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Study on drivers of change in three chiefdoms of Southern Province in Zambia

Commissioned by
the Royal Norwegian Embassy in Lusaka

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List of abbreviations

ADC	Area Development Committee
CBO	Community Based Organisation
CDC	Chiefdom development committee
CDF	Constituency Development Fund
DAPP	Development from People to People
DC	District Commissioner
DDCC	District Development Coordinating Committee
DEBS	District Education Board Secretary
EFZ	Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia
GRZ	Government of the Republic of Zambia
GTZ	Deutsche Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit
LADA	Law and Development Association
MoU	Memorandum of Understanding
MP	Member of Parliament
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
PTA	Parent Teacher Association
UNICEF	The United Nations Children's Fund
WfC	Women for Change
ZDC	Zone development committee

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Executive summary and recommendations

Background and purpose

The Norwegian Embassy in Lusaka has decided to support a community development project in three chiefdoms of Southern Province targeting traditional leaders as local drivers of development. The justification for supporting this initiative to involve traditional leaders in development is what is seen as the failure of the conventional approaches to contribute to sustained development in the rural areas of Zambia. The question posed is whether conventional approaches fail because they do not relate to the actors that hold power in the rural areas. The Embassy's support for the project should thus be understood as an experiment to test the hypothesis that traditional leaders can be important development actors if they are given the means and the right incentives.

The purpose of this study commissioned by the Embassy is to do an analysis of actors and groups in the chiefdom, with the aim to identify and assess potential drivers of change. The study should focus particularly on the traditional leaders and local authorities – elected and administrative. Given that the intervention supported by the Embassy is expected to have the effect of strengthening the position of the traditional leaders, the study should look at ways in which the Norwegian support could, over time, support, rather than impede local democratic and public administrative structures at the local level. In particular it should look at how traditional structures could be used to mobilise local communities to strengthen their participation in development, including the ability to articulate development needs and make claims towards relevant government institutions. Further, the study should look at how the project should be taken further, and provide recommendations for the further role of the Norwegian support. Given the emphasis placed on gender and the enhancement of women through the project by the Embassy, the study should focus specifically on identifying drivers for change that promote an agenda to enhance women's rights and improve gender equality.

Findings

Analysis of actors and drivers of change

The analysis of potential drivers of change confirms the strong position of the traditional leaders in the communities. Their power in the communities seems to a great extent to be a result of people's general lack of information, which is found to be one of the most striking features of the areas. They tend to act as intermediaries between communities and local authorities – elected and administrative – which is justified by the strong notion of the community consensus, by which community decisions are made. Government, for their part, also tend to relate to the communities via the traditional leaders. Government tend to use the mobilising power of the traditional leaders e.g. for implementation of construction projects, as well as their knowledge of the communities to select beneficiaries e.g. for government animal restocking schemes. Traditional leaders are found to have fairly strong connections with elected representatives, and are generally said to prefer going through the political rather than the administrative channels. NGOs working in the areas will go through the traditional leaders before approaching the communities, and some involve the traditional leaders in the implementation of their projects, much like government as described above. Possible positive agents for change in the areas include a locally rooted NGO, the Law and Development Association (LADA), which works on questions of customary vs. statutory law, trains paralegals in the communities and sensitises people on their rights as citizens.

The Matantala project

The project is based on the principle of having the chiefdoms define their own needs and their own solutions to those needs. This was seen as very positive by the respondents. Matantala is to

play a facilitatory role in the chiefdom's realisation of those solutions through providing contacts with outside actors, such as government institutions or NGOs. The test of the organisation's added value lies much in its ability to perform this role. It is too early to assess whether it will succeed. So far, it has been challenged by trying to balance the principle that chiefdoms should make their own priorities on the one hand, with the external intervention on the other hand.

The organisation has a dedicated field staff with a good network in the area, as well as good networking skills. Nonetheless, the team found that a central actor which has worked on these issues for a long time, such as Women for Change, has not been contacted for exchange of experience. The team also found that though involvement of government expertise has been there for some projects, this must be done more systematically. More should also be done to ensure government ownership of relevant projects on rehabilitation and construction of infrastructure in the areas, in order to secure sustainability of the projects. The organisation was found by the team to be lacking in terms of gender expertise. Further the team finds that the intervention is not likely to be interpreted by the communities as being explicitly centred on changing gender relations in the chiefdoms. Lastly, the team found that productive-/business-projects, such as women's tailoring clubs and youth carpentry clubs seem to have been set up by the communities without proper planning and training of participants, which may present a risk to the sustainability of the projects.

Project relations to communities' citizenship rights and local government structures
The study was to consider how traditional structures could work towards mobilising people to strengthen their participation in development, and their ability to make claims towards government, as well as how the intervention could work towards supporting, rather than impeding government structures in the area.

The first part of the question relates to how the traditional leaders can act as mobilisers for strengthening participation of the communities in local development and for making communities more able to make claims towards government. As outlined above, it was found that traditional leaders currently act as intermediaries between government structures and the communities and that the notion of the community consensus discourages individual claims-making towards government by community members. The traditional leaders can no doubt act as mobilisers for community member's participation in development e.g. contribution of labour for construction projects etc. But this does not necessarily work towards strengthening people's ability to drive their own development, nor towards strengthening their capacity to claim their rights as citizens. The current set-up does not seem to be compatible with traditional leaders strengthening people's ability to make use of the democratic structures. However, the problem of the bifurcated state, and of the rural population's status as both citizens under the state and subjects under the traditional leadership, has been discussed by African scholars at length. Some scholars, like Mahmood Mamdani would say that the customary structures must be done away with for the liberal democratic structures to be understood by the rural population, as well as for them to be able to exercise their rights as citizens (Gould (forthcoming)). Other scholars, on the other hand, will state that democracy in the African setting must take as its starting point the notions on the community consensus in order to be relevant and meaningful to people. It is not within the scope of this study to do justice to this question.

Looking at how the project can support local democratic and administrative structures rather than creating an alternative structure, however, requires a pragmatic approach to the question of how the traditional structure can be made to fruitfully interact with the formal government

structures. Drawing on a recent GTZ-study which explores this question (Chigunta 2005), it seems that developing close interaction between the committees set up under the Matantala project and district and sub-district government bodies could prove useful.

Recommendations

The Embassy's further engagement.

- In order to follow up on what has been set in motion, and to be able to meaningfully contribute to the purpose of the project, i.e. setting off processes of social change in the areas, the Embassy's financial support for the project should continue in the longer term (unless of course, breach of contract commitments or developments in the project makes it impossible for the support to continue).
- A tentative time-frame for the Norwegian support should be clearly communicated to Matantala. However, phase-out of the Norwegian support should be tied to the ability of other actors to take responsibility of the various components.
- The project should remain a pilot, and should not be considered expanded to other chiefdoms before more experience is gained.
- The Embassy should be careful not to put pressure on Matantala to show results too soon.

Future funding and sustainability of the project components.

- The construction projects should be handed over to local government (if they are not already government property) upon phase out of the Norwegian support, with agreements on responsibility for maintenance in place before implementation.
- If government cannot commit itself to fund maintenance, a donor fund could be considered set up for the purpose.
- Government commitment to provide technical staff for the follow-up should nonetheless be secured before implementation. The success rests a lot on government ownership. Government's ability for follow-up will, of course, depend a lot on the progress of the Decentralisation Implementation Plan and increased capacity and budgetary means.
- In the case of productive projects, i.e. private business enterprises, whether cooperatives, individual entrepreneurs or enterprises with more than one owner, financial responsibility should be transferred to the participants/owners. This requires training and close follow-up in the initial stages, as well as adequate planning of the projects.
- If micro-finance schemes are set up, this should be done in cooperation with experienced organisations committed to follow up after phase out of the project support.
- Agreements on follow-up on processes of social change in the areas could be made with organisations already working in the areas, or committed to working in the areas in the longer term. This means that contact with other organisations that have experience from working with traditional leaders in the Southern Province, like Women for Change should become much more pronounced in this initial phase of the project.
- Given that the project set-up (especially the CDCs) is rather elite-controlled, great care should be taken to ensure that the project does not end up increasing socio-economic inequality in the areas.

Contributing towards greater gender equality.

- The Embassy should follow up closely on Matantala's commitment and ability to work towards greater gender equality in the chiefdoms.

- It should be ensured that the Embassy and Matantala have common goals/motivations for the project.
- Matantala needs to strengthen its understanding of working on gender relations and strategic approaches to promote gender equality. Matantala should consider taking on field staff with expertise on gender issues and women's rights, or seek outside advice to a much greater extent than is done today. This is crucial for the project to be able to achieve its purpose of contributing to and supporting processes towards more equal relations between women and men in the communities.
- The 10% allocation of the chiefdoms' budgets reserved for initiatives aimed at promoting gender equality and fighting discrimination of women, should be reserved for projects with that as a main component (e.g. not productive/business-projects). The communities should be defining the need for such projects through the regular planning processes.
- Matantala should work more systematically on gender sensitisation in the communities, including of traditional leaders, women and men in the communities.
- Training and confidence building of women through the existing clubs should be supported, as well as women serving on the CDCs.
- Commitment to take steps towards greater gender equality should be demanded of the traditional leaders, or otherwise support should be considered withdrawn. The Embassy states that it will consider using a 'carrot and stick'-approach to achieve this, and should in cooperation with Matantala and the communities agree on what should qualify for withdrawing support. The Embassy suggests building on the declaration and work plan made by the chiefs under a Women for Change-programme. This could be used more systematically, and possibly developed in collaboration with Women for Change to include the broader spectrum of the traditional leaders (including senior and village headmen).

Future of the CDCs.

- Depending on how the project structure develops (in terms of *inclusiveness*, contacts with government and other actors, the impact on the position of the traditional leaders (and their response to this)), the CDCs could continue as more permanent popular advisory bodies for the chief.
- Depending on the implementation of the decentralisation policy, in particular the envisaged establishment of sub-district development committees (ADCs), the CDCs or ZDCs (though more explicitly inclusive) could play a role in linking the traditional leadership, as well as the community members, more closely to the local government structures. In anticipation of the government decentralisation, Matantala could play a role in facilitating contact between the leaders and communities through the CDCs and various government bodies (e.g. the DDCCs). For example, it could advocate for the participation of the CDC chairpersons in the DDCCs (and not simply participate as Matantala on their behalf).

1 Introduction

The Norwegian Embassy in Lusaka has decided to support a community development project in the Southern Province targeting traditional leaders as local drivers of development. The project, which is being carried out by a newly established organisation, the Matantala Rural Integrated Development Enterprise (hereafter termed Matantala), targets three chiefdoms in the Southern Province of Zambia: Chona, Mwanza and Haanjalika chiefdoms. The project is based on an initiative by Matantala Chairperson Mark Chona and the Norwegian Embassy to test whether traditional leaders are able to be agents for change and development in their chiefdoms, given the means and incentives to do so.

