University of Bergen

Department of Administration and Organization Theory

**Decentralizing Environmental Policy Implementation
The case of the Zambian National Policy on Environment**

Daniela Chipimo

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List of Abbreviations

AEIN	Africa Environmental Information Network
DESAPD	Department of Economic and Social Affairs Population Division
ECZ	Environmental Council of Zambia
ENRMMP	Environmental and Natural Resources Management and Mainstreaming Programme
EPA	Environmental Protection Agency
HIPC	Initiative for Highly Indebted Poor Countries
HTTI	Hotel and Tourism Training Institute
HDI	Human Development Index
MTENR	Ministry of Tourism, Environment and Natural Resources
NHCC	National Heritage Conservation Comission
NMB	National Museum Board
NPE	National Policy on Environment
NSWMS	National Solid Waste Management Strategy
PSRP	Public Sector Reform Program
PNRM	Principal Natural Resource Manager
SADC	South African Development Community
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
YEN	Youth Environmental Network
ZAWA	Zambia Wildlife Authority
ZNTB	Zambia Tourism Board
EIA	Environmental Impact Assessment
RISPD	Regional Indicative Strategic Development Plan

CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

Introduction

With an Area of 752, 614 km² located on the Central African Plateau and encompassing forests, woodlands, grasslands and aquatic systems such as the Zambezi and Congo drainage system, Zambia is the best watered country in Africa (NPE 2005) and has a wealth of natural resources. It is against the background of this wealth that the need to ensure sustainable resources and environmental management has become an increasingly important task. Managing environmental issues with a focus on involving the local communities, is known to be more effective than if all the responsibility lies with the central government. Local governments are in a better position to manage their surrounding environment as well as their resources (Peter Osterveer, 2010). The involvement of private firms as well as NGOøs has been another well established way of dealing with environmental management. Since the 1980øs there has been a trend towards decentralization in most African countries. However only in the 1990øs has the need for promoting the decentralization of environmental governance been acknowledged by ways of decentralized environmental policies. According to various studies conducted by the Zambian government(Ministry of Tourism, 2007), Zambiaøs resources are in danger of depletion. De-forestation at a rate of 250-300 thousand hectare per year (NPE 2005), land degradation close to desertification in certain areas, soil erosion, loss of productivity and inadequate sanitation and air and water pollution are only a few of the listed challenges. Since 62% of the Zambian population live in a rural setting and are dependent on natural resources, there is a clear correlation between poverty and environmental degradation. Accessibility as well as a good condition of the environment are pre-conditions for long term poverty reduction (ENRMMP 2008). Increasing population growth and a limited understanding of environmental problems has set the stage for the need of a national policy on environment. Until the introduction of the NPE (National Policy

on Environment), Zambia's environmental issues were dealt with through programs like the Public Sector Reform Program (PSRP), the Millennium Development Goals, National Poverty Reduction Strategy and the initiative for Highly Indebted Poor Countries (HIPC), to name but a few. However, there was a lack of an overall national policy. In 2005, the Republic of Zambia launched a National Policy on Environment (NPE) which focused on õ*effective governance through decentralization of environmental management services*ö (Ministry of Tourism, 2007) After the need for some adjustments arose, the policy was re-launched in 2007 in its current form. This policy is built on the concept of decentralizing the countries environmental management. It is the goal of this policy to blend all organizations and individuals to exercise due care to avoid depletion of natural assets and environmental degradation. The policy is aimed at facilitating integration, decentralization, community participation and privatization and further development. However, Zambia's decentralization-process has, in the past, been restricted, administratively, politically as well as fiscally. The NPE was created to overcome these shortcomings with the creation of an overall framework for effective, decentralized environmental management.

Research Question

This study aimed at determining the degree of implementatibility of the NPE at the background of a restricted decentralization process.
Specifically our aim was to answer the following research questions:

1) How suitable is the institutional framework for the implementing agencies and organizations?
2) How much flexibility does the local level have in implementing the policy?
3) How well established is the cooperation and interdependence between the central government, local agents and civil society?
4) How well established is community-participation, knowledge and support for the implementation?

Objectives

The intention of this case study is to analyze the feasability of implementation of the NEP in Zambia and to address constraints to the process as well as offer suggestions as to how to strengthen the decentralized implementation process. While there is a clear set of goals defined in the policy, there is no strong Implementation Plan available as of today. It was not the aim of this study to measure policy outputs and outcomes. Rather, a combination of process evaluation and an analysis of the conditions and preconditions was done. Process evaluation at this stage allows for an outlook since radical change in policy implementation behavior is unlikely. Implementation studies in general have a strong regional bias (Sætren, 2006) with only 4% of implementation studies set in Africa. This is in contrast to 69% in the US and Canada (Sætren, 2006, p.571). In this respect, this research serves as a contribution to the small percentage of implementation research carried out in Africa so far.

It is not the aim of this case study to generalize but instead to draw a picture about the present situation and highlight constraints and challanges to the implementation of the NEP in Zambia. This research may hopefully contribute to the existing knowledge about the state of decentralization as well as the effectiveness of environmental management in Zambia. Though highly dependent on their resources, environmental management in Zambia has so far not gotten the attention required. With a majority of Zambians depending on agriculture, a small change in climate for example can have disastrous effects on crops and the livelihoods of millions. The successful implementation of the NEP is therefore essential to ensure a prosperous future. On a personal level, I have lived in Zambia for some time and have had first hand experience with environmental problems and their effect. This case study aims at identifying limits and prospects for improving the ongoing implementation process in order to ensure sustainable development.

Theoretical Framework

Data was analyzed using Søren Winterøs Integrated Implementation Model (Winter 1990, 1994), focusing on the Implementation Process. However, this model does not offer explanations on the relations of the modeløs variables. For this, three explanatory models were proposed. A rational/ instrumental model in line with Christiensen et al. (2007), conflict bargaining according to Matland (1995) as well as a theory on symbolic policy implementation (Edelman, 1970; Matland, 1995; Böhringer, 2003).

Winter looks at how the implementation process affects the results of the policy and identifies four main characteristics:

1) **Policy Design**

   The design of a policy determines to a large extent its implementability. In addition it provides additional insight into the social and political context in which the policy is set.

2) **Organizational and inter-organizational behavior**

   Policy Implementation takes place in different institutional settings that are characterized by organizational behavior. However, aside some few exceptions, mostly implementation requires more than one organization to work together. In the case of the NPE, nationwide cooperation of various government organizations that have previously worker under separate legislations, makes the inter-organizational behavior becomes extremely important.

3) **Street-Level bureaucratic behavior**

   Street-level bureaucrats behavior is another crucial variable in the implementation of most policies (Winter 2003). The NPE relies on street-level bureaucrats to a large extent for the implementation, service delivery as well as monitoring.

4) **Target Group Behavior**

   According to Winterøs integrated model, target groups, namely citizens or companies,

Can play a crucial role in the implementation process. The NPE places big emphasis on the incorporation and importance of the public.

Methodology

Case study approach, according to Yin (Yin 1989), was chosen for this research. The case for this research was the implementation process of the National Policy on Environment in Zambia. This study was conducted in a mostly qualitative matter, using investigations and observations. Three methods of data collection were employed. In-depth Interviews, Focus Group discussions and secondary data.

Organization of the Thesis

This Thesis is divided into 8 Chapters where the first one is this short introduction and overview of the thesis and its focus as well as a brief overview of the Theory and Methodolody. In chapter two the theoretical framework is explained and an overview of its operationalization given. Chapter three deals with the Research methodology and the experience in the field. In Chapter four a more comprehensive background on the policy can be found as well as on the context of Zambia. Chapter five, six and seven describe as well as explain the findings along the three independent variables. Chapter five deals with Organizational and Interorganizational Implementation Behavior, Chapter six with Street-Level. Bureaucratic behavior and Chapter seven focuses on Target Group Behavior. Chapter eight offers a general discussion and conclusion and Implications for practice.

CHAPTER TWO

Theory and Conceptual Framework

Introduction

õ*Thinking globally, acting locally*ö was the slogan of the 1992 Earth Summit and captures the global trend of decentralizing environmental management that has been apparent since the 1990s. (Osterveer, 2010) According to many environmentalists, local communities õ*are better able to understand and intervene in environmental problems because they are ÷closerø to both the problem and the solution*ö(Lane, 2005) Decentralized environmental management gives communities the possibility to get actively involved in environmental management and suit actions to the local needs. Critiques claim however that this assumes an idealistic concept of communities, central and local actors as well as their cooperation (Larsono, 2008) which is seldom the case.

This chapter provides a theoretical framework for integrated policy implementation. A brief introduction into policy implementation is given, followed by a discussion of Søren Winterøs Integrated Implementation Model (Peters & Pierre 2003), Interorganizational Behaviour (OøTool 1984), Street-Level Bureaucrats (Meyers & Vorsanger 2007) as well as Target Group Behaviour (Olson 1971). In addition it reviews the concept of decentralization.

Policy Implementation

A public policy is: õ*a set of interrelated decisions taken by a political actor or group of actors concerning the selection of goals and the means of achieving them within a specified situation where those decisions should, in principle, be within the power of those actors*ö (Jenkins in Howlett and Ramesh 2003, p.6). The involvement of various actors and their interrelation in the implementation of the NPE was the ground on which this definition was picked.

According to Sabatier (Sabatier in: Hill & Hupe 2002, p.7) õ*Implementation is the carrying out of a basic policy decision, usually incorporated in a statute but which can also take the form of*

important executive orders to court decisions.ö Though simple in theory, carrying out a policy decision can be a challenging process and it is not a phenomenon where there is one right way to go about doing and/or studying it. Though over time different theoretical approaches have been popular to different degrees, one theory never fully replaced the other. Most of them coexist alongside each other and do not necessarily exclude one another. It is important to note that implementation has different meanings and different challenges are met depending on the policy to be implemented as well as the cultural context of implementing agencies and countries.

As Sabatierøs definition of implementation implies, a formulation of a policy or plan has to have happened before implementation can happen. The policy process is therefore divided into a set of stages, referred to as the õpolicy cycleö (Howlett & Ramesh 2003). Throughout the last 50 years, there have been several models of this cycle and scholars have worked towards understanding the process better. The five stage model by Brewer (Howlett & Rames 2003) is applied here. This model identifies 5 main stages:

1) Agenda setting (how do problems come to attention?)
2) Policy Formulation (what proposed solutions are there and how are they formulated?)
3) Decision-making (how is the choice of solution being made?)
4) Policy Implementation (How are the solutions being put into effect?)
5) Policy Evaluation (the monitoring of the results)

This study aims at assessing the policy implementing stage. Until the 1970s, implementation was perceived as relatively unproblematic and hence rarely studied. However in the 1970øs, Pressman and Wildavsky (1973) as well as other scholars conducted studies and recognized that many of the programs under the Johnson administration in the US were not implemented the way they were intended to. The realization of this problem soon gave rise to a dispute over the analytical focus of policy implementation. Some studies claim that implementation should be studied from the top down, concentrating on the top officials and their role in the process as well as the institutional design. This approach assumes that the implementation processøs crucial elements determine decisions emerging from the top. In contrast other scholars focus on a bottom-up approach, claiming it is the actions of the people that carry out the implementation and the ones that are affected by it that influence the success or failure of a program. However, as mentioned above, these two approaches are not contradictory but rather complimentary. Taken together,

top-down and bottom-up approaches give better understanding into the policy implementation that any one of them would do by themselves (Sabatier 1986 in: Howlett & Ramesh 2003).

Implementing policies in a decentralized manner requires looking beyond the boundaries of the classical top down and bottom up approaches. An important aspect of decentralized policy implementation is on the one side õ*the need of national governments to extend their power into local areas*ö and on the other hand the question of õ*how agents react to local preferences for flexible enforcement*ö (Whitford, 2007) The theoretical framework applied in this research is Søren Winterøs integrated implementation model see table 1 (Winter 2007) that aims at combining both these approaches. A focus will be placed on the implementation process including the element of policy design.

