisheries department could not issue fishing licences except the MTENR through ZAWA and its staff could only enter fishing bodies within the PAs with permission from the MTENR.

At the local level the district council and traditional leaders were restricted to GMAs, local forestry reserves and heritage sites.³⁶⁵ In other words in order to improve local people's access to wildlife resource utilisation and management, government institutions mentioned above needed to have their roles well spelt out unlike centralising powers in the MTENR and ZAWA. Thus, lack of decentralisation curtailed CRBs attempt to work well with wildlife officers. They had no say in decision making as demanded by the 1998 ZWA.³⁶⁶ To make matters worse, CRBs were expected to apply to ZAWA for them to access decision making powers and benefits like grants and it was up to the MTENR to approve the application or not.³⁶⁷ Additionally, CRBs through the 1998 ZWA also lacked power to settle wildlife disputes in communities. The power to resolve such disputes is an important aspect of wildlife community participation. This vital role was left in the hands of the ZAWA alone. Lastly, the 1998 ZWA did not provide guidelines on how to settle disputes in the local communities as evidenced in the rough manner adopted by Wildlife officers in treating illegal hunters.³⁶⁸ Poachers were beaten sometimes near to death even before their trial in the court of law.³⁶⁹

³⁶⁵Policy for National Parks and Wildlife in Zambia, P. 10; Zimba, "The Management of South Luangwa National Park," Pp. 64, 75.

³⁶⁶Interview with Augustine, 17/05/2017.

³⁶⁷Interview with Augustine, 17/05/2017.

³⁶⁸ Policy for National Parks and Wildlife in Zambia, P. 30.

³⁶⁹Interview with Augustine, 17/05/2017.

Centralisation of wildlife resource management and utilisation by the state was therefore not just the basis of conflicts but it also signified that SLNP was a state heritage.

Safari hunting can be defined as the pursuit and killing or capture of game and wild animals as a sport or for food using guns. It is also an adventure tour that spends time in nature viewing wild animals and birds. In both cases the safari hunting company involved pays money to the government. Due to the economic value involved in safari hunting, conflicts between the state and local people were experienced. The local people were displeased by the activity since the majority of them were not economically empowered through employment. They were also not compensated over animal damages.³⁷⁰

Table 6.2: No: of animals killed through safari hunting and revenue realised ZMW, 1971-1977.

Year	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	Total
Animals killed	1,609	1,504	1,521	1,832	1,447	1,332	1,605	10,850
Revenue (ZMW)	110,400	99,000	94,400	121,300	68,700	71,800	118,990	684,590

Source: Marks, *The Imperial Lion*, P. 126.

It is argued here that despite safari hunting being a source of revenue to the government, most of the money raised from such hunting went into the hands of very few wealthy people and foreign companies, rather than the local people who lived alongside the wild animals. This is also evident from the small percentage which went to the CRBs as opposed to ZAWA and safari hunters (see table 2.2 on page 57 for details).³⁷¹ The 1998 ZWA allocated 5% of safari

³⁷⁰ Atkins, "Socio-Economic Aspects of the Lupande GMA," P. 52.

³⁷¹ Interview with Mr. Masumba J. J, Jumbe CRB, 15/11/2017; Sosha, Nancy and Gladstone, *Africa Our Home*, Pp. 24-25, 169.

revenues to Chiefs from the 50% of local communities' allocation; however, the disbursement was quite erratic. CRB scouts could also not receive their allocation in time, a situation which did not only compromise wildlife conservation but also left the chiefs economically impoverished.³⁷² Chiefs who illegally accessed wildlife resources were imbalanced through arrests.³⁷³ The study by Sosha, Nancy and Gladstone on Botswana affirms the information above that the government without doubt, the local community benefited less from sport hunting as compared to that given to the hunters when they noted that:

Lion hunting in Botswana was worth \$4.5 million a year but the government got \$2.250 for each lion, less than what hunters got. Again in the year 2000, Botswana made \$495 million from wildlife viewing implying that wild animals are worth more alive than dead.³⁷⁴

Law Enforcement Activities, 1890-2001.

Apart from the conflicts discussed above the livelihood of the local people was also undermined by the governments' Law Enforcement Activities (LEAs). The LEAs became more established after the enactment of the 1941 Game Ordinance. They were done to intensify wildlife preservation. The 1941 Game Ordinance introduced a lot of game laws which increased cases of poaching. A number of instances of the Kunda people getting involved in poaching were noted after the inception of the 1941 Game Ordinance. In 1948 for instance, 94 unlicensed muzzle-loading guns, 16 unlicensed rifles and shot guns were confiscated while 72 elephant tusks and 22 rhino horns were recovered. The arrests of local poachers and confiscations of firearms in the valley increased with the arrival of outside commercial traders in the 1950s.³⁷⁵ These traders introduced hunting animals for economic value, a situation which greatly contributed to the depletion of game than during the pre-

³⁷² Dreike, "An Investigation into Tourism Certification," P. 5.

³⁷³ Interview with Senior Chief Nsefu, 13/11/2017.

³⁷⁴ Sosha, Nancy and Gladstone, *Africa Our Home*, P. 25.

³⁷⁵ Mulongo, "History of the Luangwa Valley," P. 22.

colonial.³⁷⁶ Therefore, high market prices for trophies especially elephants' tusks and rhinoceros' horns extended poaching. The local people risked poaching because of the more economic gains accrued in the illicit game products trade.³⁷⁷

A lot more field operations and road blockades though unsuccessful were conducted by the wildlife officers in the 1950s and 1960s in order to combat poaching and other activities that contributed to game depletion.³⁷⁸ However, by 1963 and 1964 the illegal trade in game products had reached alarming levels.³⁷⁹ It resulted in a lot of local people being prosecuted. In 1964, 26 firearms were confiscated and £1795 was collected in fines from the 430 convictions against the 55 cases of 1963.³⁸⁰ The convictions in which the poachers were asked to pay fines as penalties did not succeed in curbing poaching. In most cases poachers would poach more game for more cash to offset the fines. Besides, even upon being sentenced to imprisonment once discharged poachers would still continue poaching because of the economic gain. In cases where the fines were less severe, the poachers would choose to go to prison because they knew they would be discharged soon and continue poaching.³⁸¹ However, there were circumstances where the fear to pay fines or go to prison deterred the poor local people from poaching.³⁸²

³⁷⁶ NAZ SEC 2/88, Eastern Province Annual Report, 1955, P. 18.

³⁷⁷ NAZ SEC 2/88, Eastern Province Annual Report, 1955, P. 19 Barry Dalal-Clayton and Oscarsson, "Wildlife Endangered/ Poaching," in Barry Dalal-Clayton and D. M. Lewis (eds.), *Proceedings of the Lupande Development Workshop , An Integrated Approach to Land Use Management in the Luangwa Valley, Zambia*, (Lusaka: Government Printer, 1984), P. 109.

³⁷⁸ Victor M. Siamudada, Vincent R. Nyirenda and Lewis M. Saiwana, *Effectiveness of Law Enforcement Crimes in the Kafue Ecosystem in Zambia*, (ed.), Henry K. Mwima, (Chilanga: New Horizon Printing Press, 2009), P. 14; *Game and Fisheries Department Annual Report*, 1961, P.22; N. Leader-Williams and E. J. Milner-Gulland, "Policies for the Enforcement of Wildlife Laws: The Balance between Detection and Penalties in Luangwa Valley, Zambia," *Conservation Biology*, Vol. 7, No. 3, (September, 1993), P. 613.

³⁷⁹ Mulongo, "History of the Luangwa Valley," Pp. 23-24; *Game and Fisheries Department Annual Report*, 1963, P. 4.

³⁸⁰ NRG, *Game and Fisheries Department Annual Report*, (Lusaka: Government Printer, 1964), P. 24.

³⁸¹ Cheteni, "An Analysis of Anti-poaching Techniques in Africa," P. 65.

³⁸² Leader, "Policies for the Enforcement of Wildlife Laws," P. 614.

Banning this illegal trade could not curb poaching as it was a problem that affected the whole world. Its failure was not only due to variations in trade laws from nation to nation but also because some government officials were directly involved in the poaching business.³⁸³ Mulwangi of Chief Mnkanya in an interview indicated that some government officials during the colonial era could use the Kakumbi airstrip established very close to Chichele lodge for the purpose. The same trend continued in Post-colonial Zambia when Mfuwe International Airport started operating. Some tourists would connive with government officials and airlift live game and game products for sale outside the country.³⁸⁴

In trying to reduce poaching prevalence, in 1964 a program of publicity and education on wildlife conservation by the government was introduced. It began providing enlightenment on wildlife conservation and the dietary importance of game to the local communities. However, little was done due to inadequate wildlife staff and absence of funds and publicity material among other challenges.³⁸⁵ The programmes mentioned above did not abate conflicts but they helped to reduce poaching. Destructive wild animals to local people's lives, crops and property were also controlled during the period 1963-1964 as opposed to the period 1961-1962. For comparisons see the table on the next page.