An initial workshop for the traditional and other community leaders was held in May 2006 to mobilise the communities to define their own needs and to find solutions to those needs, and subsequently to develop local development plans under the overall leadership of the traditional leaders. Community representatives would participate in the planning and the communities would implement the plans. The Norwegian Embassy would support the implementation financially. (It was decided that all projects should in principle include a 30% direct contribution from the communities.) Matantala would guide the communities in the planning and the implementation. Three broad categories of activities are envisaged (according to the Embassy's Appropriation Document): 1) Community development activities, focusing on improving the availability of social sector services; 2) Productive sector initiatives aimed at stimulating local growth and employment; 3) Behavioural change initiatives focusing on gender equality and challenging discriminatory norms.

The purpose of this study commissioned by the Embassy is to do an analysis of actors and groups in the chiefdom, with the aim to identify and assess potential drivers of change. The study should focus particularly on the traditional leaders and local authorities – elected and administrative. Given that the intervention supported by the Embassy is expected to have the effect of strengthening the position of the traditional leaders, the study should look at ways in which the Norwegian support could, over time, support, rather than impede local democratic and public administrative structures at the local level. In particular it should look at how traditional structures could be used to mobilise local communities to strengthen their participation in development, including the ability to articulate development needs and make claims towards relevant government institutions. Further, the study should look at how the project should be taken further, and provide recommendations for the further role of the Norwegian support. Given the emphasis placed on gender and the enhancement of women through the project by the Embassy, the study should focus specifically on identifying drivers for change that promote an agenda to enhance women's rights and improve gender equality.

2 Methodology

The study was carried out in the course of four weeks in April-May 2007, three of which were spent in Monze and in the communities. The study team was made up of one Norad staff together with a local assistant. 20 individual semi-structured interviews and 8 focus group discussions were carried out with representatives of various groups in the communities (senior headmen and village headmen, women's groups, farmers, youth, church leaders, NGOs and CBOs and teachers), as well as government representatives in Monze, elected leaders, as well as NGOs in Monze and Lusaka.[1] Most of the interviews in the communities were carried out in Tonga, the local language, with interpretation by the assistant. A few were carried out in

[1] See appendix for a complete list of people met.

English, or a combination of the two. Most respondents were more comfortable expressing themselves in Tonga than in English.

Identification of respondents was to a large extent done via the contacts of Matantala in the communities, for two of the Chiefdoms this was the chairperson of the development committee of the Chiefdom set up for the Matantala project. These local contacts also functioned as guides in the area, which was useful, as it was easy to get lost in the areas. This set-up, of course, had its limitations, in the sense that there was a bias in the selection of participants, such that most would be engaged in the project on some level. Also, the team was perceived by respondents as being affiliated with the project. In addition, by virtue of its assignment, the team was seen as representing the donor, the Norwegian Embassy. The team made sure to explain its independence of the project structure and the donor, but this was not necessarily understood by all the respondents. Combined, this seemed to influence the responses to at least some of the issues discussed. Respondents would to a large extent praise the project, and underline the need for continued support. Discussing local affairs – e.g. decision making structures – respondents' openness varied, as did also their knowledge of these matters. All of the approached respondents were willing to take time out of their schedule to be interviewed.

On some of the days in the field, the team did not have any guide, and searched out respondents based on contacts received from NGOs in Monze, and the categories of respondents to be covered. In this way, the team also met respondents independent of the Matantala project, which provided interesting views on local affairs, and some tended to be more critical of the traditional leadership than other respondents (not meaning that all other respondents were positive). The approach was, however, extremely time consuming.

Out of the three weeks, nine days were spent going into the communities. Effective use of time in the field was a problem on some days, due to problems of getting transport. Some days were partly spent attending workshops with the chiefdoms; while some days were spent in Monze conducting interviews with government and NGO representatives there.

3 Description of the three chiefdoms

The three targeted chiefdoms are situated in the Districts of Monze (Chona and Mwanza Chiefdoms) and Mazabuka (Haanjalika Chiefdom). Together they cover an area of around 1200 km², and a population of around 72 000 (Matantala Development Plan document, Nov 2006). All three chiefdoms are of the Tonga people. The chiefdoms differ in size, population and topography, as well as in literacy levels and access to information. Mwanza covers a larger area and has a larger population. Haanjalika generally has higher literacy levels, and access to information sources like radio seems to be better than in the other two chiefdoms.

The main base of income in all chiefdoms is agriculture, mainly maize. Domestic animals, goats, pigs and poultry are kept as assets, as well as a source of income. Cattle are kept as assets and indicate social status. Agriculture is mainly dependent on natural irrigation, as access to water is low in many areas. Access to markets is also a problem in many/most of the areas, as distances are vast, and accessibility low, due to the poor state of the roads and lack of transportation.

Men are considered the head of the household, and will be in control of the household income and assets. Polygamy is common, and a man's number of wives indicates his wealth and manly hood. Women and men perform distinct tasks in the household and in agricultural production. Some tasks like weeding and shifting the land are considered women's chores, while ploughing is a man's job. This division of labour seems to be very strict, and men will not perform tasks generally reserved for women. Some suggested, however, that there was some movement in

these norms, as nowadays women could be seen ploughing (though it was not common). Women do a lot of the hard work on the household's farm land, and it was suggested that men will take on more wives in order to be able to farm bigger plots of land. Though others will probably argue that it is the other way around: successful farmers will be able to take on more wives because of their wealth. Women will often also have been given their own plots of land (though they do not have permanent ownership of these plots), on which they grow a variety of crops for household consumption, or for sale. However, women have to prioritise the work on the household plot first, and thus have little time to tend to their own plot.

Social services in the areas, schools and clinics, are generally of a low standard, and are inaccessible to many, due to long distances, and poor state of roads and other infrastructure. Statistics on enrolment rate were not obtained, but teachers estimated that around 70% of children go to school, and about 50% finish grade 7. Children start school late, at around the age of 10. In areas with large government schools, this is because the school does not have the capacity to receive all the children of school going age, such that there is a waiting list. In remote areas, children generally start late because the distance to school is too long for the smaller children. In one remote area visited by the team, out of a group of eight girls in the seventh grade, two were 15 years old, while the rest were 17 years old. The teacher-pupil-ratio is alarming, (with an average of 1:100 in the larger schools) (Matantala Development Plan document, Nov 2006). There is only one high school in the three chiefdoms. Pupils generally have to go to Monze for high school (secondary school). There are very few clinics in the areas, and people generally have to travel long distances (mainly on foot or by bicycle) to get to the nearest clinic. In some areas there are health posts or health attendants, but these are often poorly equipped and trained, and cannot take care of more serious cases.

Lack of information about national and even local public affairs is one of the most striking features of the areas. For the majority of the population, the only source of information is a local radio station run by the Catholic Church. Even senior headmen will only read newspapers in the event that they go into town. Women's access to information is much more limited than men's, as men seem to control information sources, like the radio (e.g. when they go to herd the animals, they will bring the radio with them). Public transport is non-existent, but in some areas, private pick-ups go into Monze and back again once a day (e.g. from Chona palace). This, of course, does not reach remote areas. Transport within the areas will also be done with ox-carts (where the roads allow it). Some people (though almost exclusively men) have bicycles, which are used for transport of goods to and from Monze. Otherwise, people walk very long distances on foot, hitching a ride with a passing vehicle, if they are lucky. Very few people have vehicles in the areas, and for those that do, it is a very important asset, as they have the means to get people quickly into town.

Poverty is grave in the areas, but there are socioeconomic differences. The most pronounced differences seem to be between the population of the really remote areas in chiefdoms and the people living closer to the main (dirt) road that goes through the area. The difference between women and men is also very pronounced in terms of access to important resources, such as cash, assets, information and access to forums for decision making. The lack of cash is a problem for most, but especially for women. Within the area, it seems that the majority of transactions are made in kind. It also seems that doing small jobs or services for others in the community is mostly compensated in kind.

Senior and village headmen play important roles in the communities, as will be elaborated below. Other influential persons in the communities generally seem to include the councillors, larger small-scale/'emergent' farmers (if e.g. they control assets such as vehicles that are

important for others), retired civil servants and other 'enlightened members of the community' (often advisors to the headman), though this will vary across the communities.

Contact with government in the areas is mainly restricted to teachers, health workers and agriculture extension workers. The distance to the District administration for most people is vast, literally in terms of geographical distance, but also conceptually, as the District administration is perceived as 'the big men' in town. People's awareness of their rights and duties as citizens is generally very low. People are also generally very disillusioned with government, as a result of the withdrawal of government from rural areas during the 1990s, and the consequent decay of social services. People seem generally to be very project oriented in their thinking about development, and their expectation of the possibility for change seems moulded by the development 'industry' (possibly stemming from experiences with external interventions, e.g. NGOs coming into the area). This may be unfortunate, as what they tend to see is that government does not provide for rehabilitation of public buildings or installation of new structures, while some NGOs do. They do not seem to recognise that government actually provides for the daily running of social services, like schools, clinics, extension service etc. (even if they are of course grossly inadequate). This seems to divert their expectations towards organisations or other outside actors, rather than to put pressure on government. Of course, this disillusionment also stems from the fact that services are of such low quality, and experience that government does not respond to complaints – which creates a vicious circle where people do not see it as worthwhile to spend their time putting pressure on government.

Haanjalika chiefdom is the only one of the three chiefdoms that currently has a chief. The other two are (since April/May 2006) in the process of selecting a new chief, which can be a lengthy process. In the transition period, the chiefdoms are headed by the prime minister (ngambela) of the late chief. This situation has persisted for about one year for both chiefdoms. There is much rivalry surrounding the process of selection, and this seemed to have created a somewhat uncertain situation in the two areas. Both prime ministers expressed that it was difficult to get the sufficient respect from the senior headmen to perform their duties as acting chiefs.

4 Considerations on drivers of change in the areas

4.1 Traditional leaders

4.1.1 Structure of the chiefly institution

The chiefly institution has three levels. The chiefdom is headed by the chief and his council, which is made up of senior headmen and selected (enlightened) members of the community. In day to day governance, the chief is assisted by a prime minister (nduna/ngambela). The chiefdom is divided into zones, over which the senior headmen are responsible. The zone consists of a number of villages headed by village headmen. The chief and (most of) the headmen are chosen from within a royal family. The positions are open to both sexes, but women chiefs and heads are few. The chiefly institution lies under the Ministry of Local Government and Housing. The District councils have responsibility for the following up of chiefs' affairs at the local level. The council pays the so-called subsidies (remuneration) to the chief and also has a responsibility to follow up on succession processes.

The headmen have an advisory committee, which will typically comprise senior members of the community. Senior headmen are selected according to experience, age and geographical distribution, and serve for a limited number of years. They provide a link between the chief and the headmen, and give instructions to the headmen according to orders from the chief. The interaction between the levels of the chiefly institution seems to follow a strict 'line of command'. Issues emerging from the communities that need the chief's attention should first

pass through the headman, and then the senior headman who in turn takes the matter to the chief if it is not resolved at these lower levels.