Table1

Socio-Economic Context

Implementation Results

Policy Fomulation

-Conflict

- Symbolic Policy

Policy Design

Implementation Process

Organizational and interorganizational implementation

Street-level bureaucratic

Target group behavior

Performance

Outcome

Feedback
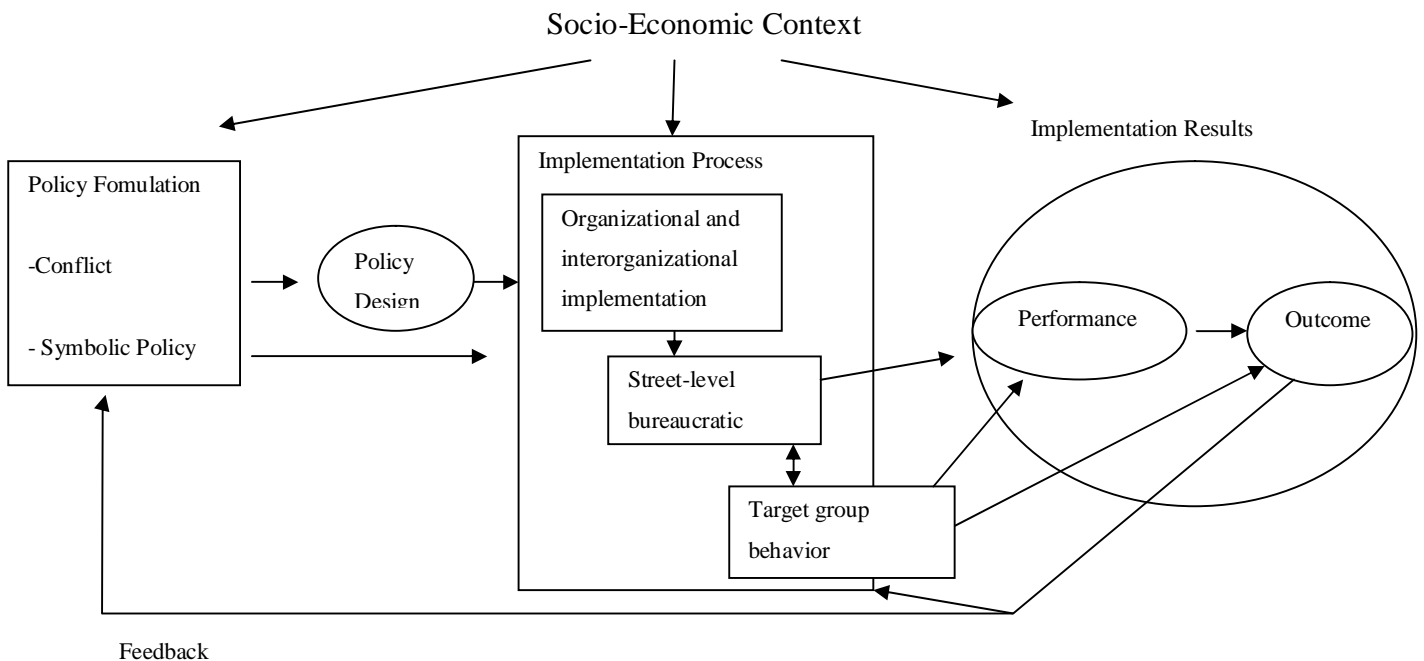
This framework deals with the policy cycle from the beginning to the end. The NPE has only been in place for five years and hence and outcome analysis is not feasible. We will instead concentrate on the Implementation process and its factors according to Winter. The

Implementation process is characterized by three clusters of variables: Organizational and Inter-organizational implementation behavior, street-level bureaucratic behavior and target group behavior. Though other scholars such as Pressman and Wildavsky (Pressman & Wlidavski 1973) have argued that the more actors the more likely a problematic implementation, Winter and OøToole point out that in the case of a well organized early understanding, the opposite can happen. Street-level bureaucrats play an important role in most implementations. Their direct contact with the citizens as well as the discretion they employ influences the implementation process greatly. The third variable in Winterøs framework is Target group behavior. Target groups are, according to Winter, citizens or firms and they affect the action of street-level bureaucrats. Another important influential factor for successful policy implementation according to Winter is the socio-economic context and policy design.

Explanatory Models

While Winter provides a suitable analytical framework, the relations between the variables are not described and require the incorporation of explanatory models. There are different explanations on how the policy variables interact. While the rational and instrumental model assumes that policy makers think rationally at every stage of the policy process and have political control (Allison, 1969; Sutton, 1999, Christiensen et al, 2007), other explanatory models amplify the importance of conflict-bargaining (Matland, 1995). Another possible explanatory theory is a symbolic policy model (Edelman, 1970; Matland, 1995; Böhringer, 2003). The way the variables relate to each other in the policy process is an important aspect in understanding the implementation of the NPE and enables for an outlook in terms of possible outcomes and output.

Rational / Instrumental Model

The notion that in order to achieve C, A has to do this and B has to do this, is a logical one. Christensen et al (2007) argue that when it comes to public policies, organizations present with ÷instrumentally rational actionsø (p.22). First a goal is defined and what it takes to go from the current state of affairs to the desired goal. Second, what alternative options are there? Thirdly, what are the consequences arising from these alternative options and finally, how and by whom will the decision of which road to take be made.

This rational model assumes that by creating the policy, the policy makers are aware of all possible implications an action has, as well as are fully aware of the capacity of the actors and policy instruments. Critiques of this theory (Simon, 1976) have argued that in a complex political system, it is not possible to be act fully rational, rather, ⸗bounded rationality‹(Christiansen, 2007, p.23) is present. Goals are often diffuse and only a limited understanding of the alternatives is given. In terms of Winters model the rational approach would explain the relationships as being strong and positive. In the initial stage, consensus on what needs to be done and how is present. After exploration of all alternatives, policy design is developed with clear goals and the design is based on the alternative with the best chance of reaching the goal (Christiensen et al., 2007). This rational model further assumes a close and positive relationship between policy design and the implementation process and ultimately outputs and outcome. Critiques such as Simon (1976) point out that the relationship between policy design and implementation is where the rational model is only realistic to a certain degree. Differences in goals and priorities, organizational problems, capacity and political will, challenge the logical model particularly in the implementation and output and outcome phase.

Conflict-Bargaining Model

Another explanatory model emphasises the importance of conflict and bargaining in understanding the relationship between the variables. While the rational model assumes that there is general agreement upon policy goals, this is often not the case with public policies. How intense this conflict is, determines the implementation process as well as output and outcomes. In a case where there is conflict, actors use bargaining. Matland⸗s model of Conflict-Ambiguity, highlights this well.

Table 2 (Matland, 1995)   CONFLICT

                              Low   High

	CONFLICT Low	CONFLICT High
Ambiguity Low	Administrative Implementation	Political Implementation
High	Experimental Implementation	Symbolic Implementation

Winter points out that the policy formulation stage is characterized by the intensity of conflict and he argues that the intensity of conflict explains implementation behavior. Matland (1995) explains this relationship in more depth and provides explanations for the type of implementation in relation to the level of conflict and ambiguity. A policy with clear goals and means that almost all actors agree upon would then be close to the explanatory model of a rational approach. On the other hand if there is high conflict as well as high ambiguity on goals and means, a policy that is merely symbolic may be the result.

Symbolic Politics model

To know the function of a policy is essential in understanding a policy (Edelman, 1970). As Barrett and Tsui (1999) point out, research on the effectiveness of policies can not be done without questioning the policies ₌symbolic value and international relevanceø(Barrett & Tsui, 1999, p.2). As Matland (1995) suggests, high conflict and ambiguity on goals of a policy, the policy is described as symbolic. Often controversial themes can end up as a symbolic policy since none of the policy makers can agree upon goals or means to reach these goals. If a policy has no clear direction, implementation becomes a big challenge. In many cases there is a strong emphasis on goals combined with a lack of means / capacity to achieve them. Edelman (1970) suggests that the more actors involved in a policy, the more likely the policy is to have symbolic nature. Reseearch (Howard, 1999) has shown that particularly environmental policies have a tendency to serve mainly symbolic goals. Both Matland (1995) as well as Barrett and Tsui (1999) indicate the likelihood of complicated, cross-sectional policies to be of symbolic nature.

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Implementation of a symbolic policy is problematic by definition and, according to scholars (Matland, 1995; Edelman 1970) almost always impossible. This is not to say that symbolic policies do not have any value. Some policies are designed around the notion of taking position towards a certain issue. In such a case, implementation is from the beginning not considered necessary. Often changing power-relationships between actors sometimes require diffusion of power (Gustaffson, 1983). This can be achieved by a symbolic policy. In the 1980s for example decentralization policies were sometimes put in place for such a reason, serving mainly symbolic purpose (Gustaffson, 1983). Failure happens traditionally in the implementation phase. Edelman (1970) however sates that if a policy is declared to be of symbolic nature before the implementation begins, certain goals such as ideological ones can be achieved. Besides Matlandǿs and Edelmans theory on symbolic policies, Barret and Tsiu (1999) emphasize another explanation for symbolic policies. Particularly in the developing world, policies play an important rating when international funding is required. The adoption of certain policies are often prerequisites or determinants of how much funding a country or institution receives. This may, according to Barret & Tsui (1999) sometimes result in the development of a policy to please international actors and/or institutions, that on the national level can be best described as ÷window dressingǿ

What is Successful Implementation

Before going into the various factors that influence successful or limited to failed implementation, a definition of successful implementation needs to be discussed.

Throughout the implementation literature, this is a common source of conflict and disagreement. While there is little conflict about where implementation starts, namely after a decision has been made that needs to be put into action (Pressman & Wildavsky, 1973), less consensus can be fund on where it ends. Some scholars argue it is the output while others place more emphasis on the outcome. There are several different definitions, mostly dependent on the approach of study. Representatives of the top-down approach for example tend to measure success at the achievement of specific policy outcomes. Those in contrast using a bottom-up approach define

success as a program leading to a õpositive effectö (Wright 1984 in: Matland 1995). This however is not without controversy either, since a positive effect for one unit may not be positive for another. A positive effect in the case of the NPE could, for the government be continuous funding from aid agencies due to the implementation or ratification of the policy, rather than states policy goals such as decrease of deforestation. This highlights the need on the side of policy makers to clearly define what they consider as successful policy implementation. Achieving all outcomes the NPE is set to achieve, may take several decades. And though this is very important to keep in mind, this study concentrates on successful policy implementation. The implementation process as such is not so much concerned with policy outcomes rather than output. Ingram and Schneider (Ingram & Schneider 1990 in: Matland 1995) list several indicators for policy implementation success:

- Agencies comply with statutes of the policy

- Agencies are held accountable for reaching certain program goals

- Goals of the statute are achieved

- Local goals are achieved

- Improvement in political climate around the policy/program

In the case of the NPE in Zambia, the MTENR defined success if agencies, organizations, local actors and target groups comply with the policy guidelines, highlighting further the concentration on policy output. Successful output will, if policy design and environmental factors allow, eventually pave the way to successful policy outcome (Winter, 2003).

Policy Design

Policy design plays a crucial role in the policy process. The fundamental elements of a policy design reflect social and political values of the time and space, historical influences, local knowledge as well as current ideas about what constitutes a õgoodö policy (Schneider & Sidney 2009). Elements of policy design have an immediate impact on the implementation of a policy and hence need to be considered closely when assessing implementability of the NPE. Environmental management in Zambia has previously been determined by a large number of different international treaties as well as various local acts. This, for example has an immediate impact on the design of the NPE as well as its implementation. The inclusion of policy design as

a variable allows for a better understanding of the NPE itself as well as the implementation environment (Schneider 2006).

Schneider and Ingram (Schneider & Sidney 2009) have outlined nine main elements of a public policy design:

a) The problem and goals of the policy

b) Profits and burdens and their distribution pattern

c) Target groups

d) Rules and Regulations (a clear definition of who is to do what)

e) Tools

f) Structure of Implementation

g) Social Constructs that the policy is embedded in

h) Rational behind the policy

i) Fundamental believes

These elements reflect the setting and circumstances of the policy. Several scholars have acknowledged that õpolicies create politicsö (Lour, 1964). Before the ratification of the NPE, environmental politics in Zambia were not considered an important issue for the various ministries. The NPE, in creating responsible institutions has fundamentally altered environmental politics in Zambia. The design of nine environmental sectors as well as a legislative context creates a õfeed-forwardö process.

Organizational and Inter-organizational Implementation Behavior

In the last decades policy implementation research has gone from a general attitude of õcan-doö (Hanf & OøTool Jr. 2006) to an emphasis on the need of addressing policy difficulties. Implementation has become increasingly more complex and the issue of governability is at the center of most policy debates today. Government is charged with addressing certain policy issues but is unable to deal with the issues in a satisfactory manner. Todayøs policy issues need a increased interlinkage between different specialties. Especially in social sciences, there are very few problems that can be addressed by only one organization. Instead interorganizational relations are a the heart of what Hull and Hjern referred to as õimplementation networksö (Hull

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& Hjren 1983). Different actors have different perspectives, interests and can influence different sectors, which is important for a successful policy implementation. However, different actors also have different amounts of information available, different interests and prefer different course of action. According to OøTool (1984), it is the nature of bureaucratic organizations to have an unwillingness and inability to respond to certain mandates. This problem is compounded if many organizations or agencies are involved in the implementation of these mandates. However, this does not mean that inter-organizational implementation is doomed. The success depends on the type of interdependence that is present. õ*The probability of implementation increases with the number of units when the type of interdependence requires little coordination at the initial, or formative stage*ö (OøTool 1984, p.492).