Table 7: Comparison of Animals killed under the WCP between 1961-1962 and 1963-1964 periods.

Period	1961-1962						1963-1964					
Animal	Crocodile	Elephant	Hippo	Buffalo	Hartebeest	Sable	Crocodile	Elephant	Hippo	Buffalo	Hartebeest	Sable
Killed	122	76	48	109	66	61	103	54	29	79	57	43
Total	482						365					

³⁸³Cheteni, "An Analysis of Anti-poaching Techniques in Africa," P. 67. N. Leader, "Policies for the Enforcement of Wildlife Laws," P. 615.

³⁸⁴Interview with Augustine, 17/05/18.

³⁸⁵1964 *Game and Fisheries Department Annual Report*, P. 31.

Source: NRG, 1962 Game and Tsetse Control Department Annual Report, Pp. 12-15; *Game and Fisheries Department Annual Report*, 1963, P. 8.

In an effort to abate poaching, the GRZ introduced law enforcement strategies in which patrols were intensified. In 1966 the First National Development Plan was allocated some money to establish an Anti- Poaching Unit based in Chilanga. The unit comprised of specialised equipment and recruited game guard staff. The recruits (Zambian youths) were trained in Mfuwe at Chizombo training camp which was constructed in 1965. By the end of 1966, 49 recruits had been trained.³⁸⁶ The few local recruits did not only find employment but also helped in protecting wildlife. However, the game guards' training school at Chizombo was transferred at the start of 1967 to Beit wildlife camp in the Central Luangwa valley due to extreme shortages in staff and patrols. Chizombo was then transformed into a teacher training school. Children from Eastern Province were recruited the following dry season.³⁸⁷

The Anti-Poaching Unit based at Chilanga was assisted by the Central Anti-Poaching Platoon formed in 1967. It was also based at Chilanga but could provide wildlife staff to patrol the East Luangwa valley (ELV).³⁸⁸ Through their patrols the local people's property and lives where wildlife staff was not permanently posted were protected. However, some disgruntled local people precipitated poaching into the 1970s even when anti-poaching interventions were in place. The Anti-Poaching Platoon set up could not carry out adequate patrols due to limited road transport. To make matters worse, the vehicles available lacked experienced and qualified mechanics to service them. Inadequate and committed senior staff such as rangers

³⁸⁶ 1966 *Game and Fisheries Department Annual Report*, P. 28.

³⁸⁷ 1966 *Game and Fisheries Department Annual Report*, P. 43.

³⁸⁸ 1967 *Game and Fisheries Department Annual Report*, P. 2.

and wardens to supervise junior officers was also another factor that weakened patrols. The few available officers were also not committed to their job because of low salaries.³⁸⁹

The lowly salaried senior wildlife staff became corrupt, a situation which greatly contributed to their underperformance. By 1981 the Zambian government paid its game rangers less than \$20 a month while their Tanzanian counterpart earned about \$30. These meagre salaries provided room for corruption among wildlife officers as they succumbed to bribes by commercial poachers in order to sustain their families. Sometimes they could under report occupancy rates so that they remit less tax to the authorities and earn something for their survival.³⁹⁰ This increased the depletion of wild animals in the valley as poaching could not be easily halted. However, local poachers were not left free. In 1967, 623 convictions for illegal hunting were realised while in the year 1969, out of the 552 local hunters arrested, 421 were convicted, 107 had pending cases and 24 were acquitted. Those convicted were only fined some money amounting to ZMW5, 406 with 13 firearms confiscated.³⁹¹ The Kunda in the Luangwa valley among all commands in the country recorded the highest number of offences in 1969 (See Appendix 2).

The information in the table shows that a lot of offences were committed by people in the Luangwa valley command where SLNP is found. This could suggest that most of the local people in that area were involved in poaching for their survival. The implementation of wildlife laws conflicted with the Kunda free access to wildlife resources, a situation that left the local people with no option but to resort to poaching. In his work, Marks describes the whole scenario of arresting local people as unmerited by noting that:

³⁸⁹1967 *Department of game and fisheries Annual Report*, P. 3; 1970 *Department of Wild Life, Fisheries and National Parks Annual Report*, P. 4.

³⁹⁰William H. Kaempfer and Anton D. Lowenberg, "The Ivory Bandwagon International Transmission of Interest- Group Politics," *The Independent Review*, Vol. 4, No: 2, (1999), P. 220.

³⁹¹1969 *Department of Wild Life, Fisheries and National Parks*, P. 3; 1967 *Department of Game and Fisheries Annual Report*, P. 3.

The majority of hunters caught with poaching offences were local people who hunted to meet their socio-economic needs at a village level. They did little animal depletions as opposed to the commercial poachers who were rarely arrested and convicted.³⁹²

Despite deepening human-state conflicts through the anti-poaching programmes discussed above, LEAs also intensified such conflicts in the SLNP through measures to control bush fires. The success of bush fire controls was mainly due to the improvement of air transport at Mfuwe which boosted patrols. Anti-poaching patrols, game census and survey operations were given first priority by the aircraft section so as to easily monitor poachers trying to burn the park. The flight section which operated three aircrafts in 1965 increased this number to five in 1969.³⁹³ LEAs through patrols in 1973 led to; 449 local people being arrested, 330 convicted 103 with pending cases while 19 were imprisoned. In addition 18 firearms were confiscated and a total of ZMW5, 870 was realised through fines.³⁹⁴

From 1979 to 1986 Save the Rhino Trust tried to support LEAs in sensitizing the local people on the dangers of poaching. However, excessive poaching never abated leading to extinction of Black rhinos in the late 1980s. From 1986 Scout patrols from LIRDPA resulted in increased numbers of elephants from 1988 to 1994 after a drastic reduction from mid-1970s to early 1980s. By 1989 the number of elephants had increased from 2,400 in 1988 to 5,400 and then to approximately 6,000 in 1993 and 9, 500 in 1994.³⁹⁵ Equally, under LIRDPA, there was an increase in the population of buffaloes. The intensification of scout patrols from LIRDPA increased wild animals as indicated in **Appendix 3a**, however, a lot of local people were arrested, fined and convicted because of illegal hunting.

³⁹²Marks, *The Imperial Lion*, P. 128.

³⁹³1969 *Wildlife, Fisheries and National Park Department Annual Report*, P. 2.

³⁹⁴GRZ, *Department of National Parks and Wildlife Services' Annual Report*, (Lusaka: Government Printer, 1973),P. 35.

³⁹⁵Jachmann H and Billiouw M, "Elephant Poaching in the Central Luangwa Valley, Zambia," *Journal Applied Ecology*, Vol. 34, No. 1, (1997), P. 234; Dalal-Clayton and Child, *Lessons from the Luangwa*, P. 77.

The improvement was due to the two styles adopted by the LIRD. Firstly the use of foot patrols in the conventional law enforcement and secondly the non-conventional style which brought information through informers. In the former method the LIRD scouts were helped by porters from 1988 to 1994. They later carried equipment mainly tents and food during patrols. The latter method was where both village informers and LIRD scouts provided information to the field operations. In both methods the wildlife officers were motivated by the provision of patrol vehicles and monetary incentives for arresting or confiscating firearms or trophies. These LEAs apart from increasing the population of animals in the SLNP also minimised the poaching of elephants but undermined the wellbeing of the local people over some years as **Appendix 3b** shows.³⁹⁶ For more details of the LEAs that were carried out in the SLNP, see **Appendix 4**.

When ZAWA began its operations in 1999 situation improved. Patrols were intensified and very few wild animals were reported killed through poaching. The ZAWA officers however, still arrested and convicted illegal hunters and recovered firearms and wildlife trophies. In the year 2000, 1,238 individuals were arrested; 991 were convicted, 22 were acquitted, 81 were discharged and 136 had pending cases.³⁹⁷ From 2000 to 2001, 84 muzzle-loading guns, 9 shot guns and 1 sport rifle were recovered from poachers whereas the firearms recovered from investigations were; 69 muzzle-loading guns, 2 sport rifles and 7 shot guns. In addition, 880 and 47 snares were recovered in 2000 and 2001 respectively.³⁹⁸ The offences discussed above undermined the economic muscle of the Kunda since records indicate that fewer animals were poached as shown in **Appendix 3c**.

³⁹⁶Jachmann and Billiouw, "Elephant Poaching in the Central Luangwa Valley, Zambia," PP. 234-235.

³⁹⁷ GRZ, *ZAWA Annual Report*, (Chilanga: ZAWA, 2000), P. 12.