4.1.2 Roles and responsibilities of the traditional leaders

The traditional leaders are important not only as custodians of tradition and custom, but in almost all aspects of people's lives, as they tend to represent the only authority that is within people's reach. They play an important role in upholding law and order in the chiefdoms. They pass laws, enforce them, as well as being the ones people report to in case of an offence or a dispute. The traditional leaders also control land allocation, keep a register of the population, call community meetings to discuss issues of importance for the community, and will often play a central role in the management of development projects (government as well as NGO projects).

The traditional leaders tend to act as intermediaries between the community members and outside actors like NGOs and government actors (District Administration as well as councillors and MPs). Both NGOs and government will generally approach the chief and headman before making interventions in an area. Many of them will also interact with traditional leaders for implementation of projects, e.g. for mobilisation of the community for labour, or to help in the selection of beneficiaries. Correspondingly, in the event that something is needed in the community, e.g. the rehabilitation of a building or more teachers for the school, this matter will be taken to government (or an NGO if relevant) by the traditional leaders. In such cases, the headman (after being approached by a community member or group) will call a village meeting to discuss the matter to reach an agreement in the community. Whatever has been agreed will then be taken further to the senior headman, and to the chief. It will be discussed with relevant advisors to the chief, and then taken to the relevant government institution by the chief or someone appointed by him. For any member of the community to approach government on such matters as an individual, is seen as disloyal and as likely done out of egotistic reasons. As a rule, a request towards government or other outside institutions should come from the community, and not from any individual member.[2]

4.1.3 How do traditional leaders view themselves?

The chief: Sees himself as the sovereign ruler of his chiefdom, and consider that rule by government is to take place outside of that sphere: "Once a decision is passed by a chief, not even a Minister coming can change it". Chief Haanjalika would emphasise that his authority is recognised by the government, and thus legitimate. At the same time, he sees it as government's responsibility to "see to it that there is development in the area". The chief on his part should see to it that people work hard using the resources that have come in. The chief sees himself as the contact point between the people in his chiefdom and local government. On the chief's role vis-à-vis his subjects, Chief Haanjalika emphasised the importance of being a role model for his people: working hard in his own fields to inspire his people.

The headmen: Senior and village headmen see themselves as important for people's welfare, and for development in the area. They see themselves as important for maintaining peace in their area, and settling disputes. They see it as their responsibility to make people participate in development projects in the area, e.g. to contribute labour to construction work on communal buildings. They see themselves as a contact point between the people and the councillors, as

[2] Not all issues must necessarily pass through the chief though. For example, it seems that community organisations, like the Parent-Teacher's Association (PTA), may approach government directly from community level. It will most often be done in agreement with the headman, who is often a member of the PTA. Also, individuals or cooperatives will keep contact with the Ministry of Agriculture in the District, without this being a matter for the chief/headmen.

well as the chief. They say that the community expects them to be able to help if they have a problem, or that people expect them to know where to take the problem (relevant government institution).

4.2 District administration, local government, elected leaders

Decentralised governance in Zambia takes place on the levels of Provincial administration, the District administration and the local government (the District Councils). Provincial and District administration is an extension of central government through the line Ministries, while District Councils are locally elected.

District Councils are made up of locally elected Ward Councillors (Full Council), and administrative staff. Councils are responsible for provision of services such as water and sanitation, road maintenance and health centres and clinics. However, their capacity to provide them is extremely limited. Disbursements from Central Government to the Councils are irregular in terms of size, and arrive late, or are given at an ad-hoc basis when needs emerge. The team did not obtain indicative figures of the total annual budget of the Council, but Saasa (2007: 44) shows that Central government transfers to District Councils constitute less than 2% of the annual total public expenditure, which is very low (and is indicative of the importance attributed to them). Local revenue collection systems are weak. The lack of stable financing makes planning and budgeting very difficult. Councils also suffer from weak planning and management systems and inability to attract qualified staff (Saasa 2007: 9-14).

The District Council provides the secretariat for the District Development Coordinating Committee (DDCC). The DDCC is responsible for coordinating all development activities in the District. It does not control any budget. It is composed of representatives of government departments, NGOs, District Council, and church representatives. The DDCC is divided into sub-committees for various sectors and themes, as well as a Planning Committee. The Planning Committee is reportedly responsible for mobilising communities for development initiatives, ensure implementation, monitoring and evaluation, and linking the communities to possible funders (GTZ, UNICEF, line ministries were given as examples). It is severely lacking in capacity however. In Monze District, while the office of the Planning Committee should have a staff of five people, it currently only has one, the District Planning Officer. Moreover, the District Planning Officer at present also holds the position of Acting District Council Secretary. Thus, it is doubtful if the Planning Committee is at all able to perform its duties.

NGOs in the area should submit plans and reports to the DDCC Planning Committee on its activities. Many of the NGOs in the area also sit on the committee. The committee will also provide an arena where the NGOs can be linked up with expertise from the government line ministries, though it seems it is equally possible for the NGOs to go straight to the line ministries for such purposes. The District Planning Officer expressed, however, that NGOs not reporting to the Planning Committee was really a problem for government planning in the District.

The District Commissioner (DC) is the representative of the President of GRZ at District level. The DC is the political and administrative head of District. The DC heads the DDCC. The DCs office seems also to be suffering from a general lack of resources, e.g. the DC in Monze does not have a vehicle at her disposal. The DC expressed that her schedule was constantly shifting, as she spent a lot of her time receiving visitors from Lusaka or from the Province administration. These visits also seem to take up a lot of time for the line Ministries.

Line Ministries at District level are extensions of the central level and should implement government policy in the District in their respective sectors. The general impression is that

these are also lacking very much in terms of resources, e.g. they seem to have difficulties getting out into the rural areas, because they lack funding for fuel. Their general budgets are very limited. For example, the District Education Board Secretary (DEBS)'s budget for 2007 was said to be about 250 million Kwacha[3] (excl. the operating budget), which would be enough for the rehabilitation of two schools. Considering the needs and the size of the area, this is very little.

Members of Parliament: The presence of MPs in the rural setting varies a lot, depending on commitment and personal qualities. In one constituency, it was reported that the MP had never visited since his election to Parliament, while in another consituency, the MP is very active and seems to visit fairly often. Each MP controls a Constituency Development Fund (CDF) which for 2007 is 200 million Kwacha (increased from 60 million Kwacha in 2006). The CDF is managed by a committee consisting of four community representatives/leaders, councillors, a chief's representative and a representative from the District Councils office, in addition to the MP. Management of the CDF seems to vary, some committees receive applications from the communities, in others the MP makes proposals for what the fund should support. Knowledge of the fund in the communities also seems to vary. In one constituency (where the MP was reported never to visit), the team met a senior headman who had never heard of the fund. The general impression is that the fund is in many constituencies spread thinly across many projects, rather than providing the necessary funding for a few selected projects. The fund appears to a large extent to be used for private political purposes, to strengthen own chances for re-election.

Councillors are elected from Wards, in which they will normally reside. They meet quarterly at District level in the Full Council, as well as quarterly (may vary) in various subcommittees. Councillors will often, though not always, be knowledgeable people in the communities. Some are retired civil servants. As they reside in their Wards, they could be expected to have more closeness to the people than other officials. This seems, however, to depend a lot on the personal commitment of the councillors. Some councillors will go around in the area to talk to their constituents, while others do not. In geographical scope, the wards are generally too large for the councillor to be available to his people. The general impression is that their contact with ordinary people in the villages is limited. One councillor met, expressed that the informed people of the ward would go to the councillor, while the others would see the headman.

4.3 Community based organisations

4.3.1 Women's clubs

Women's clubs seem to be a common form of organisation for the women in the area. The clubs will typically involve some kind of income generating activity, like tailoring, knitting, or rearing of small animals. These clubs seem really to have mushroomed after the Matantala project was initiated in the areas, though clubs also existed in the area before that. The creation of many of the new clubs was reported to have been initiated by leaders within the managing structure of the Matantala project in the communities (who are mostly male).

Women's clubs are promoted as a way to empower women through income generating activities. Of course, there is no simple causal link between such initiatives and women's empowerment. The success of the income generating clubs in terms of women's empowerment depends on the commercial success of the activities. If the clubs are to be operated as a commercial enterprise, whether as a cooperative or as an enterprise of shareholders or a

[3] 1 USD = ca 4000 ZMK (June 2007).

network of independent entrepreneurs etc., the success depends on market demand (and the purchasing power in the market), and whether the clubs/cooperatives/businesses are able to produce products to meet the demand and at the same time make a profit. If not, the result may be, when the donor support has been phased out, that they go out of business. This would not be encouraging for the women involved and may harm their reputation as business women in the community.

If indeed the clubs are functioning as vehicles to provide women with an income independently of her husband, this could provide one of several measures to strengthen the position of women in the communities. Still, it is not evident that the women will all be allowed to keep what they earn, as the husband will mostly control incomes of the household. One respondent indicated that if her husband demanded that she give him her income, though she would not give him all of it, she would probably give him half.

Some respondents argued that the clubs, with activities like knitting and weaving, may work to further the current role of women as housewives. The seemingly widespread conception in the communities that clubs are good because they 'keep women busy' and 'prevent their engaging in beer drinking and sexual relations outside marriage' supports this. In this sense, the clubs will be a way to get women to conform to the norm of being a good housewife. Some women's club leaders seemed to be quite conservative women, who may be instrumental in maintaining the traditional expectations to the role of women.

However, this did not seem true for all women's club leaders and members, who expressed frustration with the power of men (and traditional leaders) in the communities, and a will to change certain customs and norms. Clubs could perhaps be arenas for other types of activities than just productive. The clubs could provide courses and training on various issues; confidence building as well as sensitisation of the women e.g. on women's rights and child rights. This will probably require a more active role for Matantala, both in suggesting this as a possibility to the clubs, linking the clubs with actors that can facilitate the activities, and making sure that such activities have a place in the plans and budgets of the Chiefdom – as provided for through the rule that 10% of the budgets should be spent on 'gender and culture'. Through these kinds of activities, the clubs could also act as drivers for change.

4.3.2 Parent-Teacher's Association (PTA)

The PTA seems to be a very central organisation in the communities, as a link between the communities and the schools. The PTA-chairman (most often the chairperson is a man) will generally be a respected person in the community. People will go straight to the PTA-chairman if there is a problem, without passing through the headman. On his part, he seems to cooperate closely with the headmen in the area in many cases, with whom he will meet regularly.

4.3.3 Youth groups

Youth groups or clubs did not seem to be very pronounced in the areas. Some youth clubs have been created as a result of the Matantala intervention, as productive clubs mainly for carpentry. There are also youth groups for sports activities. One youth representative met by the team was very actively involved in starting HIV/AIDS sensitisation through a drama group in the area together with a group of peers. This seemed very promising, and seemed to be an initiative coming from the youth themselves. It seems that youth are generally not regarded as having any role to play in decision making in the areas, in most cases, experience and age is what is valued in this regard.