For successful implementation it is important that organizations do not only do so but act in a coordinated way. However, as mentioned, every organization has its own goals, values and interests. It can therefore be problematic to have several organizations work together. Hence, it is important that the new mandates align with the overall direction and goals of the individual organizations. There are several factors that influence the type of interdependence and cooperation, one of which is the type of incentives. OøTool names three main inducements:

1) Authority (a sense of duty can drive interorganizational cooperation)
2) Common interest (everyone involved values the end-goal)
3) Exchange (the promise to get something in return can drive interdependence)

Another factor is the provision of new resources. In many cases, mandates are however given without any additional resources. These programs are referred to as õtack-onö programs (OøTool 1984). According to OøTool, withholding of resources will produce õ*no action or uncoordinated action, depending upon the structure of interdependence*ö (OøTool 1984, p.499).

The structure of interdependence is therefore an important influential factor. Thompson differentiates between three types (Thompson 1967 in: OøTool 1984):

- Pooled interdependence
  Each agency provides their own contributions but do not deal with each other directly)
- Sequential interdependence
  The problem with a sequential interdependence is that if a delay occurs at any point, it delays and influences everyone else in the chain
- Reciprocal interdependence

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In the case of reciprocal interdependence, the organizations have to adjust mutually to coordinate with each other. This brings a great deal of uncertainty for all participants but bears the possibility of a great advantage since it forces great inter-organizational adoption to the policy.

Due to the nature of a decentralized environmental policy, the NPE requires reciprocal interdependence. Research showed that õimplementatibilityö can be improved by establishing a new agency, give it a specific mandate and provide necessary resources (OøTool 1984). A receipe that was more feasible before the NPM movement. However, this also created an õimplementation dilemmaö (OøTool 1984). A new agency requires more people that will work in a certain area and thus increase cost of coordination not only for current but also for future interorganizational implementation. Hanf and OøTool Jr. argue that for analysis purpose, it is important to look at the different organizations as a whole unit of analysis. The steering, also referred to in literature as õreticules functionsö (Friend et.al 1974) or õfacilitation (OøTool 1983), has to be strong to ensure successful implementation. If authority is absent or weak, cooperation will be limited. People in charge of steering the policy also control the flow of information, a powerful and important tool in making sure everyone knows who does what and in establishing trust between different actors.

Street-Level Bureaucratic Behavior

Street-level bureaucrats are õ*public service workers who interact directly with citizens in the course of their jobs, and who have substantial discretion in the execution of their work*ö (Lipsky 1980 in Meyers & Vorsanger 2007). They are in a unique and influential position since they are the linkage of organizations and citizens. They get input from both sides and have a certain span of discretion that they can exercise in implementing policy regulations. Allocating resources as well as interpreting rules and hence influencing the shape policy implementation takes are among their attributes. Their role in shaping the policy delivery is often overlooked. This is attributed to the difficulty of studying street-level bureaucrats. The scholars that have attempted at studying them have come up with several factors that influence street-level bureaucratic behavior.

The Question of Control

Studies have shown that street-level bureaucrats are imbedded in different systems such as socio-economic systems, professional systems, organizational systems, to name but a few. This raises the question who exercises control over street-level bureaucrats.

Some studies concentrate on political control but most of them indicate only indirect or limited evidence of political control over street-level bureaucrats (Keiser & Soss 1998, Scholz et at. 1991 in Meyers & Vorsanger 2007). Other researchers have focused only on organizational control of street-level discretion (Simon 1983, Meyers & Dillon 19990 in Mayers & Vorsanger 2007). The extent to which street-level bureaucrats exercise discretion is depending on the organizational environment of the policy. The more complex the environment, the more discretionary judgments are made by street-level bureaucrats. Monitoring these becomes more challenging as well. One of the key contributors to the extent of discretionary decisions are resources. If resources are scarce, studies have shown that street-level bureaucrats ration services and rationalize program objectives (Lipsky 1980, Winter 2001 in: Meyers & Vorsanger 2007). Scholars such as Brehm and Gates (Brehm & Gates 1997) argue that it is neither political nor organizational control that has the most influence on street-level bureaucrats but rather individual interests, professional norms and the method with which they construct meaning in their work practice. Through this, bureaucrats are mostly self-regulatory. The consequence of this is that discretion is mainly dependent on individual preferences and the decisions of street-level bureaucrats are guided by beliefs and norms. This poses a number of governance problems when it comes to ensuring the desired implementation of a policy.

Impact of Street-Level Bureaucrats on Policy Implementation

The fact that street-level control is a challenge, makes the impact street-level bureaucrats have on policy implementation an important issue in the study of the implementation process. One of the key concerns is a governance concern. Since street-level bureaucrats are not elected or appointed by elected officials and exercise discretion that is not always easy to control, their decisions may undermine the goals of elected officials (Meyer & Vorsanger 2007). Policy goals may be shifted in importance or distorted when street-level bureaucrats follow their beliefs and norms.

However, some scholars argue that this actually can improve democratic governance in linking elected officials and citizens, though there is no conclusive evidence to support this. Another issue to be addressed is the implication that discretion of street-level bureaucrats has on the citizens. Front-line workers are assumed to be professionals that can use their power of discretion for the benefit for the citizens that are affected. Though this can be an advantage it also complicates the relationship between regulators and target groups (Meyer & Vorsanger 2007). Lastly, the impact of street-level bureaucrats on the achievement of policy objectives could be of great importance. Since front-line workers modify policies to the realities on the ground, the policy can ultimately improve its clock speed as well as its effectiveness. According to Meyers and Vorsanger, in order to decrease the consequential uncertainties of policy implementation good cooperation and communication between policy makers and street-level bureaucrats is essential. Though the long-term goals tend to be the same for both front-line workers and officials, short-time goals often vary considerably. While policy makers and officials aim at satisfying stakeholders, street-level bureaucratsøgoals are to cope with everyday problems on the ground (Meyers et al. 2001). Findings on the extent of the impact of differences in short term goals and street-level discretion have been inconsistent. Nevertheless, scholars have identified a number of factors that impact street-level discretion, cooperation and ultimately successful policy implementation. Policies based on strong political consensus have a tendency to be well planned, have clear goals and means to achieve goals and hence are less likely to create inconsistent goals between the different actors (Matland 1995). Reforms that are rooted in political compromises are often poorly coordinated and have contradictory directives (Meyers & Vorsanger 2007). Further inclusion of street-level bureaucrats in the policy making process as well as providing them with adequate information about the goals and means is important for a successful implementation (Hanf & OøTool Jr. 2006).

Target Group Behavior

Another key cluster of variables in the implementation of policies are the groups that the policy targets, citizens and/or firms. Agenda 21 (UNEP 1999) emphasizes the importance for community participation in order to improve implementability of an environmental policy. The

NPE in Zambia emphasizes the importance of making the public an important implementer. The collective action problem has its roots in the question of how individuals act when trying to achieving a common goal. Everyone will, on the long-run, benefit from protecting the environment and ensuring sustainable resources. This makes the need for collective action vital. Policy Implementation participation looks at the way people get involved in the issues the policy addresses as well as programs launched under the policy. There are different ways of participation. Muriisa (Muriisa 2001 in: Mruma 2005,p.36) identified 4 levels:

1) Needs assessment (people participate in identifying problems in their area)
2) Program design (people help design the solution for these problems)
3) Ownership of programs (do people feel like they own the programs or are they burdens for them)
4) Program management (are people involved in managing the program)

The range of environmental issues has increased significantly over the past decades and the involvement of the public in different stages is therefore more important today than ever (Bulkeley & Mol 2003). According to Bulkeley and Mol, non-participatory ways of policy making are illegitimate, undemocratic as well as ineffective.

Another important issue when dealing with community participation is knowledge and uncertainty. The predominant model of policy influence is a linear one that assumes information flows from science to policy and then to society (Eden 1998). This model only goes one way. However, this model has come under a lot of criticism in recent years and has been largely replaced by a õmodel of mutual negotiation and (re)construction of environmental knowledgeö (Eden 1998, p.427). Knowledge of environmental issues as well as of the policy is hence important for participation and ultimately for a successful policy implementation. Public awareness of problems is an important tool for action (UNEP 2000).

Networking

Implementation, as discussed in the previous paragraphs, involves different actors with different agendas. Coordinating and linking these actors is therefore important but also a known ground for differences. In many developing countries, establishing roles and responsibilities tends to be difficult. Giving relative autonomy to NGOs and other street-level bureaucrats often makes the

central government uneasy (Brinkerhoff 1999). Donors tend to favor program with NGOs which in turn puts the central government in competition for limited resources. NGOs again fear interference by the government. Scholars (Brinkerhoff 1999) point out that a solution to this problem in developing countries are network arrangements where no one entity is in charge. This is, however not always easy to achieve due to the lack of trust, coordination, well established institutions and decentralization in many countries in sub-Saharan Africa (Oosterveer, Van Vliet 2009). Increased decentralization is, according to Brinkerhoff (Brinkerhoff 1999) one way of addressing the issue if problematic coordination and linkages.

Decentralization

The French doctrine states: õ*One can govern better from far, but can administer better when closer*ö (Zaharia, Bilouseas 2008, p.1). The NPE is based on the concept of decentralizing environmental management taking into account that environmental issues are cross-boundary issues and research has shown that they are better dealt with at the local level. According to Dennis Rondinelli (Rondinelli 1999) decentralization is õ*the transfer of authority and responsibility for public functions from the central government to subordinate or quasi-independent government organizations or the private sector*ö

Rondinelli makes a distinction between four Types of decentralization

1) *Political Decentralization* deals with the transfer of power to citizens and their representatives

2) *Administrative Decentralization* aims at redistributing authority and resources for public services to the local governmental level.

3) *Fiscal Decentralization* is the establishment of the ability of local government to have adequate revenues. How this might be achieved can vary from government grants to self-financing.

4) *Economic and Market Decentralization* is, according to Rondinelli divided into Privatization and Deregulation. Deregulation is the lift of legal constraints on the participation of private corporations on previously governmental dominated spheres. Privatization on the other hand is the actual participation of these corporations.

Literature argues that it is not always possible to separate these processes. In rare cases political and administrative decentralization are happening independently. Mostly all forms are found to a certain extend though some might be stronger represented than others.

Decentralization and Environmental Policy

Environmental management has proven to be more effective when local actors are involved (UNEP 2002). Research has shown that many decentralized environmental policies in Africa have failed (Blaikie 2006, Oosterveer & Vliet 2009). Among the main reasons for failure are the complex relationships between all involved actors at the background of mostly semi-decentralized systems. The additional burden of limited financial and human resources and high dependency on foreign aid hinders implementation of decentralized environmental policies. Osterveer and Vliet identify three tensions that have to be reduced when implementing decentralized environmental policies in sub-Saharan Africa:

1) Technical staff versus locally elected officials

    Elected officials represent their constituents who in turn are often inconvenienced by the implementation of environmental policies. Officials hence risk to not be re-elected.

2) District level versus national level

    This is a general tension in decentralized systems. Which tasks remain at the center and which go to the Periphery. The more decentralized a system, the less this tension.

3) Tensions between different policy domains

    Environmental issues are not limited to one policy sector and generally touch many other domains. In developing countries there is a lot of competition over the limited resources and the benefits of an environmental policy are not immediately obvious. Other policy domains such as health, education and infrastructure development tend to be seen as more important.