³⁹⁸ GRZ, *ZAWA-SLAMU Annual Report*, (Mfuwe: ZAWA, 2003), P. 12.

Positive Impacts of Wildlife Conservation Laws, 1890-2001

The enforcement of conservation laws helped to increase the wildlife populations in the Luangwa valley for wildlife tourism and infrastructural development which benefited the governments more than the local people. Visitors from the developed world who came to view wild animals in the valley were faced with challenges of accommodation movement. This compelled Senior Chief Nsefu and the colonial state to begin constructing tourism related infrastructure. The constructed infrastructure boosted tourism in the area.

Tourism and infrastructural development

Encouraged by the need to provide accommodation to the visitors from far and wide, Senior Chief Nsefu with the help of the wildlife department established a temporary visitors' camp in the valley at a fee in 1949.³⁹⁹ The Nsefu game camp was followed by the Chilongozi camp in the south in Chief Malama's area in 1955. Then the Big Lagoon in the north was established in 1957 followed by the Mfuwe camp in the centre in 1960. These camps were linked by a system of seasonal roads and pontoons across the Luangwa River.⁴⁰⁰ The tourists that visited the valley brought in money through game viewing, taking of photographs and accommodation. Part of the money paid to the camps went to the local native treasury. The local people benefited from this development by selling local agricultural produce and crafts to visitors. Some were employed as cooks to prepare food for the tourists. Others performed chores such as laundering and waiting at the table at a fee. Besides, the local people were free to view game in the camp at no fee except a permit from the Chief whereas the Europeans were required to present hunting permits.⁴⁰¹ Some of the money that tourists brought

³⁹⁹ NAZ SEC 6/442, Letter to the Development Secretary on Nsefu game camp and game reserve by L. Bean, 10/11/1955.

⁴⁰⁰ Pope, Luangwa Safari Association, P. 12; Oliver, "An Investigation into Tourism Certification," P. 16.

⁴⁰¹ NAZ SEC 6/442, Minutes of the Kunda Native Authority meeting on Nsefu game camp and game reserve on 13/08/1955, P. 3.

gradually expanded tourists' facilities in the game camps. The Big Lagoon and Lion self-catering camps in the SLNP were further developed towards the close of the colonial era. Catering lodges were opened such as the Mfuwe lodge. These game facilities enticed more tourists for game viewing; pictorial photographing, sport hunting and brought more money to the government treasury.⁴⁰² By 1954 the profits paid to the local native treasury amounted to £2,695.⁴⁰³

A number of access roads constructed to foster game conservation helped the local people's movement. Chiefs also found it easier to monitor their subjects and to communicate with the District officers. Loop roads were also constructed by the Roads Department within the East Luangwa Valley game reserves. In 1956 the department constructed 24 miles of loop roads in the CGR. Accommodation for visitors was also increased. For instance, Chilongozi rest camp increased its rooms from six to twelve in 1957.⁴⁰⁴ In support of the road infrastructural development the colonial government on 3rd July, 1958 issued a circular on the need to construct access roads which included; the Jumbe access road to Kakumbi pontoon on the Luangwa River, then the Nsefu access road and Kakumbi pontoon road along the east bank of the Luangwa to Nsefu game camp.⁴⁰⁵ The Great East Road (GER) from Sinda to the entrance of the Chilongozi sector of the South Luangwa Game Reserve (SLGR) was also constructed by the late 1950s.⁴⁰⁶ Kakumbi pontoon was installed in 1959 whereas the site for Chilongozi pontoon was ear marked in the same year. The installation of the pontoons on the Luangwa provided the local people with transport.⁴⁰⁷ Pontoon fees provided both the colonial

⁴⁰² Pope, *Luangwa Safari Association*, P. 12.

⁴⁰³ NAZ SEC 6/33, Correspondence on Luangwa Game Reserve, Nsefu game camp by R. S. Buries, 27/08/1955.

⁴⁰⁴ NAZ SEC 6/33, Luangwa Game Reserve Correspondence by F. I. Parnell, 20/02/1956.

⁴⁰⁵ NAZ SEC 6/33, Luangwa Game Reserve Correspondence by J. P. Walker, 3/07/1958

⁴⁰⁶ NAZ SEC 6/33, Luangwa Game Reserve Correspondence by J. P. Walker, 20/02/1958.

⁴⁰⁷ NAZ SEC 6/33, Correspondence on Luangwa game reserve by J. P. Walker, 28/01/1959.

state and the local native authority with revenue used to develop native courts and construct more access roads.⁴⁰⁸

The colonial state continued improving tourism related infrastructure throughout the 1960s. The Transport and Works Ministry also carried out works to help in consolidation and improvement of the camps' amenities, water supplies and road surfaces for users.⁴⁰⁹ At first tourists were drawn from family groups holidaying from within Zambia and a few international tourists from Malawi, Tanzania and America.⁴¹⁰ These brought revenue to the government. In 1961 for instance, the colonial government raised £135 through pontoon fees, and £2,856 from other tourism ventures or a total of £2991 compared to £1,838 in 1960.⁴¹¹

Appendices 5a and 5b show revenue collected by the colonial state through visitors' accommodation; earnings which provided the colonial state with a justification to discourage unlawful access to game resources and a call for conservation of wildlife.

Upon getting independence in 1964 the GRZ continued to entice tourist visits by improving certain developments which had an impact on the socio-economic lives of the local people. Amongst the improvements undertaken were; an increase in the occupancy percentage (%) of camps from 46% to 61% through publicity campaigns by the Zambia National Tourism Board, absence of political disturbances and improvement in air transport at Mfuwe airstrip. The increase in bed spaces for tourists at old Mfuwe lodge from 12 to 32 was also a factor. Chilongozi camp was also made better. It had a bar, lounge, electric light and dining room.⁴¹²

⁴⁰⁸ NRG, *Game and Fisheries Department Annual Report*, (Lusaka: Government Printer, 1963), P. 21.

⁴⁰⁹ Allan Earnshaw and Lucy Emerton, "The Economics of Wild life Tourism: Theory and Reality for Landholders in Africa," in Herbert H. T Prins, Jan Geu Grootenhuis, Thomas T. Dolan (eds.), *Wildlife Conservation by Sustainable Use*, (London: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 2000), P. 317.

⁴¹⁰ Pope, *Luangwa Safari Association*, P. 12; Oliver, "An Investigation into Tourism Certification," P. 16.

⁴¹¹ 1961 *Game and Fisheries Department Annual Report*, Pp. 22, 28.

⁴¹² GRZ, *Department of Wildlife, Fisheries and National Parks Annual Report*, (Lusaka: Government Printer, 1969), P. 2; GRZ, *Department of Game and Fisheries Annual Report*, (Lusaka: Government Printer, 1965), P. 7.

This made the tourism sector in 1965 to do well as compared to 1964. Therefore, more revenue was remitted to government as shown in table **Appendix 5c**.

The revenues collected continued to improve tourists' requirements such as accommodation and transport as witnessed in 1966, 1967 and 1968. In 1966 for instance, the government allocated funds to finance wildlife conservation projects which economically positively impacted some local people through jobs as labourers, waiters and cooks. Among the projects was the construction of two staff houses at Mfuwe cropping station and the laying of foundations and commencement of work on two other houses. A house for the Mfuwe game ranger was almost completed. Three chalets were converted to cottages while a small block was completed. In order to ease accommodation, the new Mfuwe lodge was opened together with Luanfwa and Beit schools in 1966. Also constructed at Kakumbi were 75 staff semi-permanent quarters and a new pre-cooling chamber.⁴¹³

In 1966 the government also worked on the roads, airstrips, bridges and pontoons. Among these were the cutting of game reserve roads such as Nsefu loop roads, SLGR loop roads and SLGR access roads, new cropping roads in the SLGR, Chifungwe plain new roads and fire breaks among other roads within the PAs.⁴¹⁴ A new seven-ton pontoon was installed at Malama to ease crossings between sections of SLGR on both banks. The pontoon also helped in transporting students staying at the Beit school camp across the river for game viewing trips at different sites as well as in providing transport to the local people. Another twelve-ton pontoon was reinstalled on different sites at the start of the cropping season⁴¹⁵ and operated well in providing transport to the local communities and tourists. The air transport

⁴¹³1966 *Game and Fisheries Department Annual Report*, P. 26.

⁴¹⁴1966 *Game and Fisheries Department Annual Report*, P. 26.

⁴¹⁵1966 *Game and Fisheries Department Annual Report*, P. 26.

system was also improved to some extent. A tarmac apron was laid to facilitate the touch-down of heavy aircrafts. By 1966 a total of 56 aircrafts had landed at MIA.⁴¹⁶ These developments also resulted in an increase in visitor nights, tourists' visits and finally revenue collection as shown in **Appendix 5d**.