4.4 Civil servants

Teachers and agriculture extension officers are the only government representatives that people are in regular contact with. Teachers seem to be important people in the communities, as they have education, and experience from outside the rural setting. One respondent emphasised their role as a source of information on current affairs in the country. Teachers do not, however, seem to be important in the structure of local decision-making, as many will come from other parts of the country, and not necessarily be seen as part of the community.

4.5 NGOs

Not many NGOs have continued presence in the areas, though there are variations between (and within) the chiefdoms, with certain outlying areas greatly disfavoured in this respect. It seems that most of the organisations work on food security and livelihoods, e.g. seed multiplication and income generation through animal restocking programmes for groups (mostly small animals, goats and chicken). Some do food distribution to vulnerable groups. Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia (EFZ) have activities in Mwanza. World Vision had activities in Chona and Mwanza chiefdoms, but has now withdrawn. Development from People to People (DAPP) work with orphans, especially on food distribution.

There are only two rights-oriented organisations in the area, Women for Change (WfC) and Law and Development Association (LADA). WfC works in Haanjalika chiefdom on human rights, gender, HIV/AIDS as well as livelihoods. It has helped with the establishment of an HIV/AIDS-club, with which the Chief is reportedly much involved. Some respondents suggested that the presence of WfC in the area had a positive impact on the Chiefs role in addressing gender issues.

LADA is an association that is local in origin as well as in outreach. It draws membership from women's groups in the area around Monze, including the Chiefdoms of Chona and Mwanza. LADA works on legal issues of divergence between customary and statutory law, on women's rights under customary law, and on cases of abuse of children. It does awareness raising and sensitisation of the traditional leaders on human rights, with the aim of making them revisit and revise the customary law. It trains community members as paralegals who will provide legal advice, advice people on where to take their case, and refer difficult cases to LADA in Monze. Judging from one paralegal met by the team, the trained paralegals seem to represent an alternative voice in the communities. It is difficult to say anything about their actual influence in the communities though. It is one of the few organisations that have an explicit rights focus, but it also works on livelihoods, restocking, seed multiplication, income generation for groups.

4.6 Religious leaders

There are mainly three churches represented in the areas: the Catholic Church, the Seventh Day Adventists and the Salvation Army. Only the latter two have their leaders present in the communities, as the Catholic priests only come in to conduct mass on Sundays. The churches and the religious leaders are important to people spiritually and, as indicated by some respondents, for upholding moral. The churches also play an important role in taking care of the ill, elderly and orphans in the communities. However, they do not seem to play any political role, as they seem generally not to have any part in decision-making processes. The team was not able to establish whether the churches might play constructive roles in processes to do away with certain harmful traditional practices. One of the churches met said that they emphasise women's participation in project committees etc.

4.7 Entrepreneurs

To the extent that one can speak of entrepreneurs in the communities, these would be successful (though relatively small-scale) farmers. (There seems to be many who aspire to do

business, especially women, but they do not seem to have the means). These may be powerful in the sense that they control assets (e.g. vehicles) that are important for other politically powerful (but perhaps less wealthy) members of the communities. There is, however, nothing to suggest that these are necessarily any more progressive (in the sense of promoting e.g. greater gender equality) than the traditional leaders. Based on the material, it is difficult to say much about the power of such individuals.

4.8 How do other actors view the role of the traditional leaders?

Government: Respondents from local government expressed that they realise that people in the rural areas pay more allegiance to their chief than to them, and will mostly go through the traditional leaders in their interaction with the rural areas (see 4.7). Government has a weak outreach in the rural areas, except through teachers and agriculture extension support staff. Government respondents expressed that they thought that people will listen more to their chief/headman than to e.g. a teacher.

Elected leaders: The general impression from the respondents met is that elected leaders, councillors and MPs, see the role of the traditional leaders as important contacts in the communities. However, it varies whether the MPs and councillors actually visit their constituencies, and the elected leaders met by the team seemed to be of the more active ones. Thus, it is difficult to say what the not so active ones think about the role of the traditional leaders.

Women's clubs: All the women's clubs talked to said that the traditional leaders are important actors in the communities. None questioned the authority of the leaders; their positions seemed simply to be taken as a given. The majority of the women's groups expressed they did not see how traditional leaders could make a positive change in the situation for women. They said that, in the traditional court, women would generally be suppressed, even in cases where the man was in the wrong. Others, however, did give examples where the rulings of the traditional leaders would go against the man, especially in cases of violence against women ('wife battering'). Most women's clubs, when asked how traditional leaders are important for the community, would highlight their role of keeping the peace and settling disputes. Traditional leaders were generally not seen by the women's groups as contributing much to development in the areas. One woman respondent suggested that the headmen would try to reap personal benefit from involving themselves in certain development interventions, such as animal restocking schemes or food distribution schemes for vulnerables. Some of the women's club respondents indicated that the leaders were only concerned with issues in which they had a personal interest. When asked where they would take e.g. a complaint on a school matter, one respondent said: "We are supposed to take it to the headman, but we don't. Q: Why don't you take it to the headman? Headmen are only concerned with what they are interested in. If they don't have children at school, they are not concerned." Nonetheless, the authority and legitimacy of the traditional leaders is not questioned as such. When asked why issues should be taken to the headman in the first place, many respondents would answer in the same way as the above respondent: "Because they are the ones who head the community."

CBOs, farmers' leaders: The majority of the respondents confirmed the strong position of the traditional leaders in the communities, and few questioned the legitimacy of their positions as leaders of their respective areas. However, there were different views on the current leadership, especially in the chiefdoms that are currently without a chief. In one of these chiefdoms in particular, many of the respondents expressed discontent with the traditional leaders, and some suggested that the traditional leaders used their positions for personal gain.

NGOs: NGO-representatives met seemed to view the traditional leaders as important actors in the rural setting, and act on the basis of that acknowledgement. For the traditional leaders to play a positive role in development, and especially, for a change in the situation of women, there is need for much sensitisation as well as careful follow-up of their actions and their commitment for change, many NGO representatives suggested. Some respondents met, working with HIV/AIDS under the Catholic Church (in another chiefdom), for their part, were very positive towards the potential of the chiefs and headmen to effectuate change in their communities. These work very closely with the traditional leaders, through sensitisation and the traditional leaders engaging in their practical work. They said that initially, it had been difficult to involve them in the work, but that after sustained effort, the traditional leaders had now started encouraging their people to get tested, and traditional practices were slowly changing.

Religious leaders: Church leaders seemed to generally accept traditional leaders as leaders of the communities, but would not see them as having the potential to create change, especially in the situation for women.

Youth: The youth respondents met by the team, confirmed that the position of the traditional leaders is strong. None of them questioned their positions as leaders of the community. For some, it seemed to be the only leadership they relate to.

4.9 Relationship between the traditional leaders and other actors

Government: Conscious of the important position of the traditional leaders in the rural areas, District government officials expressed that interaction with the traditional leaders is necessary for them to be able to do their work. Thus, when they go out into the rural areas, government departments of the District seem often to call meetings with the headmen to inform them e.g. on their plans for the area. Some headmen expressed frustration over this, as they said that they saw no point in the meetings, since 'nothing ever happens anyway'. When a case is to be taken from the communities to the District administration, it seems that this will be done through the chief.

Government seems to draw upon the influence of the headmen e.g. for the implementation of specific projects, as they find them to be effective in mobilising people: "they have a special muscle to push their subjects" and "provide the leadership for development projects to take place". The general impression is that the administration has a pragmatic approach to the question of interaction with the traditional leaders, not considering the possibility that this may work to strengthen the position of the traditional leaders in the rural areas, at the expense of government's own position and influence. Though given the resources at their disposal, they do not seem to have much alternative.

In some Districts, chiefs will be represented on the DDCC. For example, Chief Haanjalika is a member of the DDCC in Mazabuka District. In Monze District, however, chiefs do not sit on the DDCC. In Monze District, it was said that the traditional leaders would have a place on the Area Development Committees (at a lower administrative level). However, these are currently not functioning.

The local courts (i.e. government courts also taking cases that fall under customary law) in the areas were reported to a large extent to be under the control of the chief. The chief's court and the local court seem often to be situated very close to each other. Upon appointment of a local justice for the court, one respondent indicated that the chief has to approve the chosen candidate. One respondent representing a rights-based local NGO, suggested that the traditional leaders have seized more power than is their due according to the law. Given the lack of

presence by government, as well as the general lack of information in the rural areas, it is possible for them to rule on matters that are beyond their jurisdiction. For example, they will fine people for various offences (e.g. make perpetrators pay damage to the offended party), when, according to the respondent, they should have referred the case to the local court as it is not within their jurisdiction to fine people.

Elected representatives: Some respondents said that the chiefs will prefer to work through political channels rather than the administrative. It was suggested that the chief are well placed to address government at national level: "since chiefs are the ones who influence their subjects' vote, it makes government work faster". It was not easy to obtain information on this, but it seems clear that there is much cooperation between the traditional leaders and the MP and councillors. The MP for one of the areas said that the first thing he did after he was elected, was to go around the area with the chiefs to get a picture of what was needed in the constituency. It is a commonly accepted truth that MPs need to keep good relations with the chiefs, as they need their support for election. It seems that the MP is mostly addressed through the chief or the councillor, while headmen deal mostly with the councillors. Some councillors work quite closely with traditional leaders. In one area, the councillor had previously been a chiefs' councillor (i.e. chiefs' representative on the District council). Though the councillor saw the two roles as distinct, it shows that there seems to be some fluctuation of individuals between the spheres of the traditional system and the representative democracy.

One respondent from within the communities suggested that the traditional leaders were too closely connected with elected leaders: In the case of a government cattle restocking scheme, headmen and councillors in the area had made sure to appoint each other into the project committee, and had taken control of the cattle by 'writing the names of their sons and relatives'. These headmen and councillors apparently all belonged to the same political party, and had made sure that only villages headed by headmen of the 'right' political affiliation would benefit from the scheme. As indicated above, the closeness of the contact between elected and traditional leaders seemed to vary a lot, however. Some areas reported that (for better or worse) the relationship was very close, in other areas, there seemed to be little or no interaction.

Community groups and organisations: Women's clubs do not appear to have much contact with the traditional leaders, neither do youth clubs. The PTA does have regular contact with the headmen of their catchment area, for planning, mobilisation of people for construction work (much as with NGOs as described below), and for taking cases to government.

NGOs: Some NGOs seem to relate to the traditional leaders in an instrumental way, recognising that it is necessary for effective implementation of their projects. All NGOs that want to operate in the area will first go to see the chief, and then access the community through the headman. Like government, many of the NGOs (and some churches) see the benefits of using the mobilising force of the headmen in the communities to access people's labour power. Some NGOs also expressed that they find it useful to cooperate with the headmen in selecting beneficiaries for their projects, as 'they know their people'. Other NGOs, more especially Women for Change and LADA, do sensitisation work on human rights (and women's rights in particular) among the traditional leaders based on the assumption that these are key actors for effecting change in the communities. LADA also does interesting sensitisation of traditional leaders on customary law vs. statutory law. However, LADA also does sensitisation of people on their rights as citizens. In that sense this organisation may also act as a 'counter force' vis-à-vis the traditional leaders, presenting people with an alternative authority which is responsible for meeting people's needs. The limited capacity of government to deliver represents a constraint to this strategy however.