Table 3: Summary of Variables
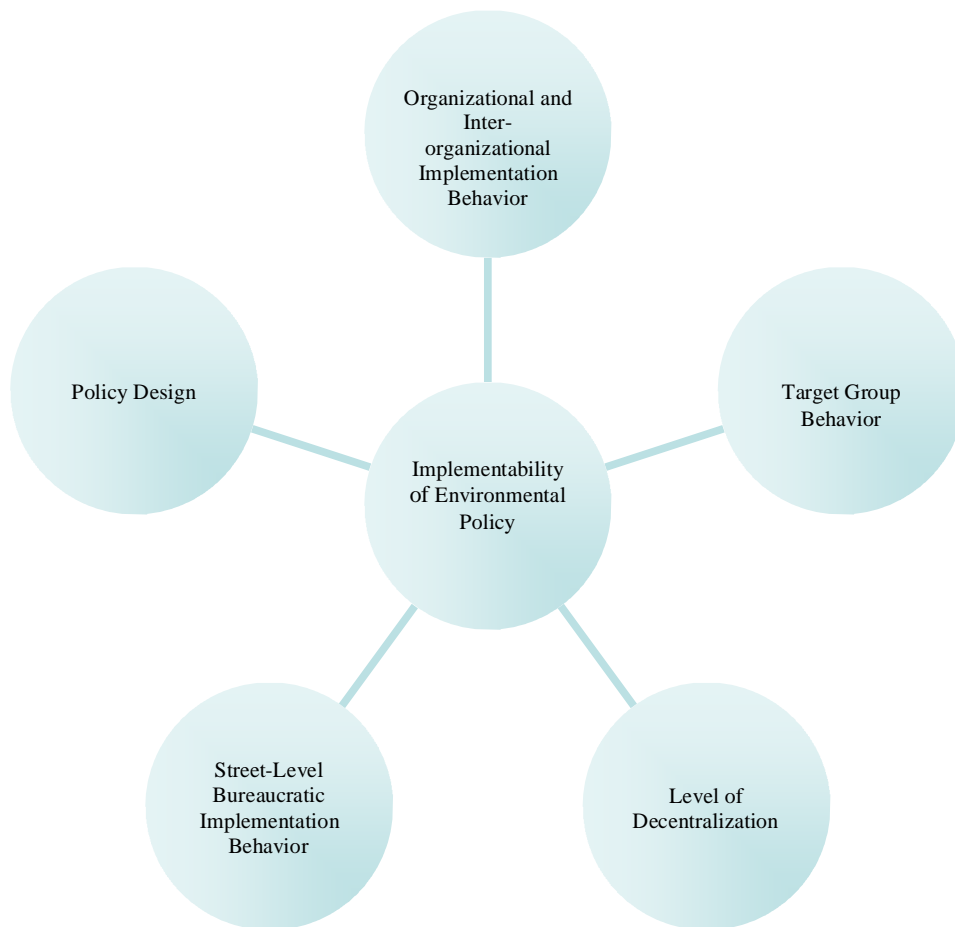
Summary

Measuring Implementability of the NPE depends on a number of independent variables. Using Winterøs Integrated Implementation Model (Winter 2007) and setting it in the context of a decentralized environmental policy, we concentrate on the Implementation process and identify 4 independent variables that influence implementability for the NPE.Organizational and Inter-organizational implementation behavior, street-level bureaucratic implementation behavior, target group behavior and the level of decentralization. The following chapter gives insight into the methodology of this study.

CHAPTER THREE

Methodology

According to Yin (Yin 1984), a case study investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context. The borders between the phenomenon and its conext are not always obvious and multiple sources of evidence are used. Decentralization efforts have been going on in Zambia since the 1980s, however it has only been recently that the concept of decentralized environmental management has become an important policy field. The case or phenomenon analyzed in this study was the NPE in Zambia. The context of decentralization as well as the interplay of socio-economic and administrative factors plays an important role in the implementation of the NPE and distinguishing between these contextual factors and other variables as well as the use of multiple sources of evidence and previous research, required the use of case-study-strategy for this study. A qualitative approach was employed which allowed us to be both exploratory and explanatory in our research and to ask open questions as well as observe the implementation efforts in a natural setting.

What determines successful implementation and hence increases implementability of a policy was discussed in the previous chapter and 4 clusters of variables have been identified. It is the aim of this chapter to discuss the operationalization of these variables as well as data collection methods and sampling.

Operationalization

Organizational and Inter-organizational implementation behavior was operationlized through document review as well as interviews. Documents gave an overview of how implementing institutions are structured, the hierarchy as well as co-operation structures and programs. In addition, In-depth interviews were conducted with officials in different organizations and institutions. Questions were asked to asses the level of co-operation and networking within the different organizations as well as attitudes towards cooperation.

Street-level bureaucratic behavior was researched using in-depth interviews with a sampled front-line workers as well as officials.

Previous studies, official documents and in-depth interviews were used to investigate the level of decentralization in Zambia. Interviews were carried out with officials from both the central government as well as the local government. Questions focused on decision-space, flexibility with allocation funds and co-operation with other implementers. Further interviews were carried out with an NGO and a private company in order to get a full picture of decentralization and privatization in the environmental sector.

Target group behavior, Community participation and knowledge were measured through focus group discussions at markets in both Lusaka and Mazabuka.

Sampling

The Republic of Zambia is a landlocked country in the southern part of Africa, covering an area of 752 618km². It is divided into nine provinces. The focus of this case study was on 2 provinces, Lusaka and Southern Province. Lusaka being the capital with a population of approximately 3 100 000 people (MFNP 2007) was sampled as an urban area. Southern Province, with the local governmental office in Mazabuka, was sampled as a local governmental representative. Using the capital city and central government as well as local offices enabled us to employ a comparative approach as well as examine the state of decentralization. Mazabuka hosts the countries largest sugar manufacturer, Zambia Sugar, which puts additional constrain onto the environment. The way the local government deals with region-specific environmental issues as well as the problem of limited infrastructure were other reasons for sampling this region. In contrast, Lusaka being the political and administrative center of the country as well as the largest

city, is mainly dealing with õbrownö issues such as waste, sanitation and pollution. Due to the use of case study research, four different sources of data were used: In-depth interviews, Focus-group discussions, direct observations and documentary review.

In-depth Interviews

According to Yin (Yin 2003), Interviews are one of the most important data-sources for case studies. Overall, four in-depth interviews were conducted with purposeful sampled respondents. The interviews were conducted in English, recorded and transcribed. Questions were open ended and included both questions about facts as well as opinions of the respondents.

1) The Principal Natural Resource Management Officer at the Ministry for Tourism, Environment and Natural Resources was picked because the MTENR is the main implementing and coordinating institution of the NPE. This interview allowed me to gather information about how the policy is being implemented, how and if institutions work together as well as get insight about what the experienced and expected problems are in the implementation process.

2) Mazabuka Town Clerk is the chief executive administrative officer of the district who works as the link between the central government and the district, as well as the sub-district level in implementing the NPE. The town clerk was sampled to give insight into the environmental problems particular to southern province, specifically the area in and around Mazabuka district. Further comparing answers with the MTENR gave an indication on the level of cooperation, information exchange and decentralization.

3) Founder and Executive Director of the Youth Environment Network Zambia (YEN), a non-profit, youth based organization that promotes environmental awareness. YEN is an example of an organized street-level implementer of the NEP and was sampled to examine cooperation between the central government and NGOs in the environmental sector as well as street-level bureaucratic behavior and the exercise of discretion.

4) Managing Director of CITIMOP, a private Waste Management Company in Lusaka. CITIMOP is one of the largest private waste management companies in the country and services different areas in and around Lusaka. The company was sampled to study the

involvement of the private sector, the cooperation with the government in the implementation of the NPE.

Focus-Group-Discussion

To analyze target group behavior, community participation and knowledge as well as point out general attitudes towards environmental problems in the communities, four Focus-Group-Discussions were carried out. For this, four different markets were picked. Three in Lusaka and one in Southern Province. In Lusaka, markets in different areas were picked. Kammuzi market Woodlands located in a low density area, Soweto mark which is in a high density area and Misisi market which is an unplanned settlement. Sampling markets with different attributes enabled us to compare different environmental problems, and understand other influential factors such as political and socio-economic context. The inclusion of an unplanned settlement provided the insight into possible differences of servicing and inclusion in governmental policy programs depending on the legal status of the settlement. In Southern Province, Magoye market, a rural market was sampled. Every market is divided into four sections: a) fruit and vegetables, b) clothes, c) car-parts and other industrial parts and d) food (restaurants). From each of the sections one respondent was randomly sampled according to willingness and time of the respondents. Each Focus group discussion consisted of four respondents. Age and Gender was evenly distributed and a group was made up of two males and two females, each one of which was aged up to 25 years and one aged 25 and older. They were given the opportunity to choose between English, Bemba, Njanja and Tonga as the language of discussion. The discussions were recorded, translated and back translated by the linguistic department of the University of Zambia. The respondents were asked questions such as how they define the term environment, what environmental problems in their area are, what is and can be done about them, to name but a few. They were further probed about the knowledge of the NPE and similar government programs. For a more detailed outline of the questions see appendix 1. Respondents were given a consent form to sign, agreeing to the discussion as well as to confidentiality about their identities from the side of the researcher.

Direct Observations

Direct, participant observations of environmental management in households as well as on the streets added to a more holistic picture of the situation in the field. Buildings, waste management in government buildings as well as casual discussions with people in the street were conducted. Having lived in Lusaka for 7 months and being directly involved in environmental management, waste management and environmental problems such as flooding and pollution, reduced the possible impact of participant-manipulation. Waste collection in Lusaka and Mazabuka was observed and discussions with random people on the street and in the markets gave insight into environmental issues as well as participation and the general attitude towards the NPE in a natural setting.

Secondary Data

Secondary Data was collected through document and literature review. Legal documents and predecessors of the NPE were collected and analyzed. This includes drafts and different versions of the NPE. Other governmental documents and policies that deal with environmental protection and management gave a better understanding of the legal and political framework of the NPE. The National Solid Waste Management Strategy for Zambia 2004 deals specifically with decentralization of waste management in Zambia and the Environment and Natural Resources Management and Mainstreaming Programme 2008-2012 for example runs simultaneously to the NPE and deals with the problem of funding for Environmental Issues as well as mainstreaming environmental management. Other documents such as the National Environmental Action Plan 1994, the Environmental Protection and Pollution Act No.12 of 1990, Zambia Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper 2002-2004 and National Situational Analysis Report MTENR/UNDP 2005 were considered to show the previous policies that dealt with environmental issues before the implementation of the NPE. Another set of official documents such as the National Decentralization Policy and the NDP Implementation Plan were studied to understand the ongoing decentralization efforts.

Previous studies on environmental management as well as decentralization in Zambia were collected and studied. These studies helped to round up the data and give a more holistic view of

the current situation in Zambia. Further local newspaper articles were collected to get a picture of media coverage of environmental issues as well as the NPE and its programs.

Challenges of Data Collection

Among the main challenges faced during data collection was the financial aspect. As a self financed student I was confronted with many unforeseen costs that limited the time I had in the field. Further, many officials could not give me a specific date and time for the interview previous to me journey. This made planning difficult at times and required me to travel to Zambia õblindö. Once arrived, I had to go to each of the offices in person several times until I was granted an interview. Some of the intended interview partners were however, even after giving me a time and place for the interview unavailable and change their mind in the hour prior to the interview. Another challenge was the language. Though many respondents in the FGD opted to conduct the discussion in English, terms like õenvironmentö and õpublic trash binsö were misunderstood and sometimes had to be repeated over and over again until an understanding was reached.

Methodology of Data Analysis

Data was collected and analyzed in a qualitative manner. Each Interview and discussion was recorded using a portable tape-recorder. After conducting interviews and Focus group discussions, the recordings were transcribed and if need be translated and back-translated. If questions arose after the coding, some interview partners were called or written to in order to clarify certain statements. The transcribed interviews and discussions were then coded and put into a matrix of categories. Focus group discussions covered a wide range of topics and a descriptive approach (Yin 2003) was used to identify and overall pattern as well as a unit of analysis. In order to ensure validity of the results, triangulation (Yin 2003), the combination of different sources of evidence, was employed. The impact of decentralization of the implementation of the NPE will be incorporated and discussed via the three cluster variables.

CHAPTER 4

# Policy Background and Context

Introduction

According to the UNEP Africa Environmental Outlook (UNEP 2002), the wealth of a nation is measured by its total capital. This is made up of: natural capital, human-made capital, human skills and social capital. In the last three decades natural capital in Africa has declined substantially, leading to a decline in development. Research has shown a particularly significant linkage between environment and development. This is due to the fact that the national economies depend strongly on natural resources and agriculture. Before the implementation of the NPE, environmental management in Zambia was dealt with via several individual sector policies. The NPE aims at combining all these single policies into one overall national policy. Because environmental management is not limited to one policy domain, it is important to understand the administrative background in which the NPE is being implemented as well as the background of how the policy came into its current form.

 In the previous chapters theoretical as well as methodological issues were discussed. This chapter provides the background of the NPE and an overview of the national administrative and political background.

Until the beginning of the 1980s, Zambia was one of the most affluent countries in Sub-Saharan Africa. Copper exports today still account for 95% of total export earnings though the production of refined copper as reduced since the 1970s by about 80% (NPE 2005). Poor access to social services like basic education, health, food and clean water are other constraints to sustainable development.