However, even if infrastructural developments were improved they were still limited. Besides, some of the camps were quite new and the tourists became very hesitant to begin using them.⁴¹⁷ For instance, the Luanfwa, Mfuwe-ZNTB and Mfuwe Zambia Air ways were new, hence, a reduction in the number of tourists that they accommodated in 1966 and 1967 as shown in **Appendix 5e**. The situation was different in 1968 as the revenue collected increased due to increased number of nights and percentage occupancy by the tourists as APPENDIX 5f tabulates.

In the 1970s and 1980s tourism in the area did not do very well. The drop in the national economy following the fall in copper prices also affected operations in the wildlife tourism industry. Many of the tourists complained of the poor tourism facilities like the poor GER and the Chipata- Mfuwe road,⁴¹⁸ inadequate bed spaces, flooding and inadequate all-weather infrastructure which led to only about 5% of the whole park being used for game viewing. Again game viewing was restricted for vehicles to designated tracks escorted by tour operators.⁴¹⁹ These challenges led to a reduction of both tourists' visits and income flow from tourists even in the 1990s as shown in **Appendix 5g**.

In an attempt to improve the above stated scenario, the government in 1990s encouraged private investment in the tourism sector. Several government run camps and lodges were

⁴¹⁶1966 *Game and Fisheries Department Annual Report*, P. 27.

⁴¹⁷1967 *Game and Fisheries Department Annual Report*, P. 3.

⁴¹⁸ Munyenye, 1998 *LIRDPA Annual Report*, P. 21.

⁴¹⁹ Dreike, "AN Investigation into Tourism Certification," P. 8.

privatised. In 1998 some improvement to these tourists' facilities was done which promoted the tourism industry. These included seasonal road maintenance works like Kakumbi-Malama road, Nsefu-Mnkhanya road and the lower and upper LGMA game viewing tourist loops amounting to 400 kilometres.⁴²⁰ Privatisation of lodges and camps like Mfuwe, Savanna, Lion camps and Chichele initiated in 1995 was finalised in 1998. In 1998 bed spaces increased by 90 and in the year 2000 by 80. Subsequently 16,837 tourists visited the park in 2000 while in the year 2001 the park received 18,241 tourists who remitted more money to the GRZ as shown in table 8.8 below.

Table 8.1: Tourists' arrivals, bed nights and revenues in the SLNP, 2000-2001

Year	International tourists	Domestic tourists	Total Tourists	International bed nights	Domestic bed nights	Total Bed nights	Total revenue (US\$)
2000	12,776	4,061	16,837	21,078	6,666	27,744	590,368
2001	14,080	4,161	18,241	24,324	6,030	30,354	776,353

Source: Dreike, "An Investigation into Tourism Certification," P. 9 Adapted from SLAMU Commercial Section.

Tourism and the hunting safaris, 1890-2001

In an attempt to realise more revenue from wildlife based tourism the colonial authority introduced safari or sport hunting in 1960. In 1962 concessions were given to private companies such as the Luangwa Safaris commonly known as the Norman Carr Safaris (NCS).⁴²¹ The GRZ in 1964 renewed the contract of the NCS and for a start 18 hunters took part in safari hunting in the East Luangwa valley. In 1970, the Zambia Safaris Limited joined the NCS and a total of 153 clients were involved in which ZMW110, 640 was realised by the government.⁴²² Safari hunting continued providing a source of revenue to the government in

⁴²⁰ Munyenembe, 1998 *LIRDPA Annual Report*, P. 21.

⁴²¹ Marks, *The Imperial Lion*, P. 125; KSP, *Norman Carr Safaris: South Luangwa Community Support, 1986-2016 Report*, 2016, P. 1.

⁴²² Marks, *The Imperial Lion*, P. 127; 1964 *Game and Fisheries Department Annual Report*, P. 2.

the 1980s when most of the hunting in the LIRDP lower and upper hunting blocks was done by foreigners from the United Kingdom and United States of America. In 1995 the government contracted the Baobab Safaris and Safari Expeditions as legible Safari hunting companies in the valley. In the 1990s LIRDP raised a lot of money through safari hunting, that also benefited the local people through community based development projects. In 1995 for instance, LIRDP realised ZMW177, 000 from which 50% (ZMW8, 8 500 went to the local community.⁴²³ In the year 1997, a total of U\$241,188 was raised by the government from Safari hunting and in 1998 revenue of U\$240,361 was raised by the government from the same sector of tourism. In the year 1999, Safari hunting remitted U\$222,405 to the government treasury. From all these collections 50% went to local community developments. See table 9.1 for the details.

Table 8.2: Revenues from Safari hunting, 1997-1999

Year	Baobab safaris income (US\$)	Safari Expeditions income (US\$)	Total income (US\$)	Local community's share
1997	89,940	151,248	241,188	120,594.00
1998	115,803	124,558	240,361	120,180.50
1999	96,000	126,405	222,405	111,202.50

Source: Dalal-Clayton and Child, *Lessons from the Luangwa*, P. 170.

The table above shows a decline with regards to the money remitted to government by the safari hunters in 1999. This was due to change of wildlife policies. In 1999 management of wildlife and resource utilisation was placed under ZAWA, a parastatal organisation with policies different from its predecessor, the department of NPWS. The LIRDP which was more beneficial economically not only to the local people but also to the safari hunting companies came to an end in 1999. It became South Luangwa Area Management (SLAMU). To this

⁴²³ Dalal-Clayton and Child, *Lessons from the Luangwa*, P. 103.

effect some clients still unacquainted with the policies of ZAWA and SLAMU became undecided to take part in safari hunting, hence, a reduction.

Tourism and the declaration of SLNP, 1971-2001

The declaration of SLNP in 1971 to some extent also benefited the local people. The tourism industry was boosted through improved infrastructure such as lodges, camps and airport for tourists who remitted revenue to the government while job opportunities were created for few local people as labourers, wildlife scouts, tour operators and waiters. The wellbeing of few local people improved although from November to May they were off salary on account of lack of business.⁴²⁴ Tourism also boomed with the construction of the MIA in 1972. The airport improved tourist arrivals in SLNP and people's economic strength. It created about ten to twenty job opportunities for the local people on seasonal arrangements and three on specialised jobs. In his appreciation remarks the airport manager noted that:

Business had done well at the airport since its inception due to tourists' visits. About 92% of the business was tourism driven with 8% from the local people. In addition some local people benefited through employment creation and market for their agricultural goods and crafts to the tourists.⁴²⁵

The quotation above implied that the airport was influential in the operations of the tourism sector and the wellbeing of few local people. Selling of goods in local make-shift markets also saw improvements in the 1980s. Others were involved in crushing stones which found market from the SLNP-tourism funded projects.⁴²⁶ The tourism infrastructural developments also beautified the district. From 1980 the lodges and camps began providing the local people with various survival skills like knitting and crafts making.⁴²⁷ Other than providing learning

⁴²⁴Interview with Mrs Njobvu Ester, Tribal Textiles, 01/11/2017.

⁴²⁵Interview with Mr Chalwe Augustine Malama, Mfuwe International Airport Manager, 01/11/2017.

⁴²⁶Interview with Mvula, 17/05/2018.

⁴²⁷Interview with Mr Mchenga Nathan, Tribal Textiles, 01/11/2017.

and teaching materials', lodges sponsored pupils from primary to tertiary level. Sponsoring children in schools started with NCS in 1980. In 1986 NCS was taken over by the Kapani School Project. By 2000, Yosefe primary school had ten sponsored pupils. And at the time of research a total of 475 pupils were being sponsored.⁴²⁸ In the 2000s, Project Luangwa also began sponsoring pupils in schools and providing the local community with projects.⁴²⁹

SLNP-tourism driven local community projects began in the 1980s through Community Based Conservations (CBCs). From 1988 to 1991, the LIRDPA activities based on CBCs began improving the livelihoods of the local people. Their movement to Chipata was eased through the Malambo Transport Services whereas the milling services provided by the Malambo Milling Cooperative improved food security in the area.⁴³⁰ The project would buy maize from the local people and grind it using the hammer mill which was bought and mounted at Tribal Textiles. Then the meal would be sold to the public at reduced prices which helped to curb hunger as food security was ensured. Roads connecting the chiefdoms were constructed such as the road from Msoro to Chipata, Masumba area to Nsefu and then another one from Masumba to Nsefu old palace. Park roads were also constructed in order to improve project activities in the area.⁴³¹

Project activities provided jobs to some local people. As patrols were intensified by the LEAs, some local people got jobs. In 1988 the LIRDPA employed About 133 scouts and the number increased to 286 in 1991. However, due to poor funding in 1995, the number dropped to 219. Equally, some local people were employed as porters. The number also increased from 7 in 1988 and 1989 to 134 in 1991 but dropped to 34 in 1995 due the same reason of poor funding. Sometimes reformed poachers were employed as game scouts and forest guards to protect

⁴²⁸Interview with Mrs Telesa. V Ngoma, Mambwe DEBS, 25/10/2017.