In general, it seems there is a culture of competition between the various actors on being the one to get the credit for providing things to the communities. There seems to be competition between elected and traditional leaders, e.g. the headmen and the councillors, on who is approached by the people when they have a problem. As respondents also pointed out, 'being approached' is an honour. Thus, because the headmen are concerned with retaining a position as someone who is 'being approached' over other leaders in the community, it seems unlikely that they will start referring people to go directly to the councillor. There also seems to be an element of competition between NGOs and government in terms of both getting the credit for providing services or goods, and in terms of access to the funds for these projects.

4.10 Decision-making in the community - the community meeting

If something needs to be discussed or if the community needs to be informed of a matter, the headman will call a community meeting. All adults (over eighteen) must attend, otherwise they may be fined. Youth under eighteen seem not to have access to the meetings, as they have to look after the younger children and prepare dinner for when the adults return. The community meeting is the main formal arena for decision making in the communities. The notion of 'community consensus' is strong. After debating a public matter at the community meeting, the decision that is made stands as the community's decision. This could be seen as a participatory decision-making arrangement, with people being involved in making decisions on matters of importance for the community. The respondents tended to portray it as such, when presented with the question of who makes decisions on things in the area.

It was very difficult to get a clear picture of how such a meeting would proceed: if people would feel free to oppose the popular opinion; if people would speak against the headman; if any particular group would dominate the meeting; if compromises are made between differing factions, or if the headman makes the final decision etc. Most respondents said that discussions in such meetings were open, and that whoever felt like it would contribute, though, of course, some would talk more than others. Some of the responses provided did, however, also suggest that many meetings would take the form of information meetings where decisions had already been made. Some of the women's groups suggested that on some occasions, the men would have discussed issues informally over a beer beforehand, and that it was in these informal meetings that decisions would be made. A generally accepted assumption has it that there is a tendency in Zambia for people to have a high degree of respect for authority. It is likely that this also applies in the areas studied, given the levels of education and the general lack of information, and, thus, that these kinds of meetings may to a great extent be elite-controlled, with the headman and perhaps a few 'enlightened' members of the community (e.g. former civil servants) exerting much influence.

4.11 Traditional leaders' interest, ability and power to enforce change and development?

It is generally accepted that that the power and influence of the traditional leaders in the communities is very strong. Most respondents confirmed this. The legitimacy of their leadership does not seem to be questioned or in need of further justification. However, even traditional leaders, it seems, have limits to their power in matters that are not that easily controlled, e.g. people's spiritual and traditional beliefs. Many of the traditional practices are closely tied to religious/spiritual beliefs and will be deeply rooted in peoples minds as being necessary and right, e.g. sexual cleansing after the death of a spouse. Thus, traditional practices being discouraged by leaders may just make people 'go underground'. Most of the harmful practices seem to be taking place 'outside of the system' anyway. For example, it seems to be a common practice that in case of child abuse, the perpetrator can get away with simply paying

damage to the child's parents. These cases are resolved without the involvement of the traditional leaders.

That said, the traditional leaders are probably still among the best placed to effect change in tradition and custom. They have the power to ban certain practices by amending the laws and the power to enforce the customary law of the chiefdom. If cases are taken to them, they will potentially be important sources of backing for those that loose out because of the traditional practices.

Customary law and traditional practices in the areas generally favour men, as tradition does tend to favour those who have power in a society. Changing traditional practice means taking away privileges from those that have power, and that have power to obstruct change. This makes for stand still. However, the context is not static, and even if the areas seem to have been left unchanged the past thirty years. This is not entirely true. Even if the lack of information is one of the most striking features of these areas, there are still impulses reaching the people from without and within, e.g. through NGOs, serving and retired civil servants. This is part of the reality that the traditional leaders have to navigate in.

Chiefs are often chosen on the basis of their experience and level of education (though this is by no means the only criteria). As noted above, some have been exposed to other ideas, and may to a greater extent be able to look at their areas from outside. There are several examples of chiefs who seem to act as agents of change and drivers of development in their areas. The only chief in the three areas, Chief Haanjalika provides one such example. To promote leadership of women, he has an explicit strategy to install a woman in every head-post that becomes available in the chiefdom. So far there are 3 or 4 headwomen in the chiefdom. He is also active in an HIV/AIDS-club started in the chiefdom by Women for Change.

Though some chiefs seem relatively progressive, senior and village headmen do not necessarily share these ideas. Chiefs have often been more exposed to new ideas, and generally have a higher level of education than the village headmen, and thus may be more open to change. It may be that there is a divergence in the understandings and goals of the chief on the one hand, and the village headmen on the other. Headmen are the ones who are present in the communities on a day to day basis, thus, their attitude to change may be as important in terms of what happens on the ground. There is also the possibility that some chiefs will appear progressive to the outside world, because they know through their education what the outside world wants to hear. In this case, they might not put their strongest means to effect to create change downward in the system.

Another aspect may be that the legitimacy of the traditional leaders seems to lie much in the sense that they represent the community by being 'one of them'. This could mean that departing too much from custom and accepted thinking may threaten the foundation of their power. To stay relevant for important people in the community, their interest to remain influential may also be best served by conforming to the norm. This may impede change.

Many respondents, including women, stated that, it is not necessarily the traditional leaders that represent the main problem when it comes to suppression of women, but the men in general (or rather the norms in the communities regulating the roles of women and men). They would refer to the role of the traditional leaders in passing judgement on men who mistreat their wives. Still, the role of the traditional leaders as women liberators should probably not be overstated. The accepted fact of life in the areas, of men, traditional leaders and many women alike, is that the woman is subordinate to the man.

In terms of the interests of traditional leaders for involvement in development projects, some respondents suggested that the traditional leaders engage in the management of projects for personal gain. To the extent that this is the case, it will be adversary to their contributions to development in their areas. However, it is not possible to generalise on the traditional leaders' motivations for engagement in development interventions. Some of the traditional leaders seemed generally devoted to bringing material development to their areas. As noted, some will work hard to be role models and inspire their people to produce as much maize as possible, for example. However, judging from the respondents met, it seems that most will tend to wait for resources from outside actors in their promotion of development. Respondents mentioned some examples worth exploring, where chiefs in Southern Province have taken the lead in development in their chiefdoms, Chiefs Nalubamba and Mwanachingwala.

4.12 Norms and spiritual beliefs

It seems that some of the impediments both to material development and to the enhancement of women lie in the belief in witchcraft and the spiritual. Witchcraft is the root of much suspicion in the communities. For example, people who are successful will be suspected of having used witchcraft to achieve whatever they have achieved. For their part, successful people will have grounds to fear being bewitched, or poisoned. This is not specific to the rural areas though, but applies also to a great extent in the urban areas of Zambia.

Many of the traditional practices are deeply rooted in people's spiritual beliefs. These are not easily changed, though there seems to be some movement. For example, for widow-cleansing, due to HIV/AIDS, some have converted to other forms of cleansing than a widow having to perform sexual intercourse with a man (male relative), e.g. performing a modified version of the cleansing act with a female friend. However, it was suggested that some, for fear of the spirits, will opt still to perform the traditional ritual, because it is thought that unless it is performed, the spirit of the late spouse will come back to haunt the widow. There are also forces within the communities which seem strongly to encourage harmful practices, like child abuse: witch doctors (which should not be equated with traditional healers) will advise people to have sexual intercourse with a minor, as they say it will bring good fortune.

It should be strongly underlined that the points mentioned above are not meant to suggest that tradition and spiritual belief are all sources of harmful practices. For example, spiritual belief carries with it practices that are environmentally friendly, and traditional communal thinking makes for community members helping each other out during ploughing. Also, the fact that some practices are beginning to be modified within the traditional framework (e.g. the concept of cleansing), suggests that change does not necessarily have to imply doing away with traditional beliefs.

5 The Matantala intervention

5.1 Structure and work methods

The basic idea of the intervention is that people should define their own problems and find their own solutions to these problems. Thus, the role of Matantala lies in facilitating this process. For the purpose of administration of the funds, implementation, planning and reporting of activities, a structure of committees (based on existing arrangements) is set up at various levels of the chiefdom structure. There is a Chiefdom development committee (CDC) at chiefdom level consisting of around 10 members, and a Zone development committee (ZDC) at zone level. The chiefdom development committee consists of representatives from each zone committee (mostly the leader) in the chiefdom. The process of selecting people to sit on the various committees is, however, to a large extent left to each chiefdom to decide. The headmen

seem to have had considerable influence over the selection of committee members, but in some areas it was resolved by a popular vote at the village meeting.

The CDC should be composed of representatives from the chiefdom, as well as ex-officio members (without voting rights): representatives of the chief's council (two headmen), government representatives and Matantala representatives. The traditional leaders should not be members of the chiefdom development committee (except the two ex officio members). The role of the CDC is to provide the link between the communities and Matantala; select projects to receive support; ensure a fair distribution of the funds in the chiefdom; produce budgets and plans for the chiefdom, as well as financial and narrative reports for Matantala. The CDC receives project proposals from the ZDCs, and is responsible for looking at the totality of projects in the chiefdom. The principle for the distribution of funds between the zones is up to each CDC to decide. Some have decided to split the total budget into even sums to be divided among the zones, while others decided to distribute the funds according to need, such that zones with greater needs receive more. Matantala has encouraged that the latter principle apply. The CDCs are responsible towards Matantala and the donors for the use of funds, but the Agreement (MoU) between Matantala and the chiefdoms, which spells out the responsibilities of the parties e.g. on financial management, was signed by the chiefs.

The CDCs and ZDCs are required to have at least 30% representation of women. The communities seem however to see it as the 'usual gender-balance requirement', not as a sign that promoting gender equality is a pronounced part of the project. In the team's opinion, it could be considered if the percentage should be 50/50 women and men in the committees. The positions given to the women are not leading, but mostly that of 'committee members'. No women have leading positions. However, all treasurers are women, which may be seen as a positive step in the right direction. Though, Matantala should follow up on these, as respondents (external of the project) reported on experiences where women holding such positions had been put under a lot of pressure from male colleges, e.g. to lend them money from the project account, which the women in turn had been forced to replace themselves, as the money was never repaid. Women's participation in the committees depends a lot on women's ability to use their positions. The general impression is that many of the women lack the confidence to be equal participants to the men. Thus, the team suggest that confidence building-initiatives should be considered for the women sitting on the committees.

Matantala's mandate is to be a facilitator, and provide support for the CDCs in their work. This means providing training where necessary; facilitate links to other relevant actors – government and NGOs or other organisations; and initiate sensitisation of various groups. It should also monitor and document the processes, and make sure that funds are used according to agreed budgets and plans.