Zambia Facts

Zambia is a landlocked country in the southern part of Africa. Covering an area of 752, 614 km² with a population of approximately 13 million people (DESAPD 2009). Zambia is one of the most urbanized countries in Africa with around half of the population concentrated in urban areas. The capital city Lusaka has a population of approximately 3 million people and a density of 44, 285.7 / km². (CSO 2007) With 64% of the population living below the poverty line (ENRMMP 2008) economic growth remains slow and was the lowest in the SADC region.
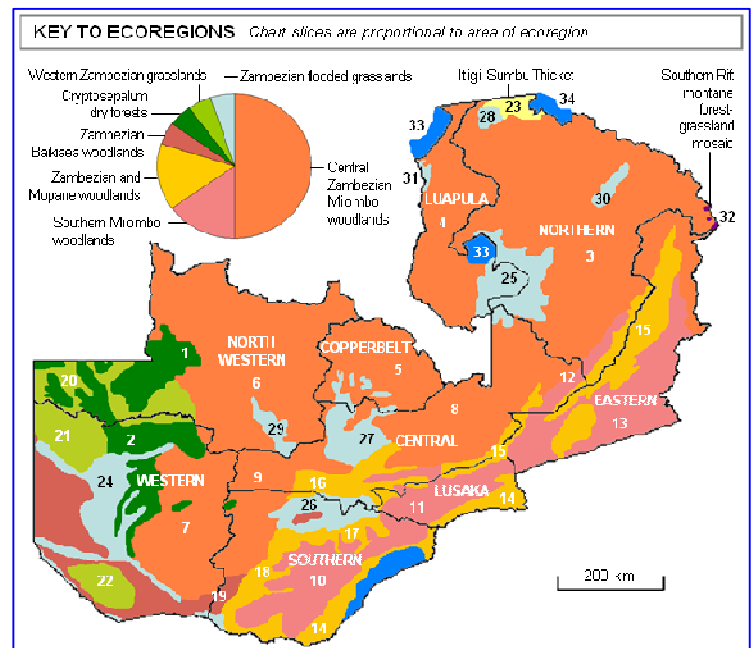
Political and Administrative Context

As a former British colony Zambia is part of the Commonwealth of Nations and the official language is English. Zambia gained independence from the United Kingdom in 1964 and was declared a presidential representative democratic Republic in which the president is both the head of state as well as head of government. The government is solely exercising executive powers whereas legislative powers are shared between the government and the parliament. The National Assembly (parliament) consists of a speaker, 150 directly elected officials in single-member constituencies and 8 members that are appointed by he president. A presidential term lasts five years with a maximum of two terms. Member of the national assembly serve 5 year terms as well (Gewald et al 2009). Zambia consists of 9 provinces and 72 districts. Each province is administered by an appointed minister. Most policy decisions are made by the government and considered õgovernment policyö (Koen-Grant & Garnett 1996). The Ministers formulate policies and the Cabinet approves them. After this they have to go for approval to Parliament. The local government has local branches of the ministries and elected officials such as Major and Town Clerk which are supervised by the Ministry of local government and housing

After independence from Britain, the formal system for policy formulation and implementation was very poor and centralized in the office of the president. There was further a gap between policy decisions and the outcome since nobody was in place to monitor the implementation and outcomes. Many of the policy problems have been attributed to the centralization of the system.

Decentralization in Zambia

In the 1980s the general trend all over Africa was to change the heavily centralized systems put in place by most governments after gaining independence from the various colonial powers. In Zambia, the first, and until today considered the most comprehensive attempt (Hampwaye 2008), was the 1980 Local Administration Act. Local party organs were joined with the ones of the local administration in the districts. District councils were established and a district governor was put in charge. Though the districts gained responsibilities they did not have an integrated budget (Mukwena 2001). After introducing a system of multiparty politics, the local government act of 1991 replaced the act from the 1980s and aimed at separating the party from the local organs. One of the consequences was that the district was no longer governed by a presidentially appointed governor but by an elected mayor and town clerk. Over the years several amendments to this act took place until in 2004 a decentralization policy was launched. In addition the PSRP (Public Sector Reform Program) was introduced in order to improve public services and strengthen local governments. The main goal of these policies is to give more power to the local governments to improve and restructure the civil service, improve the management of human resources and to decentralize and strengthen the local government (Braaten 2002:6).
Today besides the central government, there is provincial administration consisting of a provincial minister and a provincial permanent secretary. Supervision and coordination is done by the PDCC (Provincial Development Coordination Committee). At the district level, there is a district administrator as well as local councils, both coordinated by the DDCC (District Development Coordinating Committee). Programs such as the National Capacity Building Program for Good Governance (2000) and the Fifth National Development Plan (2006-2010) support the effort of decentralization.
The Zambian government acknowledges that poor management and little accountability in the councils and by both the PDCC and DDCC have limited the decentralization process (GRZ

2009). Research (Hampwaye 2008, UNDP 2002, Dauskardt 2004) has shown that privatization such as of water and energy companies limited the revenue base of the local governments. At the same time more responsibilities were given to them via the decentralization policy. Another factor to be considered is the required retirement after 22 years of service. This puts additional strain on the local budgets due to retirement packages. Continuous reduction of government grants force councils to take credits. However, due to years of mismanagement and corruption, most councils are not viewed as creditworthy (Hampwaye 2008).

Sasa et al (Sasa et al 2002) issued a survey that highlight the lack of competent human resources in the local governments in Zambia. Research has shown that a grade seven minimum qualification is too low and limits the quality of service that is being delivered. A survey conducted by the Zambian government showed that õ*many local governmental officers were unqualified for the posts they held*ö (Zambia 2002b in: Hampwaye 2009 p.353).

It is important to note that the implementation period of the decentralization policy from 2004 is scheduled to last until 2013 and is hence still ongoing.

Environmental Problems in Zambia

Currently Zambia faces a wide range of environmental problems that need immediate action and a change in the way people handle the environment. During the course of policy formulation, several studies assessing the current situation were conducted by the government of Zambia as well as various NGOs. (NPE 2005, UNDP 2005, ENRMMP 2008) These studies were conducted from October 2004 to December 2004 and summarized in the National Situational Analysis Reports focusing on 10 economic sectors. Additional environmental problems were reported during data collection.

1) Agricultural Sector

   The wrong use of chemicals and other inappropriate agricultural practices are commonly found especially among small farmers and lead to land degradation. Where water resource policies have not been considered in agricultural policies and in general little consideration are being made to the long term impact of certain practices. Low productivity on ones farmland drives many to expand their farms which in return fail to generate good agricultural industry.

2) Fisheries Sector

Overpopulation and unsustainable fishing methods such as the use of mosquito nets or chemical fishing, have lead to over fishing in nearly all wild fisheries. Uncontrolled harvest of fuel wood and deforestation leads to sedimentation in rivers and ultimately to a reduction in the production of fish. Existing regulations on fishing are not adequately enforced.

3) Tourism Sector

Since Tourism relates to many other areas such as wildlife, fisheries and energy and standards and rules need to be set and enforced. However, to this date, there is an inadequacy in this area as well as in the development of appropriate tourism development planning.

4) Forestry Sector

Deforestation at a rate of 250-300 thousand hectare per year (NPE 2005) has been the identified as the biggest environmental problem in Zambia at the moment. The increase of fuel-wood and production of charcoal have reached an unsustainable level and little attention has been given to alternative sources of energy. Due to inadequate forest management there is soil erosion and loss of productivity. In some areas this borders on dessertification. Clearance of forests in order to use them as farmland is uncontrolled and so is much of the annual burning. The meager management of the forestry sector is considered the biggest contributor to climate change in Zambia.

5) Wildlife Sector

The continuous expansion of human settlement over the years has put enormous pressure on wildlife resources. High poverty also furthers poaching and leads to depletion of wildlife. The wildlife sector is important for biodiversity and tourism and development in both is currently in peril. Community-action is rare and underdeveloped. Inapropriate waste management has also been identified as a major problem in this sector. This is due to the fact that uncontrolled waste is being eaten by animals and can cause diseases and/or death as well as the possibility of polluting water streams.

6) Mining Sector

The neglect of land and water through dust, waste, erosion, toxic mining dumps and sediment discharge contradicts current regulations and shows a failure to implement the EIAs. Noise pollution and a lack of post-mining plans are among the main environmental problems to be addressed in this sector. Mines right now are being operated and then abandoned. There is a need to restore mined land. Though right now environmental impact assessment is being done before the opening of a mine, the enforcement and control of mining practices after the opening is inadequate to not happening at all.

7) Water Sector

Studies (NPE 2005) have shown that at least 56% of the population do not have a supply of safe water and an estimated 90% do not have access to adequate sanitation facilities. Pollution and the practice of burying household waste close to sources of water, have led to the pollution of water. Dumped waste as well as fishing wires, nets and small-scale irrigation continuously lead to blockage of drainage lines. During the rainy season, these blockages can further the development of diseases such as cholera and diarrhea. Sedimentation of rivers and lakes and permanent changes to seasonal flow patterns of rivers and streams have a big impact on the environment.

8) Energy Sector

A policy failure to invest in cheap alternative energy in order to decrease to usage of wood has been identified (UNDP 2005). Hydropower has become a part of the countries export goods but causes degradation of wetlands and damages livestock production, fisheries and water treatment. The environmental impact of hydropower as well as the use of fuel-wood is not being given enough attention and the promotion of alternative sources is lacking. Rural electrification is happening at a slow rate and due to a rising population number putting extra pressure onto wood resources. Studies have shown (NPE 2007) that the EIAs are neither applied not enforced when it comes to energy demand and supply.

9) Heritage Sector

Unplanned development has caused the destruction of heritage artifacts and inappropriate modernization lead to the demolition of old buildings. Spiritual and cultural values are slowly disappearing as well as loss of local languages due to the concentration in English in schools. Lack of maintenance of some sites let to deterioration and advancement of

invasive weeds, mainly õLantana cameraö (MTENR 2007). A lack of benefits for the communities from national heritage has also been identified.

10) Industry and Commercial Sector

Pollution of soil. Water and air at industrial sites and a lack of enforcement of the Environmental Protection and Pollution Act of 1990 raises many concerns. A general lack of incentives and control of proper waste disposal results in a reluctance of transportation of hazardous wastes.

11) Waste

Wrong waste management has lead to the outbreak of diseases like cholera, dysentery and has polluted water, air, soil and land. There is a loss of aesthetic beauty due to waste lying around in the streets and fields an increase of vermin and pests. In addition there here are low standards of disposal sites, improper handling of hazardous waste, littering, uncollected garbage and random dumping of waste.

Environmental Management in Zambia

Environmental management of the environmental sector in Zambia covers more than 20 international treaties and over 30 acts of parliament. Responsibilities are scattered among several different ministries.

The first attempt to deal with environmental issues was the ratification of the National Conservation Strategy in 1985. Issues addressed in this strategy paper were considering those environmental issues that were directly concerned with the development of the country. After pressure from the World Bank in 1990, the government came up with the National Environmental Plan of Action (NEAP). In 1995 the Environmental Protection and Pollution Act (EPPCA) was passed, looking mainly at brown issues. Since legal, policy and institutional programs aimed at addressing environmental problems across many sectors, the NPE reconciles all these sectoral policies in a single policy. Pressure from the international community and donors that pointed out the worsening environmental degradation and depletion of natural as well as cultural resources prompted the need for a national policy. In 2005 the NPE was first launched and after some structural changes re-launched in 2007.

CHAPTER 5

Policy Design

Introduction

Chapter five looks at the design of the policy. At the background of the notion that ‑policies create politicsø(Schneider & Sidney 2009), it is important to understand the way the NPE is structured as well as the different areas of responsibility. Poor structured policies, with ill defined goals, may result in failure to implement (OøTool 1986). As a result, a look at the design is an important variable in this research. First an overview of the structure and main areas of the NPE will be given, followed by a description of the implementing institutions and finally the legislative context in which the policy is set.

The NPE

The overall goal of the NPE is to provide õ*a framework management guide for the management of Zambiaøs environment and natural resources so as to ensure that they are managed on a sustainable basis and retain their integrity to support the needs of the current and future generation without compromising either of the two*ö (NPE 2007, p.9). The policy is based on the principle of decentralized environmental management and recognizes the importance for everyone, that is õ*any Institution, Government or Non-Governmental Organization, any community group or peopleøs organization or any individual that uses or otherwise carries out activities that affect the environment*ö (NPE 2007, p.16) to look towards the NPE as their guideline.

It is design around nine main environmental sectors:
1. Agriculture
2. Fisheries
3. Tourism
4. Forestry

5. Wildlife
6. Mining
7. Water
8. Energy
9. Heritage

These sectors are managed by the line ministries and departments and have sector specific policy programs. However, it is emphasized that there is a need for cross-sectoral measures due to the nature of environmental issues. Matters of policy planning, regulation and control relating to natural landscapes, natural resources, natural resource management and the ecosystem, cut across more than 11 sectors with specific policies. The NPE therefore works around four main environmental resources:

a) Land
b) Water
c) Atmosphere and Climate
d) Biological Diversity and Bio-safety

Special consideration is given to the issue of Waste, as a cross-sectoral issue, touching all four resource-areas.

Land

The need for a policy that covers all categories of land with suitable guidelines and the necessary legal instruments for its implementation are given high priority. Sound management of all forms of land-use, be it mining, urbanization, forestry, wildlife and agriculture is required and a the goal is a more efficient and sustainable use of land-resources. The 2005 version of the NPE provided many details about the specific measures to be taken. The revised and ratified version of 2007 focuses on the need for specific ministries and departments to work out a policy on õlandö.