⁴²⁹ KSP, *Norman Carr Safaris: South Luangwa Support, 1986-2016*, (1916), P. 1.

⁴³⁰Dalal-Clayton and Child, *Lessons from the Luangwa*, PP. 11-12, 34.

⁴³¹Interview with Jonathan, 13/11/2017.

both wild animals and animal habitats respectively. Forest guards would discourage the cutting down of trees either for charcoal burning or other human activities. Women also benefited from the women related clubs and the agricultural credit cooperatives. To ease agricultural activities, credit cooperatives were set up. Not only that, a research centre was built and extension services were also provided at Masumba in the late 1980. Others, apart from providing poaching information to responsible authorities in the area were employed to be issuing out district hunting licences and running the game culling scheme in the area.⁴³² Although few local people were employed, their livelihood improved. Animals were better protected and poaching minimised.

In 1992 LIRD P adopted the CBNRM approach based on the ADMADE policy. By 1999 some positive attributes towards the local people in the area began showing. For instance, out of the ZK400, 000 rebased allocated to the 42 VAGs only ZMW3, 350 was unaccounted for while ZMW44, 500 was misappropriated by VAGs in chiefs Kakumbi and Nsefu.⁴³³ Although some good money was unaccounted for (ZMW3, 350) and misappropriated (ZMW44, 500) from the disbursed ZMW400, 000 of wildlife resources the livelihoods of some local people improved with the LIRD P-CBNRM policies. See the table below.

Table 8.3: Unaccounted for/misappropriated CBNRM disbursed funds, 1999.

Chief/ADC	VAG	Money unaccounted for from ZMW 400, 000.	Money misappropriated from ZMW 400, 000.
Chief Kakumbi			24, 000.
Senior Chief Nsefu			10, 500.
Nsefu ADC			10, 000.
	Msoro	400.	

⁴³²Dalal-Clayton and Child, *Lessons from the Luangwa*, PP. 11-12, 77.

⁴³³ Dalal-Clayton and Child, *Lessons from the Luangwa*, P. 167.

	Malama	1, 000.	
	Mnkhanya	200.	
	Nsefu	1, 150.	
	Jumbe	600.	
Total		3, 350.	44, 500.

Source: Dalal-Clayton and Child, *Lessons from the Luangwa*, P. 167.

From 1988 to 1999 about 154 community-funded projects were almost completed. These projects included 4 small dams in chief Msoro, 16 teachers' houses, 34 school constructions or renovations, 26 well projects and 60 other projects which included maize electric fences, sport and women clubs, chiefs' vehicles, road maintenance, local courts offices, ADC offices, bus shelter and toilets.⁴³⁴ During the same period (1988-1999) LIRD P funded health projects in 14 clinics. Again in support of LIRD P's activities, in 1990 Project Luangwa helped health centres such as Masumba and Kakumbi in infrastructural developments. In the 1990s, Kakumbi health centre also received at least four foreign doctors meant to service the tourists, however, these doctors also served the local people⁴³⁵ In 1997, Masumba clinic was electrified using the Mnkhanya CRB community funds.⁴³⁶

In 1998 local communities in chiefs Kakumbi, Malama and Nsefu were among the earliest to be provided with bore holes and toilets by Project Luangwa. In 2000, Project Luangwa supplemented the LIRD P's efforts by providing Water, Sanitation and Hygiene (WASH) facilities like toilets and bore holes in schools. Classroom blocks and staff houses were also constructed and renovated schools like Kapita, Mfuwe Day and primary, Mnkhanya, Ncheka, Chiutika and Kawaza.⁴³⁷ Pupils also benefited from the porridge feeding programme funded

⁴³⁴Dalal-Clayton and Child, *Lessons from the Luangwa*, Pp.17-19,167, 169.

⁴³⁵Interview with Mr John Nyansunga, Mambwe District Health Officer, 06/11/2017.

⁴³⁶Interview with Mvula, 17/05/2018.

⁴³⁷Interview with Nkonde, 31/11/2017.

by tourists in primary schools in the 2000s. In chief Jumbe the programme was called ‘Marys Meal’ while in other chiefdoms it was called rice porridge run by Mfuwe lodge. The programmes reduced pupils’ absenteeism in schools as well as improving their wellbeing.⁴³⁸ Again from 2000 to 2001 Masumba, Kakumbi and Nsefu health centres were provided with boreholes, staff houses, institutional buildings and blankets which were officially handed over in 2003.⁴³⁹ However, help from tourists was found to be unreliable, unexpected and inadequate and that much of it was restricted to local communities and schools close to the lodges.

By 2000 the projects mentioned above coupled with community funds disbursed from LIRD (as shown in table 8.4 on the next page) helped to curb poaching and improved the livelihood of the local people through the provision of employment and social services. LIRD and ZAWA through CRBs employed village scouts who were expected to protect wildlife through patrols. They also had to assess crop damages and provide conservation awareness campaigns in the local communities.⁴⁴⁰ However, CRB scouts could not work as expected due to challenges that CRBs experienced such as; little direct benefits to households, the dependence culture created by the previous LIRD, suspicions of corruption, mismanagement of the CRBs meagre resources and some chiefs who still wielded a lot of influence in the distribution of wildlife resources to communities. Above all, the unwillingness of the state to truly relinquish control over wildlife resource operations jeopardised wildlife conservation.⁴⁴¹

⁴³⁸Interview with Nkonde, 31/11/2017.

⁴³⁹Interview with Sibeso, 25/10/2017.

⁴⁴⁰ Interview with Mr Patson Njobvu of Chief Mnkhanya, on 9/05/2018.

⁴⁴¹Interview with Augustine, 17/05/2018.

Table 8.4: LIRD P disbursed funds to LGMA, 1992-1999.

Year	LGMA income (US\$)	Community disbursement (US\$)	Share (%)
1992	79,784. 00	61,433. 68	77
1993	123,490. 00	116,080. 60	94
1994	140,333. 00	56,133. 20	40
1995	175,578. 00	152,752. 86	87
1996	198,838. 00	153,105. 26	77
1997	241,807. 00	241,807. 00	100
1998	227,273. 00	227,273. 00	100
1999	225,000. 00	225,000. 00	100

Source: GRZ, *SLAMU Commercial Section Annual Report*, (Chipata: ZAWA, 2006), P. 25.

Conclusion

The chapter has examined the African responses to and impact on wildlife conservation Acts and policies in SLNP and the surrounding LGMA from 1890 to 2001. The chapter noted that despite the limited wildlife resources that trickled down to the local community, some local people got involved in local community tourism related empowerment programmes and other land use activities such as livestock keeping, crop cultivation and bee keeping. However, the majority local populace did not appreciate the value of conserving wildlife and therefore played an inconsequential role in its conservation. The chapter also noted that wildlife conservation laws had negative impacts which outweighed positive ones on the local peoples' livelihoods. The negative impacts examined included the human-animal conflicts, human-state conflicts law enforcement activities. The benefits discussed included infrastructural developments and provision of social services to the local community. How these facilities benefited the people has also been examined. Other positive impacts examined were revenues from wildlife tourism to the state. However, the chapter found that to a larger extent the revenues raised did not benefit the majority of the local people

CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSION

The study examined wildlife conservation laws and policies put in place in South Luangwa National Park (SLNP) and the surrounding Lupande Game Management Area (LGMA) from 1890 to 2001 and the consequent social-economic impacts on the local people as well as the latter's response to changing circumstances. In order to understand how the wildlife conservation policies impacted the local people, the study examined how the indigenous Kunda people managed and utilised wildlife resources including game in the SLNP and LGMA before colonial rule. The study noted that before the colonial era the Kunda people largely depended on subsistence hunting for their living. However, from 1890 to 1924 colonial conservation policies under British South African Company (BSAC) were introduced and began impacting the local people's livelihoods both negatively and positively. During British colonial rule and Post-Colonial Zambia, other wildlife conservation policies were passed which continued impacting peoples' lives. The negative impacts constituted not only the human-animal and human-state conflicts but also law enforcement activities. The study established that the Kunda people had full control and heritage rights over wildlife resources which were however first taken away by the British and then the Zambian government through foreign conservation policies. It is thus argued in this study that the developments above undermined local people's access and control over natural resources, including game. It has also been argued that the birth of the SLNP in 1971 and the creation of the Zambia Wildlife Authority in 1998 both negatively impacted the wellbeing of the Kunda. The study further noted that even though in the 1980s the local people were co-opted into wildlife operations through community based conservation programmes, conflicts did not abate.