5.2 Local ownership and external interventions

The question of local control of project priorities versus the wish to influence development and include marginalised groups, will probably represent a recurring dilemma for Matantala. As there is no requirement of representation of various groups on the CDCs and ZDCs (other than that there should be at least 30% women representatives) there is a danger that the committees can be controlled by a local elite, loyal to the chief/ngambela and headmen. Groups that feel left out of the planning process at local level (e.g. youth) have approached Matantala directly to appeal to them to give support. It seems it is difficult for Matantala to turn these groups down. This puts Matantala in a difficult situation, as, on the one hand, it has also to make sure to support the organisational structure it has helped set up for the purpose of planning, on the other hand, it wants to make sure that marginalised groups are not left completely behind. As an alternative to giving support outside of the development committee structure, Matantala also

try to use its influence to persuade the CDCs to give priority to these groups. However, this is a precarious balance between external intervention, and the principle that chiefdoms should make their own priorities.

5.3 Activities supported under the intervention

The project document for 2006-2007 from Matantala states that it will provide funding for three types of projects: a) Community projects, which include building and rehabilitating schools, clinics, agricultural installations, boreholes, roads etc. According to the project document, 70% of the budget should be used for these kinds of projects. b) Productive projects/local economic empowerment projects, which should help raise people's productive capacity, and provide support to productive projects, such as gardening, fish farming, beekeeping, pottery, basketry etc. c) Gender and culture, which includes sensitisation, development of positive regulations and bylaws by the traditional leadership etc. The Embassy's appropriation document states that 20% should be spent on productive projects, while 10% should be spent on gender equality/behavioural change initiatives.

In practice, and probably for various reasons, the division of project types into 'productive projects' and projects for 'gender and culture' has led the communities to see the 10% allocation as a provision to (all types of) women's projects, while the 20% allocation to productive projects is perceived as an allocation reserved for the men (though including productive projects for youth). In part, this seems to have been endorsed by the Matantala field staff in their work with the communities on budgeting and planning. This is unfortunate, because it will tend to enhance the thinking that the projects implemented through the women's clubs are not 'real' productive projects, but more of a way to 'keep women busy'. If the intervention is to challenge the communities into thinking differently about the roles of women and men, women's productive activity must not be reduced to an 'income generating activity', but must be recognised as being equal to men's productive activity. Drawing the support for the women's clubs' productive activities from the 20% allocation, would provide a step in this direction.

5.3.1 Community projects - rehabilitation of infrastructure

The communities have started rehabilitating schools and other infrastructure, which looking at the state of these in most of the areas is no doubt needed. Plans for further projects in this category include among other things, boreholes, rehabilitation of dip tanks, and construction and rehabilitation of clinics. With regard to these projects, it is essential that District administration is involved in the planning, such that its ability for overall planning in the District is not undermined. It is also central that relevant technical government departments are involved in planning and implementation to ensure quality control as well as ownership by government to the interventions in the communities. This is important with regard to maintenance of installations or support of community maintenance committees (if these are planned for). Government respondents referred to examples where boreholes had been placed too close to cemeteries because the responsible NGO had not consulted government expertise before implementing. Matantala has made use of government expertise in its projects, but it does not seem to have involved government in any substantial way. Though it is recognized that this is very likely to slow the processes down, it is seen as a necessary investment for the project sustainability, as well as for the project not to contribute to undermining government development efforts.

The communities provide the labour for construction and rehabilitation-projects, and are responsible for producing much of the material needed. This has many advantages, e.g. for creating local ownership and for mobilising collective action. However, there seems to be a danger that with senior and village headmen being used as 'mobilisers' of people, the process

could – if the element of coercion is strong – work towards simply enhancing people's respect for authority, rather than mobilising them to take charge of their own development. Steps should be taken to make sure that this is not the effect.

5.3.2 Productive projects

This early in the project phase, the communities have not implemented many productive projects. According to the report from Matantala (2007), two of the chiefdoms have started carpentry projects for youth, while one chiefdom has started an oxen ring for communal ploughing. In addition many productive projects are started through women's clubs, though they are not classified as such, but as 'income generating activities', that are funded over the 'gender and culture'-allocation of the budget. These will still be discussed here since they have much in common with the youth carpentry projects.

There are many things to suggest that the productive projects for youth and for women have been set up too hastily. None of the clubs visited had done proper planning for its activities, in terms of investigating the market and making considerations on profitability. Most of the clubs visited by the team were very recently established. (Though productive activities had started, and agreements on sales had been made, none of the clubs visited had yet received payment for their products.) Members did not seem aware of how the income would be divided among the members (or reinvested in materials), nor of whether they would actually make a profit from the sales. One of the women's clubs met had received materials from the CDC, who had made purchases for all activities, and did not seem to be aware of the cost of these materials, and at what prize they would have to sell in order to make a profit. A youth carpentry club met was well underway with production, but did not seem to have a proper understanding of how the products would be marketed, and whether there was actually a demand for what they were making. They had very unrealistic expectations of how the products could be sold, and even talked about exporting. This suggests that training in basic business planning is needed, which should come before more mistakes are made and possible investments lost. Failure to make the productive projects profitable, may mean financial loss and will mean wasting people's time, and could also discourage individuals from pursuing such ventures in the future.

The clubs may have potential, but they need to be managed in the right way in order for them to contribute to strengthening the position of women. The team sensed a tendency by other community members, and some of the women themselves, to view the activity of the women's clubs simply as something to 'keep the women busy' (and not as a serious economic activity). If women's clubs are supported to do productive activities in order to generate an income for its members, demands must be made on them: the women have to be taken seriously as business people. Otherwise, participation in the clubs could prove to be a waste of valuable time for the women.

Loan schemes or micro-finance

Many of the women have expressed to Matantala that they would prefer being given individual loans to do business on their own, rather than only to work through clubs. Some of the most industrious women of one of the chiefdoms even invited Matantala to a meeting to outline the possibilities for this kind of arrangement. Based on communications with women's clubs and observations made at the above-mentioned meeting, the women seem to expect an arrangement where (fairly large) loans are given by an external actor, mostly to do trade. At the same time, many of the women's experience of doing business is fairly limited, as described above. Given that Zambia has a history of government providing loans without necessarily expecting people to pay back, the aspect of honouring loans has probably to get much attention. Matantala is still in the process of finding a rational arrangement, and it seems it still has some way to go. It has been discussing with some local actors, like extension workers in the communities, which is a

good start. It is important, however, that it also link up with organisations specialised in the field of micro-finance, with experience from the Zambian context (as context specific factors are vital).

5.3.3 The 'gender and culture' allocation

The CDCs have reserved this allocation for "women's activities", meaning mostly women's clubs for productive activities (cf. 6.3.2. above). Shifting the funding for women's productive projects to the 'productive projects'-allocation, would have the beneficial effect of releasing the 10% allocation to be spent on projects directed at challenging norms and customs. Since the 10% allocation should be planned and budgeted for by the communities themselves, they would then have to think of ways of spending that allocation (not just distributing it to the women's clubs, because they do not know exactly what to do with it). In that way, the allocation would be spent on sensitisation and training initiatives actually deriving from the communities. This has to be followed up closely by Matantala, however, e.g. by providing the communities with connections to other organisations that the communities can engage to do trainings or sensitisation meetings.

5.3.4 Sensitisation work supported by Matantala

Under the current arrangement, sensitisation is provided through Matantala's budget line, as part of the facilitator role. This should probably also continue, but alongside projects on 'gender and culture' that are supported over the budget lines of the CDCs.

Matantala has started doing some sensitisation work with the communities, especially directed at the traditional leaders. For example, the local NGO Law and Development Association was brought in for one of the planning workshops for headmen and CDC members in April, to talk about culture, culture change and development. These kinds of initiatives should be made more systematic, and more frequent. Other organisations' experiences should also be drawn on here, especially that of Women for Change, which has already been conducting sensitisation work with headmen in the targeted areas. From what the team understands, Matantala intends to increase these kinds of activities, and to link them up with other activities supported, construction projects and productive projects.

Capacity and confidence building, especially for women, should also be done more systematically. Matantala plans to arrange exchange visits between the chiefdoms as part of learning and experience sharing. One of the respondents met, suggested that such an exchange visit for selected women leaders in the chiefdoms could be made to a women's literacy project, the PANUKA Institute in Nkandela, Pemba, in order to provide inspiration for the women to start their own training initiatives. The team visited this project, and supports the suggestion.

Training of the traditional leaders on women's rights and child rights, as trainers for their communities, could be considered. They have the power to summon meetings where training could be held. They also have the power to amend laws and enforce them in the communities. This could be a way to test their commitment for change of certain harmful traditional practices.

5.4 Risks to sustainability of the project

Spending and expectations of quick results

In December 2006, a disbursement of NOK 500 000 was made to the Matantala project, which the chiefdoms had to plan for (planning had started earlier in the year) and find ways to spend according to the demands on types of projects. It seems it was easy for the chiefdoms to find ways to spend the 70% allocated to community projects (mostly rehabilitation of school infrastructure). But it seems they also quickly had to define projects that filled the quota of

20% to productive projects and 10% to projects on gender and culture. Matantala suggested that this had been difficult for the chiefdoms, as the allocation was expected to be spent in the early months of the year 2007. As described below, some of the projects (especially productive projects for women and youth) seem to have been ill-prepared, and would probably have benefited from an extra few months of planning, preparation, and training of participants.

There are things to suggest that expectations of quick results may potentially become a threat to the success of the project. These expectations seem to come both from the Embassy, the communities as well as from Matantala itself. However, well-documented experience from participatory community development projects shows that not rushing implementation in order to get results fast, is essential for the success of the project (Mansuri 2004: 2). Of course, it is an established truth that development, and especially social change, takes time. However, it seems this is easily forgotten in practice. Matantala has become known in the communities for responding quickly to requests from the CDCs, which is of course seen as very positive by the people in the areas. Still, an important task for Matantala is also to secure the quality of the projects, and the quality of the processes, in terms of e.g. ensuring government involvement for rehabilitation or construction projects; and ensuring that participants have sufficient knowledge before embarking on productive/business-projects. The Embassy also has an important role here, in not encouraging implementation based on the need for quick results.

Limited focus on government involvement and ownership
Matantala has had contact with various government departments in the District for technical expertise e.g. for school rehabilitation projects. This is important and should continue, and become a routine for all such projects that are within government's responsibility. Matantala wants to join the DDCC, which is important for government planning in the District. It does not seem to have consistently involved government in the planning of the projects started to date. Matantala expressed, however, that communication had been somewhat difficult, among other things because government had wanted to see very detailed plans beforehand. Matantala's underlying strategy, as stated in the project document, is to bypass government channels and target the communities directly, as government channels have generally proven not to be effective for bringing development to rural areas. This is not to say that it rejects the importance of government involvement in the planning and implementation. But with the field staff, it seemed that there was a general notion that the project represents development from below, and that it is somehow to make a statement to government that the communities can create change independently of its involvement. This could work contrary to the aim of the project of creating government ownership to relevant processes within the Matantala intervention. What has to come out more strongly in its approach is recognition that government is vital for the follow-up of the processes that are started, not least for maintenance of the installations that will be put in place.