The responsible bodies are the Ministry of Lands, Commissioner of Lands, the Zambian Wildlife Authority and Forestry Department, House of Chiefs, all to be supervised and coordinated by the Ministry of Tourism, Environment and Natural Resources as well as the Environmental Council. Programs so far ratified and in the implementation process include the Zambia Forest Action Plan and the National Plan to combat Desertification.

Water

An uninterrupted and adequate supply of water to meet the national needs and to manage and use water resources efficiently while still promoting conservation is the overall guiding principle when dealing with water. All citizens should have access to clean water. Among the main challenges raised by the policy is the approach to the value of water, taking the form of pricing, creating new assets, provision of water services as well as allocation. Sanitation of water also falls under this sector. Stakeholders in local areas as well as citizens have to be sensitized to the importance of sustaining water. Emphasis is placed on the strengthening if the Department of Water Affairs under the Ministry of Energy and Water Development as the main body responsible for the management of water. Close collaboration with private waste-management companies is also important to reduce water-borne and diseases. Collaboration with the ministry of agriculture and local governments to promote and develop small-scale irrigation schemes with the emphasis in efficient water management is needed. The MTENR is to work closely with the Ministry of Energy and Water Development and all municipal and local authorities.

Atmosphere and Climate

In order to cut down atmospheric pollution different sectors have to work closely together, especially industrial, mining, energy and forestry. Awareness programs as well as control and enforcement lie at the heart of atmosphere and climate strategies. Motor vehicles emissions and industry emissions as well as control of bush fires need to be enforced. Carbon emission tax was introduced January 2010 and cover mandatory K12,500 per quarter for motor-bikes and small vehicles and K30,000 for big engines. The NPE defines the Department of Meteorology as the monitoring agency in this sector. The National Adaption Program of Action designed to contribute to the security of the Zambians that are vulnerable to the effects of climate change and focuses on raising public awareness was introduced in 2007.

Biological Diversity and Bio-safety

In order to maintain Zambiaøs biological diversity conservation practices have to be updated and monitored efficiently. The MTENR has been coordinating several programs under this umbrella including the Convention on Biological Diversity (1992) and the National Biological Diversity

Strategy and Action Plan (2000-2004). Other department based programs under the Zambian Wildlife Authority, Department of Fisheries and National Heritage Convention Comission are to be supported by the NPE.

Waste

Waste management is a cross-sectoral issue and is addressed in almost all sectors of the NPE but is not considered a sector in itself. The issue of solid waste is addressed by an overall program, the National Solid Waste Management Strategy for Zambia, under the NPE, enacted by the Environmental Council of Zambia. Waste management is guided by the õpolluter pays principleö and focuses on source reduction, propagating n integrated life-cycle of products and waste minimization. The MTENR and ECZ co-ordinate waste management programs and the local authorities, through their Public Health Department, provides a framework for collection and disposal services. The private sector plays an important role in waste-management. Private collection firms are given specific streets and routes to collect waste from by the ECZ. A differentiation between five types of waste is made: Domestic waste, commercial waste, industrial waste, mine waste and hazardous waste. The actual difference however is only made between slag and mixed waste (CITIMOP Managing director, Interview September 13 2010). Private citizens and companies pay the collection firm or the ECZ ,depending on their location, a quarterly amount for trash pick up. Less than 14% of urban waste generated in the urban centers finds its way to the disposal site and less than 10% of residential areas in the country are being serviced (ECZ 2004). One of the reasons for this is infrastructure. An underdeveloped road network makes some roads impassable. Another reason can be found in the costs and lack of public awareness of the danger of reckless garbage disposal.

Implementing Institutions

The dispersal of Zambiaøs environmental laws over various different pieces of legislation resulted in a great number of different institutions working independently from each other. Through the NPE these institutions are now required to cooperate instead of pursuing their

sectoral policies. The policy addresses the importance of a powerful proponent for both advocacy as well as effective cross-sector coordination.

Ministry of Tourism, Environment and Natural Resources (MTENR)

õTo provide a policy framework for the management and development of tourism, heritage and natural resources and the environment in order to contribute to sustainable socio-economic development for the benefit of present and future generations." (MTENR webpage)

In 2002 after merging the Ministry of Tourism and Ministry of Environment and the Ministry of Natural Resources, the MTENR was established. Reason for the merger was a presidential directive aiming at streamlining the ministries and improving service delivery. The MTENR is the coordinating institution of the NPE and responsible for overseeing and monitoring the implementation process. The Ministry consists of five departments:

Environment and Natural Resources Department

This department is responsible for the general policy formulation on environment, natural resources and pollution control. The Section for environmental Affairs Management and Co-ordination co-ordinates and oversees implementation of programs and projects as well as of international environmental protocols and conventions. The second section, Natural Resource Management and Co-ordination Section, coordinates renewable natural resources and implements and monitors the UN convention to combat desertification as well as linked projects.

Department of Human Resources and Administration

Responsibilities of this department are internal audits, accounts, public relations and procurement and supplies.

Planning and Information Department

The planning and coordination of sector issues as well as the spreading of information fall under this department. Policy monitoring and evaluation are among the core activities. In addition the PID is involved in mainstreaming environmental issues.

Tourism Development Department

Developing a competitive , sustainable tourism industry and to promote investment and education in tourism are duties of this department. There are four regional offices in Lusaka,

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Central & Eastern Provinces, Northern & Luapula Provinces, Copperbelt & North-Western Provinces and Western & Southern Provinces. These offices operate relatively independently and with little cooperation with the rest of the ministry.

Forestry Department

The Department of Forestry is responsible for the management of forest resources in Zambia. Tasks include regulation of forest industries, restoration of forests, undertaking research and providing guidelines and supervision. A new Forest Act of 1999 provided for a Forest Commission to replace the department. However, 11 years later the act has not yet been implemented.

There are further, six statutory bodies:

- Zambia Wildlife Authority (ZAWA)
- Environmental Council of Zambia (ECZ)
- Zambia Tourism Board (ZNTB)
- National Heritage Conservation Comission (NHCC)
- National Museum Board (NMB)
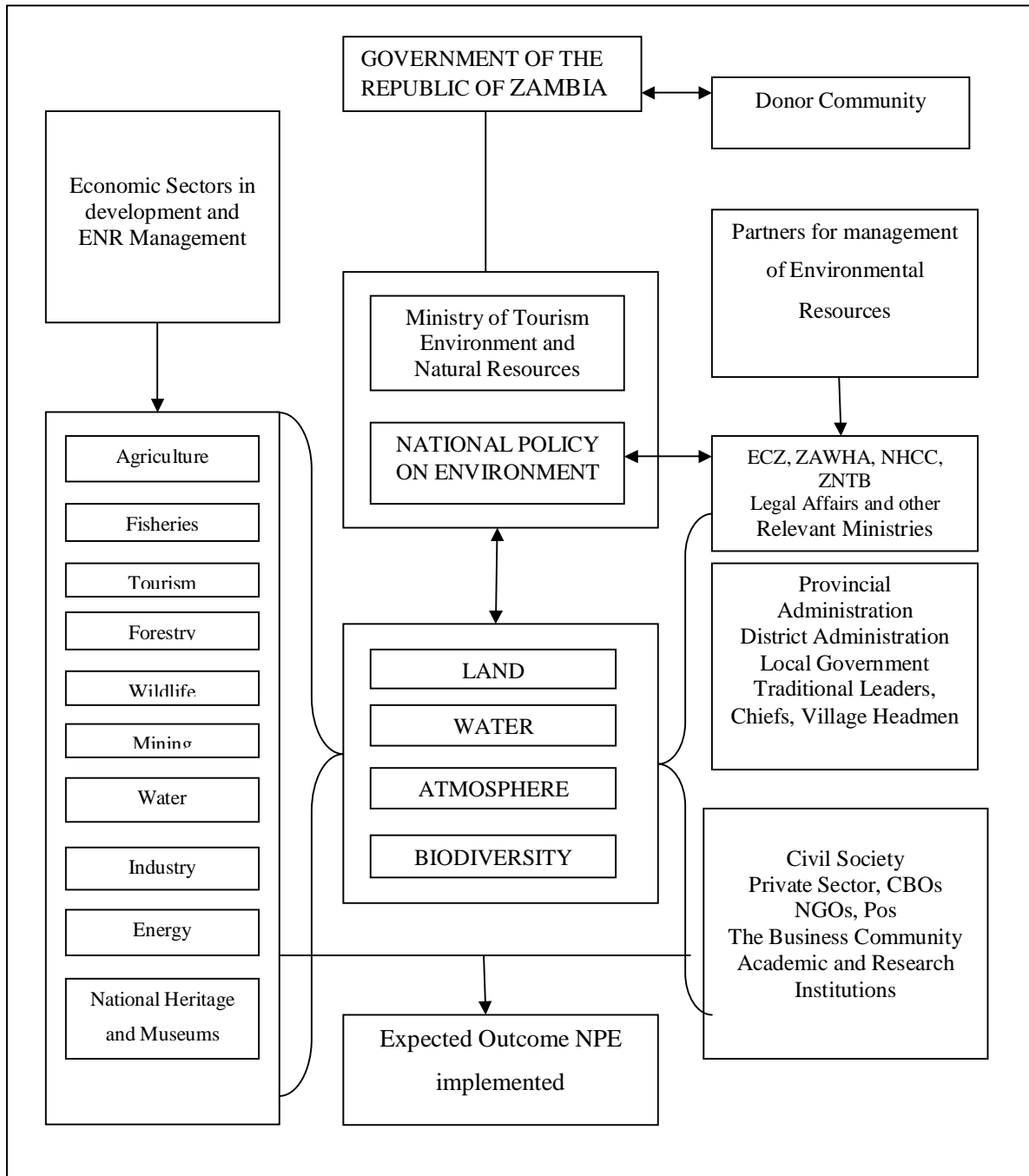- Hotel and Tourism Training Institute (HTTI) Trust.

The Environmental Council of Zambia is an important player in the implementation of the NPE in coordinating environmental and pollution activities and overseeing Environmental Impact Assessment(EIA) . EIA is mandatory in Zambia in order to evaluate the state of the environment, impacts of certain activities and projects. Assessments aim at answering (ECZ 2005): What is happening to the environment? Why is it happening? What is being done and what can be done about it? and What will happen if we do not act now? Resulting outlook reports are done on the national as well as district level. In addition, the ECZ advises the government on policy measures and conducts research.

In the last years there have been several cooperating partners actively involved in the environmental sector in Zambia. The JASZ (Joint Assistance Strategy for Zambia) by the MTENR highlights their activities. The World Bank is the largest contributor in the tourism sector. They are further funding land reclamation in mining areas. Norway has also for years been an actively involved supporter of conservation in Zambia and is the main financial partner of COMACO (Community Market for Conservation) in Luangwa Valley. Norway further funded

studies to research the impact of poverty of nature-tourism. The EU supported necessary institutional reforms and USAID has been an important contributor in the establishment of CBNRM (Community Bases Natural Resource Management). Countries such as Denmark and Finland have also been involved in supporting the Joing Forestry Management concept and General Management Plan for National Parks. The UNDP is the main agent for Global Environmental Facility Funds to Zambia and have partnered in building capacity of local authorities, natural resource management and biodiversity management.

Close collaboration with the local governmental offices of the sector ministries, provincial and district administration, local governments and traditional leaders is at the heart of a successful implementation. Further the incorporation of civil society, NGOǿs and the private sector needs to be strengthened and furthered and are responsible to work together with the MTENR.

Table 4 Diagram of Institutional Arrangement (MTENR 2005, p.68)

GOVERNMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF ZAMBIA

Donor Community

Economic Sectors in development and ENR Management

Partners for management of Environmental Resources

Ministry of Tourism Environment and Natural Resources

NATIONAL POLICY ON ENVIRONMENT

ECZ, ZAWHA, NHCC, ZNTB
Legal Affairs and other Relevant Ministries

Agriculture

Fisheries

Tourism

Forestry

Wildlife

Mining

Water

Industry

Energy

National Heritage and Museums

LAND

WATER

ATMOSPHERE

BIODIVERSITY

Provincial Administration
District Administration
Local Government
Traditional Leaders,
Chiefs, Village Headmen

Civil Society
Private Sector, CBOs
NGOs, Pos
The Business Community
Academic and Research
Institutions

Expected Outcome NPE implemented

Legislative Context

While the NPE is an all encompassing policy, sector specific policies and acts remain active and fall under the wing on the NPE. At different levels of government there are several policies and planning documents. These need to be strengthened and aligned with the overall policies goals of the NPE.

The overall development strategy for Zambia can be found in the Fifth National Development Plan (FNDP) that ran until 2010. The plan identifies areas of focus important for the development of the country. These areas are: agriculture, infrastructure, tourism, mining, manufacturing, education, health, water and sanitation. (FNDP 2005). Though not listed, the development plan puts a lot of focus onto the issue of land.