In this study the term ‘human-animal conflicts’ has been used to mean the clashes that were experienced between the local people and the wild animals over wildlife resources. Similarly, the study has used the term ‘human-state conflicts’ to mean the clashes that were experienced between the local people and the government or the wildlife officers over management and utilisation of wildlife resources. Reasons behind these conflicts have been examined in the study. Several conclusions emerged from this study. In chapter two, the first conclusion was that through subsistence hunting the Kunda apart from sustaining their livelihoods, wildlife including game was conserved. Traditional hunting weapons which included locally made muzzle-loading guns, snares and traps were used under traditional customs and beliefs. The study also concluded that taboos, traditional beliefs and customs did not only help the indigenous people conserve wild animals, but they also sustained their livelihoods. Certain animals could not be hunted or their meat eaten.

Another conclusion drawn from the study was that hunting among the indigenous Kunda people was purely for subsistence. Hunting supplemented the local protein diet and protected gardens from destructive animals. In certain situations hunting acted as bait for hunters to ascend to leadership positions. From the study, another conclusion was that the free exploitation of wildlife resources by the Kunda people demonstrated their full ownership and control rights over natural resources including game. However, marauding animals such as elephants, hippopotami and lions posed a serious threat to human life, crops and property. Hence, Human-Animal Conflicts (HACs) which the local people easily handled. They would chase or kill the animals involved and share its meat.

Chapter three was focussed on the wildlife conservation policies in the SLNP and the surrounding LGMA from 1890 to 2001. In its different parts of the chapter, the first conclusion drawn was that wildlife conservation laws to a larger extent undermined the livelihoods of the local people because subsistence hunting was curtailed. For instance, for

every hunter to access wildlife resources one had to meet hunting licence conditions. The study demonstrated that instead of conserving game, foreign conservation laws actually had the effect of depleting more animals than in the pre-colonial era. Rifle guns killed animals indiscriminately as opposed to traditional African hunting weapons which could be used selectively. It has also been concluded that the majority of the local people did not benefit from any of the colonial conservation policies. Conservation laws gave protection to wild animals while the local people continued to suffer loss of crops, property damage and loss of lives as no compensation was paid. The study noted that attempts to limit conflicts over wildlife resource management and utilisation by co-opting local people in wildlife operations through community based conservation programmes were done, however, efforts were undermined by the enactment of the 1998 Zambia Wildlife Act. The last conclusion from the study was that centralisation of wildlife resource management and utilisation by the state through wildlife departments and ZAWA was not just the basis of human-animal and human-state conflicts but it also signified that SLNP was a state heritage.

The last substantive chapter of the dissertation examined the African responses to wildlife conservation laws and the developments brought by the declaration of the SLNP in the Luangwa Valley. The study concluded that despite little wildlife resources trickling down to the local people, some local people in the 1980s began undertaking some land use activities like crop cultivation, bee hive keeping, poultry and livestock keeping. This was one way of responding to the wildlife conservation laws in an attempt to improve their economy and promote conservation of wildlife. The chapter also examined both negative and positive impacts of wildlife conservation policies on the local people in SLNP and LGMA from 1890 to 2001. The study found that even though HACs have always been there since the dawn of humanity, they were easily managed by the local people concerned. Another conclusion drawn from the study was that the imposition of the colonial and later post-colonial

conservation laws intensified both HACs and HSCs. The study further found that through the execution of wildlife conservation policies local people were subjected to imprisonment, loss of property and court fines for poaching within their own formerly traditional areas.

However, it should also be acknowledged that despite the negative impacts of government legislative measures in regards to wildlife resources, there were, as the study has shown, some benefits that improved some local people's livelihoods. Legislative measures promoted the development of local infrastructure such as roads, lodges, camps and the airport which improved the local people's social-economic lives through job opportunities, markets for agricultural merchandise and crafts. Local development projects were also facilitated by the direct sharing of revenues from tourism.

The general conclusion is that, prior to colonial rule; the local Kunda people had complete control over their natural resources, including game. The sustainable use of traditional hunting; systems; hunting tools, beliefs, taboos, customs and traditions not only helped the people to conserve wildlife but also sustained their livelihoods. The coming of colonial rule did not only disposes the Kunda of their natural heritage but through various pieces of legislations heightened pre-existing human-animal conflicts and also introduced human-state conflicts in the Luangwa valley which undermined local people's ability to manage local resources. The end of colonial rule did not alter the legacy of colonial rule over local game resources and despite increased revenues, tourism brought limited benefits to the local people.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1: Photo of poachers caught in SLNP, 1983



The Hon. Minister of Lands and Natural Resources, Mr. Fitzpatrick
Chule, interrogating poachers arrested during the
Workshop

Source: Mulongo, "History of the Luangwa Valley," P. 23.

APPENDIX 2: Table showing LEAs in the Zambian Wildlife Commands in 1969

Command	Arrests	Convictions	Pending	Acquitted	Fines (ZK)
Lusaka H/Qs	23	11	12	-	194
Central Anti-poaching unit	197	137	54	6	3,309
Kafue N. P	73	64	2	7	1,387
Northern	80	55	25	2	1,196
Southern	64	41	23	-	678
N/Western	54	40	12	2	626
Zambezi valley	14	9	4	1	59
Luangwa	552	421	107	24	5,406
Total	1,059	778	239	42	12,855

Source: 1969 Department of Wild Life, Fisheries and National Park, P. 3.

APPENDIX 3a: Table showing population estimates of large animals in SLNP, 1993-1999.

Year	Elephant	Buffalo	Zebra
1993	6,000	7,000	5,000
1994	9,500	11,000	4,800
1996	8,500	15,000	5,500
1998	7,000	18,000	4,000
1999	6,500	22,000	5,000
Total	37,500	73,000	24,300

Source: GRZ, *SLAMU Commercial Section Annual Report*, (Chipata: ZAWA, 2006), P. 15.

APPENDIX 3b: Table showing elephants poached in SLNP and LGMA, 1988-1995

Year	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	Total
No: of elephants poached	38	15	25	15	7	9	10	23	142

Source: Jachmann and Billiow, “Elephants Poaching in Central Luangwa Valley, Zambia,” P. 237.

APPENDIX 3c: Table showing animal species poached in SLNP and LGMA, 2000-2001.

Animal Species	Roe Antelope	Lion	Waterbuck	Bushbuck	Giraffe	Kudu	Impressa	Duiker	Buffalo	Hippopotamus	Puku	Warthog	Zebra	Hartebeest
No: Poached	1	4	3	11	3	8	42	7	36	17	9	14	5	2

Source: 2002 ZAWA-SLAMU Annual Report, p. 12.

APPENDIX 4: Statistics for LEAs in SLNP and LGMA, 1988-1997.

Year	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997
No. of patrols	158	174	196	359	189	276	271	175	174	214
Patrol days	8,507	9,344	21,703	28,849	18,929	30,028	27,931	15,146	9,514	15,655
Effective days	6,200	6,541	18,298	24,443	14,386	24,520	22,806	15,146	7,699	12,791
Patrol arrests	21	26	70	188	60	235	52	61	75	87
Serious offences	49	78	240	217	99	150	278	332	405	678
Elephants killed	38	15	27	15	7	9	12	23	14	10
Other animals killed	59	46	37	33	17	35	91	118	69	113
Recovered ivory	53	49	62	79	11	13	13	20	16	3

Source: GRZ, *Draft Zone Management Plan*, (Chilanga: ZAWA, 1998), P. 20.

APPENDIX 5a: Visitors accommodated and revenue collected in the ELV, 1960-1961.

Camps	1960 Visitors	1960 Visitor nights	1960 revenue (£)	1961 Visitors	1961 visitor nights	1961 revenue (£)
Big Lagoon	344	793	900	484	1,016	1,020
Chilongozi	257	476	523	317	441	679
Mfuwe	107	261	282	419	700	877
Lion	41	90	98	46	256	213
Lusangazi	22	35	35	21	58	67
Total	771	1,655	1,838	1,287	2,471	2,856

Source: *Game and Fisheries Department Annual Report, 1961, P. 22.*

APPENDIX5b: Visitors accommodated and revenue collected in the ELV, 1962-1963.

Camp	Be ds	Visitors	Visitor nights	Total possible visitor/nights	% Occupancy	1962 revenue (£)	1963 revenue (£)
Chilongozi	8	347	600	1,000	60	916	602
Lusangazi	8	218	360	750	48	335	370
Mfuwe	12	132	774	1,500	52	679	620
Lion	6	263	514	750	68	381	533
Big Lagoon	12	599	1,193	1,500	79	367	1,240
Nsefu	12	548	1002	1,500	67	936	1,055
Luambe	12	407	819	1,476	55	627	862
Total	70	2,514	5,262	8,476	61	4,241	5,282

Source: *Game and Fisheries Department Annual Report, 1963, P. 20.*

APPENDIX 5c: Tourists visits and revenue collected in the ELV, 1964-1965.