Lack of basic knowledge and inadequate focus on gender issues
The Matantala staff does not have an adequate understanding of how to work on gender issues. Matantala acknowledges this, and intends to brings in other organisations e.g. for sensitisation activities. However, in the other tasks performed by Matantala, facilitation of the project implementation and in the general communication with the communities, gender competence is lacking. Furthermore, the measures that have been put in place (in collaboration with the embassy) to secure that the project will contribute to increased gender equality do not seem to indicate to the communities and the traditional leaders that this is an explicit purpose of the project. The measures are much the same as what is required in all donor (NGO) interventions in the area. The communities are very much used to demands that there is a certain requirement of participation of women in project administration (in terms of a percentage – often 30%). They are also used to there being requirements that there are certain projects or project

components that target women in particular. So when they perceive that in this project, 10% of the budget should be targeted at women, this is even quite low. Thus, it is very unlikely that the gender focus of the Matantala project is perceived by the communities as being very pronounced.

The Matantala project developing into just another NGO-project in the area?
In project implementation Matantala seems to use much the same strategy as many other NGOs (but also government) in the area, with the traditional leaders mobilising people for the provision of labour and materials. The sensitisation component it seems will also be similar to other NGOs focused on issues of tradition and change. Involvement of traditional leaders in project management seems also rather common. The justification of the Embassy's support for the project is that it represents something else than a traditional NGO working on community development. What is different is, of course, the extent to which traditional leaders are brought into planning and prioritisation of the development interventions for the whole of their chiefdoms. How this affects the impact of the intervention in terms of commitment to change and sustainability of the projects, remains to be seen (cf. change takes time), however, one cannot help but feel that something somehow is lacking.

Matantala's 'added value' to the project lies much in its ability to network and connect other actors to activities in the intervention. It seems that Matantala is quite strong in this field, however, there are central actors working on these issues with which it has not made contact, though they could have provided useful experience sharing before the start of the intervention. Women for change, which is present in one of the chiefdoms, and has conducted sensitisation work with traditional leaders (including headmen) in all the three chiefdoms, is one such actor.

Communities not relying on, and not being able to make use, of existing resources
Communities (including the traditional leaders) are much centred on what outside resources can do for development in the areas. The project does not seem have a (working) strategy on how to shift people's attention to their own resources. Communities being asked to contribute e.g. building materials and labour for the projects is normal for many NGO and government projects in the area and does not necessarily encourage innovation. Community 'needs' and ideas may 'be shaped by perceptions of what the project can deliver' (Mansur 2004: 7). There is a risk that the project may simply cater to the notion that external input is what will create development. This is related to the above point of Matantala relating to the communities in the normal NGO-way. It is also related to people's fear of being (more than average) successful and sticking their necks out.

Inequality in the chiefdoms
Research suggests that participatory development projects, (which for our purpose has much in common with the Matantala project), in communities where socioeconomic inequality is high, has a risk of enhancing these inequalities (Mansur 2004: 10). The team was not able to obtain any systematic data on inequality in the chiefdoms within the frame of this study. However, given that this is to a great extent, by design, an elite-controlled project, this risk should be looked into further.

6 Relations to communities' citizenship rights and to local government structures

According to the terms of reference, the study was to consider how (within the frame of the Matantala project) traditional leaders can be supported for the purpose of mobilising local communities to strengthen their participation in development and their ability to exercise their

rights as citizens towards government. The study was also to consider how the intervention could work towards supporting government structures in the area

We start with the first question: Can traditional leaders strengthen people's ability to articulate development needs and make claims against relevant government institutions? Based on the findings, with the position of the traditional leaders as intermediaries between government administrative structures and elected representatives as described above, they seem to work more towards impeding people's ability to act as citizens vis-à-vis their government. The traditional leaders' intermediary role seems rooted in the notion of the 'community consensus', which is very strong in people's minds, and which provides the very basis for the traditional leadership itself – and which is a well-known trait of many African societies. The problem raised takes us back to the question of whether people can simultaneously act as subjects under the traditional leader, and as citizens under the government, which has been discussed at length by African scholars since independence. One of the most prominent of these scholars, Mahmood Mamdani, would suggest that it is very unlikely (Gould (forthcoming)). He would argue that the customary structures must be done away with in order for liberal democratic structures to make sense to people. There is, on the other hand, a large body of literature that claims that liberal democracy in Africa must build on the traditional governance structures in order to be rooted in the reality on the grass-roots (e.g. Ray and Reddy (eds.) 2003). It does not seem within the scope of this study to do justice to such a large question.

However, and turning to the second of the questions posed introducing this section, it might prove worthwhile to deal with the question of the traditional and the democratic local leadership in a pragmatic manner. Given the important position of the traditional leaders in governance at the community level, finding fruitful ways for interaction between the two systems is probably in the interest of development, and in the interest of community relations with the government at local level. A GTZ-study of four chiefdoms in the Southern Province has explored this question (Chigunta 2005), looking at how the chiefdoms' own structures (set up by themselves to drive development processes) can be integrated into sub-district coordinating bodies, Area Development Committees (ADCs) (roughly corresponding to the DDCCs at district level), planned for under the Interim Decentralisation Implementation Plan (Dec. 2004)/National Decentralisation Policy (2002). The study seems to be highly relevant to our three chiefdoms, especially since it is set roughly in the same geographical area. That said, the study itself highlights the fact that governance structures of the different chiefdoms vary a lot, and the importance of looking at each context and structure in and of itself. On a general level, the study concludes that sub-district level governance structures should include both traditional leadership structure and formal government representation to enhance accountability on both sides towards the population. At the same time, the study calls for greater popular participation at the local level. In our chiefdoms, such ADCs have not (yet) come into function. However, in the longer term CDCs and more especially the ZDCs could be seen to play a role in future sub-district administrative structures, both to enhance community participation and to integrate traditional and formal structures at the lower administrative level. Of course, the arrangement agreed upon for the ADCs under the implementation of the decentralisation policy will be dependent upon many factors beyond the control of the Matantala project. In the meantime, the project could look into mechanisms for making the development committees at various levels representative organs for the communities they spring from, as well as for increased interaction between local government structures and the traditional leadership structures.

7 Conclusions

Analysis of actors and drivers of change

The analysis of potential drivers of change confirms the strong position of the traditional leaders in the communities. Their power in the communities seems to a great extent to be a result of people's general lack of information, which is found to be one of the most striking features of the areas. They tend to act as intermediaries between communities and local authorities – elected and administrative – which is justified by the strong notion of the community consensus, by which community decisions are made. Government, for their part, will also tend to relate to the communities through the traditional leaders. Government will tend to use the mobilising power of the traditional leaders e.g. for implementation of construction projects, as well as their knowledge of the communities to select beneficiaries e.g. for government animal restocking schemes. Traditional leaders are reported by some respondents to have fairly strong connections with elected representatives, and are by some respondents said to prefer going through the political rather than the administrative channels. NGOs working in the areas will contact the traditional leaders before approaching the communities, and some involve the traditional leaders in the implementation of their projects, much like government as described above.

According to the terms of reference, the study should in particular consider agents for change that can promote an agenda to enhance women's rights and improve gender inequality. In terms of existing agents, it seems that the most important would be the locally based and rooted organisation LADA. LADA seems to be well known by people in the communities. Paralegals in the communities trained by LADA also seem to constitute a resource that could be pursued. Matantala has worked with this organisation, and intends to do so in the future. For the women's clubs in the area, it may be interesting to connect with LADA's network of associations. The women's clubs, as they appear at present, do not in themselves seem to have the ability to challenge norms and traditions in any substantial way.

The Matantala project

Traditional leaders are important leaders in their communities. The justification for the project is the assumption that if the development intervention to a greater degree makes these responsible for accelerating development in the areas, then the likelihood of success is greater. The starting point of the project is to be centred on the specificities of the context, and not on general theories (or 'best practice' examples) on how development might come about. In that sense, it centres on rural people's situation and on what makes sense to the people on the ground. Given the general experience that development interventions are more likely to be successful when taking the specific context at hand into the design, the project has a potential to contribute positively to development in the communities.

The project is further based on the principle of having the chiefdoms define their own needs and their own solutions to those needs. This was seen as very positive by the respondents. Matantala is to play a facilitatory role in the chiefdoms' realisation of their solutions through providing contacts with outside actors, such as government institutions or NGOs. The test of the organisation's added value lies much in its ability to perform this role. It has been challenged by trying to balance the principle that chiefdoms should make their own priorities with external intervention.

The organisation has a dedicated field staff with a good network in the area, as well as good networking skills. Nonetheless, the team found that a central actor which has worked on these issues for a long time, such as Women for Change, has not been contacted for exchange of experience. The team also found that although involvement of government expertise has been there for some projects, this must be done more systematically. The organisation was found by

the team to be lacking in terms of gender expertise. Further the team finds that the intervention is not likely to be interpreted by the communities as being explicitly centred on changing gender relations in the chiefdoms. Lastly, the team found that productive-/business-projects, such as women's tailoring clubs and youth carpentry clubs seem to have been set up by the communities without proper planning and training of participants, which may represent a risk to the sustainability of the projects.

Links to citizenship rights and local government structures
The study did not seem to find that traditional leaders are well placed to mobilise community members (their subjects) to exercise their citizenship rights and make claims towards government. This question must, however, be seen in relation to a longstanding debate among African academic scholars since independence, on the problem of the bifurcated state and the African rural population's status as both citizens and subjects. This question far exceeds the purpose of this study. The study nonetheless found that it may be worthwile to look into ways of integrating or linking the committee structure created under the Matantala project to government district and sub-district committee structures. This could help ensure ownership and commitment by government, as well as enhance community and traditional leadership involvement with government at local level. If successful, it could also be a contribution of the project to exploring ways of interaction between traditional and formal structures more broadly.

8 Appendix

8.1 References

Gould, Jeremy (forthcoming): "Chiefs, Politics and State Formation in Zambia's Third Republic" from Björn Lindgren og Maria Heimer (eds.) *Politicising Governance.* Uppsala and Stockhold: Uppsala University and Almquist & Wiksell International.

Mansuri, Ghazala and Vijayendra Rao (2004): 'Community-Based and –Driven Development: A Critical Review'. *World Bank Observer*, vol 19, no 1.

Matantala Rural Integrated Development Enterprise (Nov 2006) 'Summary Project Document and Application for Support 2006-2007'.

Matantala Rural Integrated Development Enterprise (2007) 'Summary Project Progress Report Dec 2006 – Feb 2007'.

Ray, Donald I. and P. S. Reddy eds. (2003): *Grassroots Governance? Chiefs in Africa and the Afro-Caribbean*. Calgary: University of Calgary Press.

Royal Norwegain Embassy in Lusaka: Appropriation Document, 06/046 – Community development with traditional leaders in Southern Province.