One of the programs launched under the FNDP is the Environmental and Natural Resources Management and Mainstreaming Program (ENRMMP) 2008-2012. This initiative shall bring coordination and implementation capacity to the ENR sector and focuses on capacity development and development of an Environmental Fund.

The Decentralization Policy as well as Decentralization Implementation Plan call for a fully decentralized and democratically elected system of governance. Devolution from the ministries to district councils shall be achieved by 2013.

PSRP, Public Sector Reform Program (1993), aiming at improving human resource management through performance incentives in the public administration, make Zambia's public service leaner and devolve power away from the center to the periphery. The PSRP is the main guide for public administration in Zambia and hence of great importance for the implementation of the NPE.

The Environmental Investment Business Plan (2005) illuminates the areas of priority for environmental investment in Zambia and the National Adaption Program of Action (2007) aims at awareness raising and secures Zambians that are vulnerable to results and effects of climate change (DENRM 2007).

Other important departmental policy documents and action plans include:

ECZ Strategic and business plan (2007-2011)

Zambia Forest Plan 1973

Zambia Forest Plan 1999 (not yet ratified)

ZAWA Strategic Plan (2008-2011)

National Waste Management Plan (2004)

National Action Plan to Combat Desertification

National Biodiversity Strategy and Action Plan (2001)

In addition every ministry and sector has its own particular sectoral policies and programs. Important is, that with the introduction of the NPE, all pieces of legislation need to consider the alignment of their programs with the NPE and coordinate with the MTENR as to how to reach the policy targets.

CHAPTER SIX

Organizational- and Inter-organizational Implementation of the NPE

Introduction

This Chapter analyses the organizational- and inter-organizational implementation behavior of the NPE in Zambia. Data findings and official documents provide a base for a discussion on the state of inter-organizational implementation, cooperation between the institutions and will show the implementability of the NPE in terms of organizational- and inter-organizational implementation behavior.

As discussed in Chapter Two, the increasing complexity of policy issues requires the need for cooperation and inter-organizational linkages. Summarizing, in order to improve organization and inter-organizational implementability in the face of decentralization of environmental management, the following issues need to be considered (OøTool, 1988):

1) Presence of a sense of duty to work towards the policy goals
2) Common interest   — reasons for cooperation
3) Exchange (one unit will get something in return from another unit)
4) Presence of adequate resources
5) Strong agency mandate and clear distribution of roles
6) Enforcement of authority
7) Available information flow to everyone

This Chapter will discuss these issues in relation to the NPE and analyze the implication their presence, absence or shape has on the implementability of the policy.

Reasons for cooperation

The circumstances and incentives that motivate people and agencies to work together have a crucial impact on the likelihood of a successful inter-organizational implementation. Environmental issues have long been conceived as not being very important in developing countries and hence fallen under the radar in terms of policy development. Though most policies include certain environmental consideration such as Health Care Reforms and even the Millennium Development goals, they have long been neglected when it comes to implementation. There is a lack of feeling of duty to protect the environments since other issues are considered to be more pressing. Principal Natural Resource Officer at the MTENR said: *õWhen it comes to environment and natural resources it is not always easy to see the benefits. Though we know that most people depend on resources. But the most important issue is to address poverty. When doing so you are thinking of immediate needs: foods on the table there and then. Issues about the environment already delegated to the lower level. Not because we want to do that but because we have more pressing needs*ö. If the policy and the problems it addresses are not seen as very important, what drives the different organizations to work together towards the implementation. Managing Director of Yen Zambia explained that the reason for collaboration comes from the outside rather than an inner drive. He further argues that many international donors set the ratification of a national policy as a condition for further support. It is therefore important for donors to expand the conditionality to the implementation phase of the NPE to avoid it being merely a symbolic policy (Matland 1995). OøTool argues that exchange can sometimes be a good motivator for inter-organizational cooperation. In the case for the Zambian NPE this is dependent on available resources. A certain organization might get additional tasks to handle but without the provision of adequate resources and no exchange, moral and cooperation is at risk of lowering.

Resources

The presence of adequate resources, as mentioned earlier, for the implementation is a very important issue in the cooperation between different implementing organizations in order to avoid the policy to end up as a õtack-onö programs (OøTool 1984). According to the PNRMO, resources are scarce and mostly come from outside the country. *õThe biggest challenge is*

actually to provide resources to be able to implement activities. Poverty level in Zambia is over 50% so you find that the little resources that are there go more to the more obvious needs such as health and education. If you go to the rural areas where people are affected by poverty. They need food and education then you tell them the government has these resources and we take them towards the protection of the environment, meanwhile the people are hungry. We do not have adequate resources. That is why most of our projects are dependent on external assistance.ö

Yen Zambia Director supports this stating that: õ*We have partners, not one specific partner but different partners. We partner with the communities. We have been working with the council and other private donors, mainly from abroad. We have also been working with other agencies like the Forest department under the MTENR but almost all the funding comes from abroad*ö. This poses a risk for long term development and management of environmental issues. Funds that come from abroad or various donor agencies, are not sustainable on the long run. A donor agency can decide at any time to cut its donations or might decide to use them for another agenda. It is therefore important to enable the different organizations and institutions to raise their own revenue and allocate a certain amount towards environmental protection.

The introduction of Carbon Emission Tax for cars has been one attempt on environmental revenue raise. However, one year after the start of the collection of this tax, an official statement as to how the money is being used, is still outstanding. When asked about how this money is utilized, the PNRM stated that the decision of how to use the revenue takes time and needs to be properly assessed. Ms Namugala, the permanent secretary of the MTENR said: õ*We are looking for the most effective was of applying these funds and will continue to consult on this very important issue*ö (Nyirenda 2010). Many citizens however, do not understand the reason for this tax and communication between the MTENR and the public has not been explanatory enough. Mr Sinkamba from CBE (Citizens for a Better Environment) said that the government needs to come up with climate-change-based projects quickly in order to avoid an up rise in the population. According to him, many people for not think that the funds are being channeled towards climate change mitigation programs.

Funds from abroad have the advantage that their proper use is monitored closely. The UNDP and the Norwegian government for example will fund programs under the NPE from 2010 to 2011 at a cost of $2.5 million. This fund will be renewed if it is utilized efficiently. What is needed, are means that make the institutions self-sufficient.

Fiscal decentralization in raising and distribution of funds on the local level is another important issue. The NPE is based on the principle of decentralized environmental management, which entails the active involvement of the local governments. District or province specific environmental problems need to be addressed, assessed and programs to tackle them need to be enacted. This requires funds. The Mazabuka Town Clerk highlighted that the district does not receive any funds that are specific for environmental management. As a result the district has to raise its own revenue. The PNRMO pointed out that õ*at the moment we do not have an arrangement where local authorities decide on how to use their resources on environmental issues. But it is hoped that the decentralization policy is providing such measures where the local level has more freedom over its budget.[í] but the biggest challenge is actually to provide resources to be able to implement activities. Poverty level in Zambia is over 50% so you find that the little resources that are there, go more to the more obvious needs such as health and education. When it comes to environment and natural resources it is not always easy to see the benefits*.ö The Zambian economy has not been performing well and tax-collection poses an administrative challenge in the rural areas due to an underdeveloped record system. A lack of accountability is a further hindrance in raising revenue towards environmental protection (World Bank 1998). One alternative source of revenue is borrowing, however this has been used too many times resulting in councils not being creditworthy (Hampawaye 2008). The MTENR states that these problems are being handled via the decentralization policy and that the shift from foreign donor money in the implementation of the NPE is in the current state of decentralization and poverty momentarily unavoidable.

Mandates and Roles

According to Research (OøTool 1984, Bardach 1977, Howlett & Ramesh 2003), inter-organizational implementation requires a distribution of clear mandates and roles for all actors involved. Different agencies and organizations have different priorities and interests and conflicts between them and the policy goals can often lead to a lack of implementability. The implementation of the NPE involves a large number of organizations and institutions from various policy areas. The policy document provides a clear mandate for the MTENR as the coordinating institutions and gives it the directive to apply roles and ensure that everyone knows

their role and duties. The policy itself is not specific about individual responsibilities and only emphasizes that the MTENR has to work closely with the district governments, the ECZ and chiefs. When asked what the role of the Mazabuka council is in the implementation of the NPE, the town clerk answered: õ*Whatever problems, we are part of assessing the environment in Mazabuka. We can also make our comments about particular projects, if it is going to impact the environment or not*.ö Other specific mandates are not clear to the Town Clerk and are in direct contrast to the PNRMOøs statements, which emphasized the fact that everyone knows what they are supposed to do and what their specific role is in the implementation process.

By the nature of it being a national policy, the MTENR is a national institution and have restricted capacity to deal with sub-region or cross-border environmental issues. UNEP addresses the problem of lacking mandates (UNEP 2002) and emphasize that there is a lack of decentralization and capacity for decentralized environmental management in most countries in Sub-Saharan Africa. While border-crossing programs exist within the SADC such as RISDP, there is no strong institution with a strong mandate and therefore enforcement of policies and programs is limited.

Enforcement of Authority

OøTool (OøTool 1983) stressed the importance of strong enforcement of authority for well functioning corporation between organizations. If authority is absent, cooperation will be weak. The NPE puts the MTENR in charge of monitoring and auditing the implementation and following of guidelines in all the line ministries, local authorities, private sector, NGOs and the public. However, the MTENR is a relatively weak institution. It has only been established in 2002 and is not yet respected as having authority over other line ministries. There appears to be a hierarchy of power between the different ministries. While ministry of health, finance, justice and mines are the powerhouses of the country, the environmental sector has yet to earn its power to speak. The capacity of the MTENR is also fairly low and as a result the enforcement of the NPE proves difficult. The head agency for monitoring is the ECZ. Due to a lack of capacity the Council can effectively only handle Lusaka, where it is based. As a result local councils were given the mandate to enforce the NPE in their respective districts. This is in line with decentralizing environmental management and gives the local authorities the ability to handle

region specific issues. The main challenge in enforcing the NPE was pointed out by the Mazabuka Town Clerk who identified a lack of qualified manpower to interpret and implement the policy. The PNRMO added the challenge of enforcing authority throughout so many sectors. Environmental Issues are border-crossing and affect the health sector as well as education and mining. He further stated, supporting the Town Clerks statement, that there is a lack of staff and the ECZ is overburdened with responsibilities. Personal observations have confirmed the absence of a clear body responsible for monitoring and auditing of the different organizations. The NPE give this mandate to the ECZ but so far, nobody claims this responsibility. To ensure compliance with the NPE guidelines, the MTENR needs more manpower and financial resources. Further the central government needs to acknowledge the importance of the NPE not just with words but with actions. Clear actions that show the other ministries that the MTENR has the power and ability to audit and penalize for non compliance are needed. A lack of such makes inter organizational implementation challenging.

Information, Communication and Cooperation

How much information is available to participating institutions and how the different implementing institutions communicate with each other, is another important aspect of inter-organizational implementation behavior. The NPE advocates an open flow of information, ensuring that all institutions and implementing institutions have access to and can utilize information. According to the PNRMO, the ministry has done a lot of awareness raising and distributed the policy document to each and every. He was personally involved in distributing the document through the ministry. Further, he pointed out that workshops for other ministries as well as local administrative bodies were conducted. However, when asked if he can tell me about the NPE and the role of the Mazabuka Council, the Mazabuka Town Clerk answered that he had heard about the NPE but does not know any specifics. When further probed if the council received a copy of the policy document he negated this.

Communication between the MTENR and other organizations is limited and the PNRMO explained that time and again there are meetings between the DCCs, Councils and MTENR but that due to the sheer size of the country and the large number of organizations involved, communication and coordination is a big challenge.

Policy implementations failure or success often depend on the organization of implementation (Crosby 1996). The NPE emphasizes õ*sectoral and cross-sectoral rights and responsibilities*ö (NPE 2007) which makes coordination of all the participating institutions and people vital for the success of the policy. As mentioned above, the MTENR serves as the coordinating institution and in charge of supervision of the implementing programs. When asked about what programs have so far been implemented the answer was: õ*Well there are many but I cant tell you any now. You would have to ask at the responsible institutions.*öFurther probed about why he could not give any details he said: õ*Well like I said coordination is a big challenge at the moment. There are many activities that were previously operating independently under separate legislations. To now bring them together is a big challenge*ö. The local government in Mazabuka said that there has been little cooperation with the central government: õ*Time and again we meet with them. When there is the environmental day we have to make some presentations in the communities where all stakeholders are brought in*ö. Collaboration is an even bigger problem between the government and NGOøs or the private sector. YEN Zambia said:ö *I think when it comes to environmental issues, and issues concerning climate change, they are quite new to Africa and Zambia. Thatøs why you find there are a lot of challenges when it comes to collaborating. The challenge that we are facingí even when HIV started. There were many different groups addressing the issue but they were not working together. It is the same with environmental issues*ö.