Camp	Be ds	Visito rs	Nights	% occupancy- 1964	% occupancy -1965	Revenue -1964 (£)	Revenue- 1965 (£)
Chilongozi	10	282	506	49	41	601	552
Lusangazi	8	320	425	25	43	316	441
Mfuwe	12	325	1,350	42	91	524	1,167
Lion	6	207	541	52	73	483	571
Nsefu	12	516	1,000	45	65	823	1,049
Big lion	12	425	1,164	72	78	1,193	1,211
Luambe	12	260	576	36	39	557	592
Total	72	2335	5,562	46	61	4,497	5,583

Source: 1965 Game and fisheries department Annual Report, P. 45.

APPENDIX 5d: Tourists' visits and revenue collected in the ELV, 1965-1966.

Camp	Be ds	Visitors	Nights	1965 % occupancy	1966 % occupancy	1965 revenue (£)	1966 revenue (£)
Chilongo zi	10	213	381	41	33.1	552	406
Lusanga zi	8	320	425	43	59.6	441	579
Mfuwe	32	616	2,802	91	48.1	1,167	2,767
Lion	6	134	500	73	79.7	571	547
Nsefu	12	375	924	65	49.8	1,049	849

Big lion	12	453	1,167	78	70.0	1,211	1,203
Luambe	12	197	509	39	30.7	592	511
Total	92	2,308	6,283	61	53	5,583	6,862

Source: 1966 Game and Fisheries Department Annual Report, P. 47.

APPENDIX 5e: Tourists' visits and revenue collected in the ELV, 1966-1967.

Name of camp	Beds	Visits	nights	% occupanc-1966	% occupancy-1967	Revenue-1966 (£)	Revenue-1967 (£)
Mfuwe-ZNTB	32	393	282	51.5	64	2,767	2,379
Mfuwe-Zambia Airways	-	2,650	680	-	-	7,950	19,350
Big lagoon	12	1,104	357	70.0	74.8	1,203	-
Lion	6	546	161	79.7	74.0	547	1,161
Nsefu	12	873	312	49.8	52.7	849	575
Luambe	12	394	148	30.7	26.7	511	408
Chilongo zi	10	233	101	33.1	18.9	406	242
Luanfwa	16	865	434	-	39.2	-	900
Total	100	7,058	2,475	53	50	14,233	25,015

Source: 1967 Game and Fisheries Department Annual Report, P. 49.

APPENDIX 5f: Tourists' visits and revenue collected in ELV, 1967-1968.

Camp	Beds	Visits	Nights	% occupancy- 1967	% occupancy- 1968	Revenue- 1967 (£)	Revenue- 1968 (£)
Mfuwe- ZNTB	32	1, 161	3, 733	64	67.8	2, 379	43, 372
Mfuwe Zambia Airways	-	2,650	680	-	31.6	19,350	21,102
Big lagoon	12	505	1,420	74.8	77.1	-	2,694
Lion	6	239	620	74	67.3	1,161	2,694
Nsefu	12	499	1,234	52.7	67.1	575	1,224
Luambe	6	-	-	26.7	-	408	2,509
Chilongozi	10	57	1,321	18.9	10.7	242	82
Luanfwa	16	531	1,220	39.2	49.2	900	2,466
Total	94	5,642	10,228	53	57	25,015	76,143

Source: GRZ, *Game and Fisheries Department Annual Report*, (Lusaka: Government Printer, 1968), P. 56.

APPENDIX 5g: Tourism revenues made in SLNP, 1993-1998.

Year	No. Local tourists	No. Foreign tourists	Income (ZK rebased)
1993	3,912	2,897	106.855
1994	5,120	5,145	133.811
1995	5,723	5,167	159.573
1996	6,730	7,350	270.686
1997	6,032	7,373	320.890
1998	2,932	9,777	453.419
Total	30,449	37,709	1,445.234

Source: Dalal-Clayton and Child, *Lessons from the Luangwa*, P. 158.

APPENDIX 6a: Tourist facilities showing bed spaces inside SLNP by 1996

S/NO:	Name of facility	Bed spaces	Status
1	Chimilandu Camp	06	Operational
2	Chibembe Camp	18	Operational
3	Chichele Lodge	32	Operational
4	Kaingo Camp	12	Operational
5	Kakuli Camp	12	Operational
6	Kapamba Lodge	20	Not operational
7	Lion Camp	08	Not operational
8	Luafwa Lodge	08	Not operational
9	Luwi Camp	06	Operational
10	Mchenja Camp	12	Operational
11	Mfuwe Lodge	36	Operational
12	Nsefu Camp	12	Operational
13	Nsolo Camp	08	Operational
14	Tena Tena Camp	12	Operational
15	Tundwe Camps	16	Not operational
16	Zebra Pans	08	Not operational
17	Big Lagoon	12	Not operational
18	Luanfwa Lodge	08	Operational
19	Munyamadzi	08	Operational
20	Manzi Camp	08	Operational

Source: Draft Management Zone Plan-SLNP, (Chilanga: ZAWA, 1998), P.20; LIRDP 1996 and 1997 Annual Reports.

APPENDIX 6b: Tourist facilities showing bed spaces outside SLNP by 1999.

S/NO:	Name of facility	Bed spaces
1	Marula Lodge	16
2	Chibembe Lodge	24
3	Chinzombo Lodge	16
4	Flat Dogs Camp	12
5	Kafuta Lodge	16
6	Kapani Lodge	16
6	Lukonde Camp	12
7	Nkhwali Camp	12
8	Tafika Camp	10
9	Tamarind	08
10	Wild Life Camp and Campsite	24
Total		166

Source: LIRD 1996 and 1997 Annual Reports.

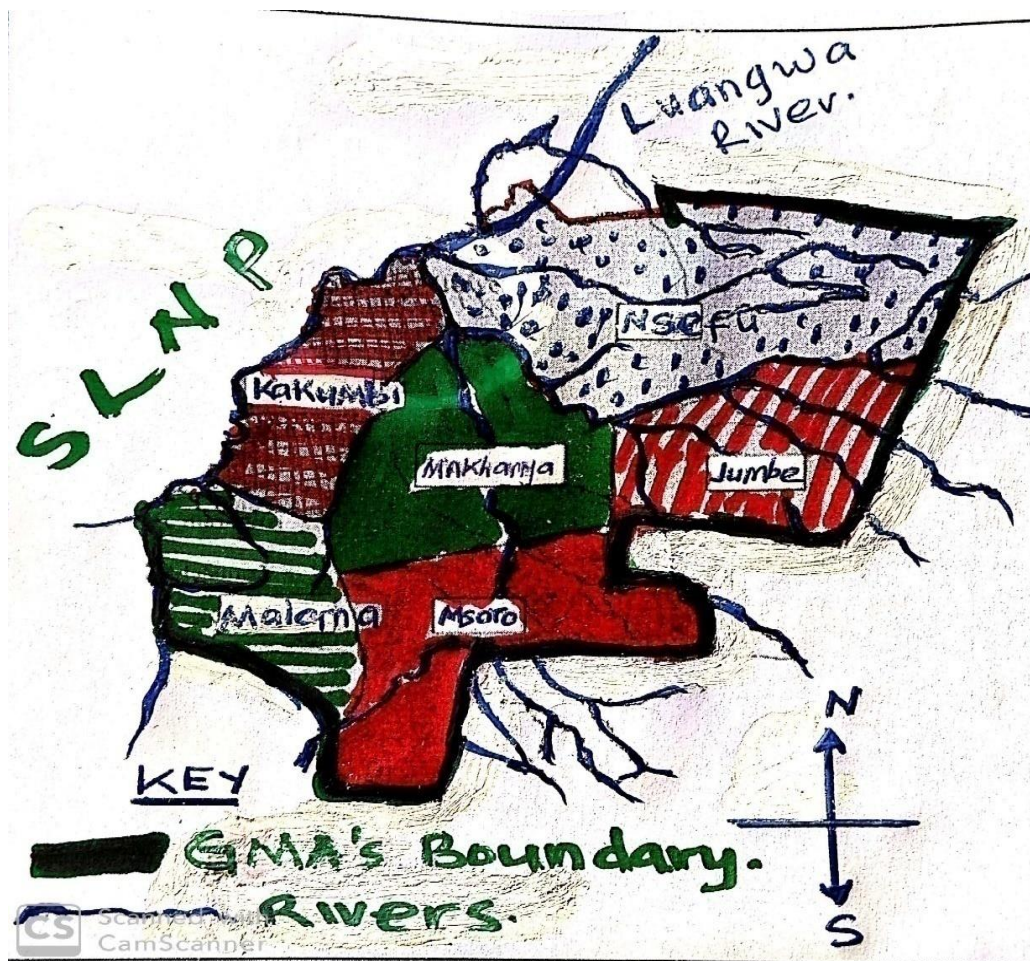
APPENDIX 7: Existing tourist facilities at the time of research in SLNP.