Saasa, Oliver et. al. (2007): 'Joint Financing and Support of the Decentralisation Implementation Action Plan. Proposed Mechanisms and Management Structures'. Commissioned by Ministry of Local Government and Housing (Decentralisation Secretariat).

8.2 People met

- Focus group discussion Senior Headmen Chona chiefdom 17.04.07
- Focus group discussion Women's club leaders Chona chiefdom 17.04.07
- Headmistress Kasaka primary school 18.04.07
- Focus group discussion Headmen from the area around Kasaka primary school Mwanza chiefdom 18.04.07
- Focus group discussion Women's club leaders and members from area around Kasaka primary school Mwanza chiefdom 18.04.07
- District Commissioner for Monze District 19.04.07
- Member of Chiefdom Development Committee Mwanza chiefdom (female) 19.04.07
- Acting Council Secretary/District Planning Officer, Monze District 20.04.07
- District Education Standards Officer Monze District 20.04.07
- Councillor Chona Ward, Chona chiefdom 23.04.07
- Member of Youth Carpentry Club (male) Chona Chiefdom 23.04.07
- Secretary Tailoring Club (female) Chona Chiefdom 23.04.07
- Programme Coordinator, Development Department Diocese of Monze 24.04.07
- Executive Director Law and Development Association (LADA) 24.04.07
- GTZ Monze 24.04.07
- Field Officer, Matantala Rural Integrated Development Enterprise, 24.04.07/07.05.07
- Headman Hajisangwa village, Chona chiefdom 25.04.07
- Focus group discussion group of female pupils (ages 15-17/grade 7) Kayola B primary school, Chona chiefdom, 25.04.07
- Member of Tailoring Club (female) Kayola A, Chona chiefdom 25.04.07
- Chief Haanjalika 25.04.07
- Focus group discussion Chiefdom Development Committee Haanjalika chiefdom 26.04.07

- Director of PANUKA 26.04.07
- PTA-chairman Nabukuyu primary school 27.04.07
- Home Based Care-coordinator Chikuni Parish 27.04.07
- Trained Paralegal Njola, Mwanza chiefdom, 30.04.07
- Teacher, Njola primary school, Mwanza chiefdom 30.04.07
- Focus group discussion women's club leaders Mwanza chiefdom, 01.05.07
- Youth representative Bwantu, Mwanza chiefdom, 02.05.07
- Contact farmer ZNFU, Njola, Mwanza chiefdom, 02.05.07
- Health technologist St. Joseph's clinic (responsible for public health), 03.05.07
- Retired veterinary officer Nkonkola, Haanjalika chiefdom, 03.05.07
- Head mistress Nkonkola high school, Haanjalika chiefdom 03.05.07
- Headwoman Nkonkola, Haanjalika chiefdom 03.05.07
- Senior headman Haanjalika (zone 2), Haanjalika chiefdom, 04.05.07
- Church leaders, Seventh Day Apostolic Church Haanjalika, Haanjalika chiefdom 04.05.07
- Teacher Haanjalika primary school, Haanjalika chiefdom, 04.05.07
- Focus group discussion, farmers/zone development committee Haanjalika (zone 2), Haanjalika chiefdom, 04.05.07
- Extension officer Mwinga, Haanjalika chiefdom, 04.05.07
- Assistant corps sergeant, Salvation Army, Mwinga, Haanjalika chiefdom, 04.05.07
- Father, Catholic church, Mwanza Diocese/chairperson of Constituency Development Fund Mwanza constituency 05.05.07
- Provincial Director, Conservation Farming Unit, 07.05.07
- Community Development Facilitator, Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia (EFZ), Mwanza chiefdom, 07.05.07
- Programme Officer, Women for change, Traditional Leaders Unit/Human Rights Unit, 09.05.07
- Chairperson, Matantala Rural Integrated Development Enterprise 09.05.07
- Member of Parliament Moomba constituency, Monze District, 10.05.07

8.3 Meetings and workshops attended

- Planning and reporting workshop senior headmen, development committee members, women's club leaders Chona chiefdom 16.04.07 – 17.04.07
- Meeting on loan schemes with women's club leaders Mwanza chiefdom 01.05.07

8.4 Terms of reference

Terms of reference for drivers of change-study

in the Chiefdoms of Chona, Haanjalika and Mwansa (Districts of Monze and Mazabuka) in the Southern Province of Zambia

Background

The Embassy has as part of its contribution to poverty reduction in Zambia, taken a development initiative in the Southern Province with traditional leaders as central actors. The justification was that despite improvements in democratic rule since the early 1990s and a turn-around in the economy a decade later, there are few indications that a significant reduction in poverty is within reach. The Embassy decided to attempt a new approach, trying out traditional leaders as drivers of change in a selected area.

Traditional leaders are important for development because they have a central position in the society. They may be important in securing social welfare of the subjects when in distress. They also have a vital role in upholding customs and traditions, which can be both an advantage and a disadvantage, for example, with respect to the enhancement of opportunities for women. Traditional leaders' main source of formal authority is linked to their role as custodians of customary land, which represents 96% of land in Zambia. They are also represented in the District Development Committees. Traditional leaders are barred from seeking political office. They are, however, given importance by the political establishment, and in particular in connection with election campaigns. It is generally accepted that traditional leaders can have considerable informal influence over their subjects, and are thus important in forming the public opinion.

The Embassy has decided to work with three chiefdoms in the Southern Province, where traditional leaders and other representatives of the population were invited to a workshop in Nabukuyu 22-24 May 2006 to discuss development in their areas. Since then ideas have taken form, the Embassy has engaged an NGO as facilitator, and the population has initiated development projects that the Embassy has supported with financial means, after the population has concluded the first stage of the implementation.

Purpose

The main purpose of the study is to do an analysis of actors and groups of actors in the chiefdoms with the aim to identify and assess potential 'drivers of change' for future development of the area. The focus will be on traditional leaders and local authorities – elected and administrative – in particular. However, a wider variety of potential drivers of change will be considered at the outset of the study, as these may be important for assessing the context in which the traditional leaders and local authorities operate. Relevant actors to be studied include religious leaders, community groups including women's associations, NGOs, teachers, representatives for young people, business entrepreneurs, farmers' leaders, etc. The explicit focus on local authorities is grounded in the necessity to ensure that the support given in this initiative over time fosters development of stronger local democracy and state-building.

Given that Norwegian funds currently are channelled directly to the Chiefdoms, the Norwegian support will have the short term effect of increasing the importance of traditional structures vis-à-vis other local institutions, such as local government, NGOs and religious communities. In anticipation of a possible second phase, the study will look at ways in which the Norwegian support over time could support rather than impede local democratic and public administrative structures including government agencies implementing national development plans. Specifically, it should explore how traditional structures could be used to mobilise local communities in order to strengthen their participation in development, including the ability to articulate development needs and make claims against relevant government institutions and structures.

Given the emphasis placed on gender and the enhancement of women through the project by the Embassy, the study will focus specifically on identifying drivers for change that promote an agenda to enhance women's rights and improve gender equality.

The study shall provide the Embassy with input on the basis of which the Embassy can make informed decisions on how to proceed and whether to adjust the programme.

Scope of work
The study will use a political economy approach, that is, it will analyse political, economic and social factors that shape development challenges and outcomes. Focus is on institutions (actors) and underlying structures.

With the above considerations as guidelines, the following questions will be addressed by the study:

1) Identifying and assessing actors and groups of actors with regard to their influence on development in the chiefdoms:
- What are the roles, responsibilities and influence on development of central actors/institutions in the chiefdoms, and what are the relationships between these actors?
- What actors are perceived as the most important decision makers and/or drivers of change locally, that is, who makes things happen and who may prevent initiatives from being realised? What accountability structures dominate locally, that is, to whom do people turn with their concerns, demands and claims?
- What kind of 'development discourse(s)' governs decisions on development taken locally? Who decides what are relevant development projects for the community? Who forms and who influences public opinion on development issues? Are there decisions important for development that are dealt with within the family and never debated in public?
- Are the any external influences, for example through the media, migrants, NGOs and donors operating locally, etc. that may increase the awareness of people of their rights and their possibilities of influencing authorities?
- How important are Church leaders in a local community? Do traditional leaders have regular dialogue with church leaders?
- What is the relationship between traditional leaders and the Local Courts?
How do traditional leaders relate to statutory laws that are contrary to customary laws and practices? For example, the Intestate Succession Act that guarantees women a part of her husband's estate.
- To what extent are the traditional leaders concerned with the rights of women and people in general, and to what extent are they benevolent to development (even if of an authoritative leaning)? Do traditional leaders, government servants and elected representatives tend to operate in a patronage (clientelistic) system, that is, working for their private interest instead of the public interest?
- What is the importance of traditional leaders in modern Zambia? Do young people recognize the leadership of Chiefs?
- <u>What are the most important gender differences in the above questions</u>?

2) Local accountability structures and the Norwegian support
- To what extent are national and local government structures involved in the planning and implementation of activities under the initiative?
- How do people involved in the implementation of activities perceive the role of local government and their own position as citizens/rights bearers?
- What importance do people at different levels attach to traditional structures, and it what spheres of community/private life? Are these roles considered constant, or changing? If they have changed or are changing, in what ways?
- What are the most important functions performed by local government at the present time? How could these be improved through closer collaboration with traditional leaders?
- How do people perceive M-RIDE – as an outsider organisation, or as an organisation rooted in the local community?

Implementation and Methodology
The study shall be undertaken in the course of four weeks from 16 April to 12 May 2007 of which three weeks in the field. It will be undertaken by Lillian Prestegard, Norad/Dept. for Civil Society and a local

assistant (to be decided). Interviews will also be made in Lusaka. Lillian Prestegard will write the report with assistance of Eli Moen, Peace, Gender and Democracy Department.

The study shall make use of relevant written information sources, such as contracts between the Matantala RIDE and the chiefdoms; local development plans; written information from Matantala RIDE to the chiefdoms; mandate of committees – if such material exists and is available; government development plans for the areas.

Semi-structured interviews with respondents individually or in groups will be the primary source of information for the study. Respondents may include the traditional leaders (chiefs and headmen/women); religious leaders; local organisations and community groups; local authorities (Councillors, line ministries, District Commissioners); local MPs; women's groups; farmers associations; teachers; local business people; Matantala RIDE; the Embassy; donors and NGOs engaged in development work in the area; and other relevant actors.

Reporting
The study team shall present preliminary finding to the Embassy after the field work is completed. The draft report shall be submitted to the Embassy for comments within three weeks of the end of the field work. The final report will be submitted three weeks after the comments have been received. The report shall contain operational recommendations for the Embassy on how to manage future support. The report shall not exceed 20 pages including a 3 pages summary.

Written by Eli Moen, FLID, and Lillian Prestegard, SIVSA, 22.03.07
Commented by Sissel Hodne Steen, Policy Director and Lena Hasle First Secretary, Royal Norwegian Embassy Lusaka.
Approved by Lillian Nordal, Acting Assistant Director SIVSA 29.03.07

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