S/N	Name of facility	Type of facility	Bed space	Status	Tour operator
1	Nsolo	Bush Camp	8	Operating	Norman Carr Safaris
2	Kakuli	Bush Camp	8	Operating	Norman Carr Safaris
3	Mchenja	Bush Camp	10	Operating	Norman Carr Safaris
4	Luwi	Bush Camp	8	Operating	Norman Carr Safaris
5	Mwamba	Bush Camp	6	Operating	Shenton Safaris
6	Bilimangwe	Bush Camp	8	Operating	Bush Camp Company
7	Chamilandu	Bush Camp	6	Operating	Bush Camp Company
8	Kuyenda	Bush Camp	8	Operating	Bush Camp Company
9	Nchindeni	Bush Camp	8	Operating	Bush Camp Company
10	Kapamba	Bush Camp	8	Operating	Bush Camp Company
11	Gwala	Bush Camp	6	Operating	Bush Camp Company
12	Chikolo	Bush Camp	6	Operating	Remote Africa Safaris
13	Crocodile	Bush Camp	6	Operating	Remote Africa Safaris
14	Puku	Bush Camp	8	Operating	Sanctuary Lodges
15	Mimbuli	Bush Camp	8	Operating	Sanctuary Lodges
16	Island	Bush Camp	6	Operating	Kafunta Safaris
17	Nkhozi	Bush Camp	6	Operating	Jackal Berry Safaris
18	Mupamadzi	Mobile Camps	6	Operating	Robin Pope Safaris
19	Mupamadzi	Mobile Camps	6	Operating	Robin Pope Safaris
20	Mupamadzi	Mobile Camps	6	Operating	Robin Pope Safaris
21	Mupamadzi	Mobile Camps	6	Operating	Robin Pope Safaris
22	Tena Tena	Safari Camp	12	Operating	Robin Pope Safaris
23	Kaingo	Safari Camp	16	Operating	Shenton Safaris
24	Nsefu	Safari Camp	14	Operating	Robin Pope Safaris
25	Lion	Safari Camp	18	Operating	Lion Field Limited

26	Chichele	Lodge	20	Operating	Sanctuary Lodges
27	Mushroom	Lodge	26	Operating	Matula Investment
28	Mfuwe	Lodge	36	Operating	Mfuwe Trails Limited
29	3 Luangwa Bush	Fly Camp	18	Operating	Robin Pope Safaris
30	Fly Camp	Fly Camp	6	Not Operating	Safari Explora
31	Kapani	Lodge	20	Operating	Norman Carr Safaris
32	Kafunta River	Lodge	20	Operating	Kafunta Safaris
33	Thornicroft	Lodge	18	Operating	GA Land Lakes
34	Marula	Lodge	32	Operating	River Tree Limited
35	Mopani	Lodge	20	Operating	Mopani Safaris
36	Chimfule	Lodge	-	Operating	Chimfule Lodge Limited
37	Lupande	Lodge	8	Operating	Costco General Dealers
38	Jumbe Trust	Lodge	20	Operating	Jumbe Trust Limited
39	Chizombo	Lodge	10	Operating	Norman Carr Safaris
40	Luangwa River	Safari Camp	10	Operating	Robin Pope Safaris
41	Tundwe	Safari Camp	12	Operating	Tundwe Safaris
42	Flat dogs	Safari Camp	16	Operating	Chibuli Tours Limited
43	Nkhwali	Safari Camp	26	Operating	Robin Pope Safaris
44	Wild life	Camp site	30	Operating	Lupande Safaris
45	Kiboko	Camp site	20	Operating	Kiboko Safaris
46	Nabbowe	Camp site	6	Operating	Nabbowe Camp Site
47	Track and Trails	Camp site	10	Operating	T & T Safaris
48	Zikomo	Camp site	12	Operating	Rahoo Enterprises
49	Kaswahili	Camp site	18	Operating	Kaswahili Safaris
53	Mwita Lagoon	Camp site	18	Operating	Mwita Lagoon Limited
54	Kamunjili	Bush Camp	8	Operating	Lupande Safaris
55	Mkango	Bush Camp	10	Operating	Mkango Bush Camp
56	Lower Lupande	Hunting Camp	8	Operating	Kwalata Safaris
57	Upper Lupande	Hunting Camp	6	Operating	Westgate Safaris

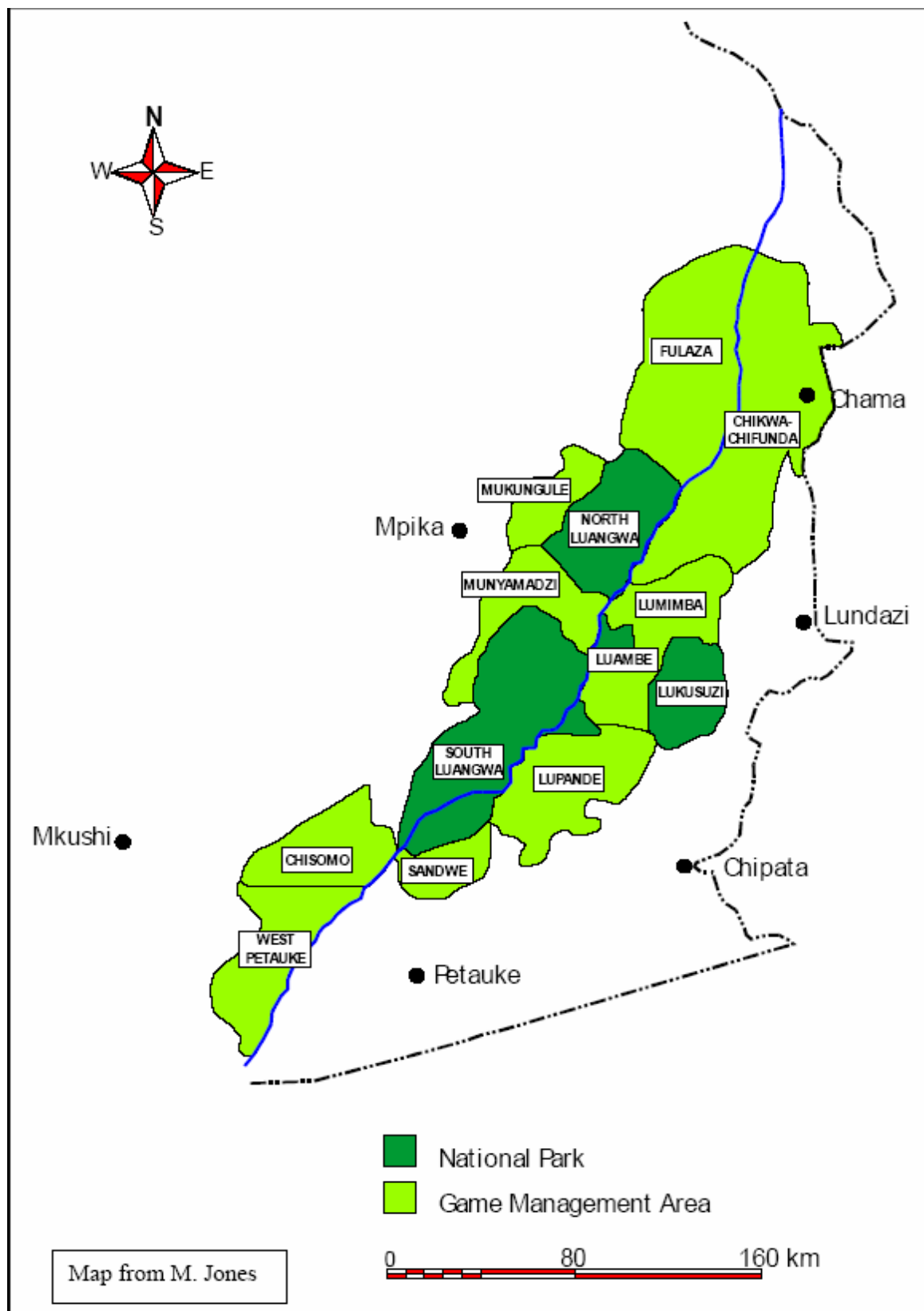
Source: Compiled by the author during the field of research.

APPENDIX 8: Sketch map showing location of Kunda Chiefdoms



Source: Produced by the Author during field of Research

APPENDIX 9: National Parks and GMAs in Luangwa Valley, 1990.



Source: 1990 Chizombo ZAWA Camp Annual Report.

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