Conclusion

Organizational and Inter-organizational implementation behavior in Zambiaøs implementation of the NPE is characterized by a lack of strong institutions and communication between them. Organizations are overburdened in utilizing the few resources that are available. There are few incentives that encourage organizations to co-operate in the implementation and the ratio of cost versus gain is unevenly distributed towards costs. The NPE is mainly a tack-on program which demands organizations to ad additional responsibilities to their tasks without providing necessary resources. This lowers the willingness to co-operate. Enforcement of environmental regulations under the NPE is weak due to the lack of a separate institution for monitoring and auditing. Implementation Dilemma is present since the establishment of additional institutions results in

additional costs. Generating revenue is still however still problematic and most programs rely heavily on foreign investment.

CHAPTER SEVEN

Street-Level Bureaucrats and Implementation of the NPE

Introduction

Street-level bureaucrats are in a critical position as far as the implementation of the NPE is concerned. They are on the ground, shaping the actual delivery of the policy and interact with both the public as well as the institutions. As discussed in chapter two, there are several factors that influence implementability on the street-level.

1) Control   governmental control versus organizational control

2) Discretion

3) Communication

4) Resource availability and utilization

5) Impact of street-level bureaucrats

Street-Level bureaucrats cover a wide range of people including NGOs, police force, parastatal as well as private companies, to name but a few. The involvement of NGOS and private and/or parastatal companies has increased in the last two decades in Africa and they have gained appreciation in their help in boosting development (UNEP 2003). õ*Whereas, previously NGO¢s had to gain a seat at the policy-making table, today they are necessary participants in all aspects of development programming from the donor, and increasingly, from the national government perspective*ö (UNEP 2003, p.178). During the process of decentralization, and decentralizing environmental management, private companies were also more and more included in service and policy delivery. The following chapter will analyze the cooperation between government and street-level bureaucrats along the five stated factors.

Control

Considering the imbedded nature of street-level bureaucrats, the question of who controls their actions and to what extent is important. According to research political control tends to be

limited. In Zambia, many NGOs though part of the policy program are financed from abroad and hence do not financially rely on the government. This in turn, limits the extent of control that the national level can exercise on them. Managing director of Yen Zambia explained that the NGO collaborates with the government, particularly the MTENR on certain projects but there little control is being exercised from the government. At the end of a program a written report is to be handed in to the MTENR who then review and decide if to involve the NGO in further projects. However, YEN director further stated that there is a big problem of corruption and the decision of which NGO is being involved is not always dependent on the performance of the NGO. Mr. Mwansa said: õ*It is a question of who knows who and who has more funding from outside and needs less governmental resources*ö. Private companies have also been involved in implementing the NPE. Among the most involved are private waste management companies. They are being subcontracted by the environmental council of Zambia and given a certain number of routes within an area. In order to get these routes a license has be acquired and a contract signed that enables the ECZ to monitor and evaluate the work of the companies. The ECZ is supposed to control the availability of trucks for hazardous waste and the general practices of the companies. Dumping sites are state owned and the waste management companies have to pay a fee for every truck of waste that enters the dumping site. However, the Managing director of CITIMOP, one of the biggest private waste management companies in Lusaka claims that inspection rarely happen and the general cooperation with the government is slow. In the franchise agreement the company is supposed to report any problem such as people that do not pay the pick-up-fee or companies that do not follow rules and regulations, to the ECZ and MTENR. But the director emphasizes that there is a lack of enforcement and in most cases the companies do not bother to report to the government any problems because they lack manpower to deal with these issues. The complexity and lack of capacity results is street-level bureaucrats making discretionary decisions on a regular basis.

Communication

In order for discretionary decisions to be aligned with the policy goals, extended knowledge of these goals needs to be communicated well (Hanf & OøTool Jr. 2006). YEN Zambia director was very aware of the policy design and goals as well as programs. When asked how he opptained

that knowledge he argued that donors approached the NGO and asked them to get involved in the implementation. CITIMOP managing director was not aware of the existence of the policy. He said that he had a meeting with the MTENR where the minister was present but no mentioning of the policy has ever taken place. To the best of his knowledge the NPE is still in the formulation phase. These findings point out that there is a lack of communication between the government and street-level bureaucrats and that little attention has been paid to communicate policy goals and outcomes to the implementers. A result can be contradictory actions that impede the policy implementation severely.

Resources

The more scarce resources, the more services are being rationed by street-level bureaucrats. In the case of the Zambian NPE resources for street-level bureaucrats mainly come from either outside funding or from revenue raising. Very little fiscal dependence on the central government is present. Many NGOs such as YEN Zambia are relying to 89% on foreign investment and funding. NGOøs such as YEN Zambia are also dependent on external resources. õ*We have been working with the council and private donors, mainly from abroad. We have also been working with other agencies like the Forrest department under the MTENR but almost all the funding comes from abroad*ö. Most of these resources are program based and can seize at any time. This makes long term capacity difficult and YEN Zambia has gone through months with no revenue and no funding. The result is many people do not work fulltime for NGOs but rather consider it their duty to contribute their free-time to implementing the NPE.

Many private companies on the other hand raise their own revenue to support their work. CITIMOP charges every household, market or firm that is being serviced a monthly amount in order to pick up waste. This is a sustainable way for the company, even in the face of many subscribers not paying or delaying payment. On the other hand, charging waste collection fee to individual households in a poor environment, results in many households getting rid of their waste in a different and not environmentally friendly manner such as burying it in their backyard. In Zambia a õpolluter-paysö principle legally mandates people and firms to dispose of their waste working well.
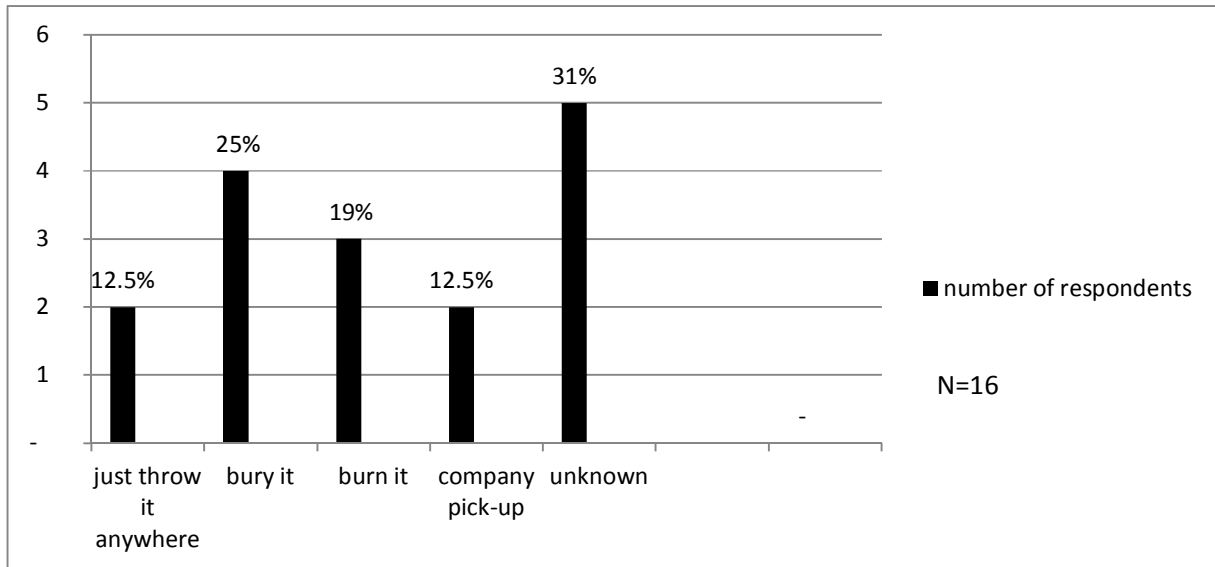
Table 5 (How do you dispose of your waste?)

Table four indicates how respondents of the FGDs dispose of their household waste. The majority (five respondents) was unwilling to give details about their method of waste disposal followed by four people indicating they bury it, three burn it regularly and two throw it anywhere. Only two respondents have private waste collection companies pick their waste. When asked why they are not following regulations everyone answered that it was due to the costs. Further probed about the consequences of these actions if they are caught, the majority answered that they do not know anyone that has ever been charged for incorrect waste disposal, neither have they ever heard of anyone inspecting.

The lack of government funding of street-level bureaucratic work has a direct result in the service delivery and implementation of the policy. The government does not support the implementers financially, managing director if CTIMIOP concludes, and as a result, the street-level implementers do not feel obliged to implement the policy and ultimately a problem of governance.

Impact of Street-Level Implementers

How much impact do street level implementers have on the success of the implementation of the NPE? Street-Level Bureaucrats such as YEN Zambia modify the policy while working on the ground. The issue of awareness raising, especially among the youth on Zambia, differed from the policy document of 2005, where environmental awareness among the young was just mentioned in one sentence. In the revised version of 2007, Gender, Youth and Children and the importance in terms of environmental management has been acknowledged. The PNRMO explained that this incorporation happened at the advice of several NGOs working in this field. These NGOs allocated a substantial amount of their resources towards raising environmental awareness in schools which in return led to the MTENR consider the issue.

In order for a policy to evolve and increase its clock speed, it is important for both street-level bureaucrats and policy makers to work together and establish an open flow of communication. According to Yen Zambia and CITIMOP communication still leaves much to be desired for. CITIMOP managing director said: õ*You see, the problem is the Ministry of Environment is detached from operators like ours. If the make changes we do not interact on that level. We should actually have heard about it* [the NPE]. *If it is there, we should be aware of it. I assume there is no implementation going on and it is just for show*ö.

In terms of clarity of goals, the NPE only exhibits long-term goals. There is a lack of short-term goals that are within reach. Both, YEN Zambia as well as CITIMOP director stated that this creates a difficulty to develop programs and to make sure they align with the long-term policy goals. Goals of the NPE include: õ*To ensure that the growth of the country*ø*s population des not lead to environmental degradation*ö (NPE 2007, p.27), õ*To minimize the adverse impact of climate change and to reduce air pollution and greenhouse has emissions*ö (NPE 2007, p.30) as well as õ*To promote sustainable use of the land resources in Zambia*ö (NPE 2007, p.32). These goals are broadly formulated and may lead to contradictory directives (Meyers & Vorsanger 2007).

Conclusion

The importance of involvement of street-level implementers is being recognized in the NPE document. On the ground however, a number of limitations were observed. A lack of control of the activities of street-level bureaucrats as well as a lack of enforcement of laws and regulations due to a lack of manpower is present. The result is a high likelihood of discretionary decisions on the side of the street-level bureaucrats. In order for discretionary decisions to align with the overall policy goals, communication of goals and strategies needs to be present. This is however not always the case. While some implementers are well aware of the policy and its goals, other were found to not be aware of the existence of the policy altogether. Policy goals are not communicated well and a lack of short-term policy goals is present. The feedback-process between policy makers and street-level implementers has worked well in some cases, making it possible for policy makers to adapt and change the policy to the situation on the ground. An additional limitation roots in the lack of funds for implementation and many street-level bureaucrats are dependent on outside funding.

CHAPTER EIGHT

Community Participation in the Implementation of the NPE

Introduction

Agenda 21(UNEP1999) emphasizes the importance of community participation in environmental policy implementation, since their participation increases the effectiveness of any government policy on environmental affairs. The NPE is based on the principal of decentralization and the involvement of the community is among the key objectives. õ*To involve civil society in general and local communities in particular, in environmental planning and actions at all levels and empower them to protect, conserve and sustainably utilize and benefit from the Nationøs natural resources*ö (NPE 2007, p.24). In chapter two, key factors have been discussed that improve implementability of a policy that relies to a large extent on the public participation. This chapter will discuss these factors, using FGDs.

1) Knowledge and Awareness
2) Mode of participation
3) Collective Action

Knowledge and Awareness

In order to participate in solving environmental problems, the public must first be aware of them. Awareness of both the problem and the impact that humans behavior and actions have on the environment. The NPE covers a wide range of issues, some require more participation of the public, while others are outside the publics reach. These include improving sustainability in the mining sector as well as industrial pollution, to name but a few. Most environmental issues stated in the policy however, are directly affecting everyday life and the quality of live in Zambia.

An important aspect of knowledge and awareness is the conceptual meaning of the term environment. The NPE defines environment as: õ *The Ecosystem of which mankind is part including cultural and man-made features sometimes defined as the complex set of physical,*

*geographic, biological, social, cultural and political conditions that surround an individual or organism and that ultimately determines its form and nature of its survival.*ö (NPE 2007, p. iv). The MTENR defined environment with an exact quote from the NPE, while CITIMOP Managing Director addressed the complexity of the term and that it was difficult to summarize in a few sentences. The following table shows how respondents of the FGDøs defined the term environment.

Table 6 (How would you explain the term environemtn?)
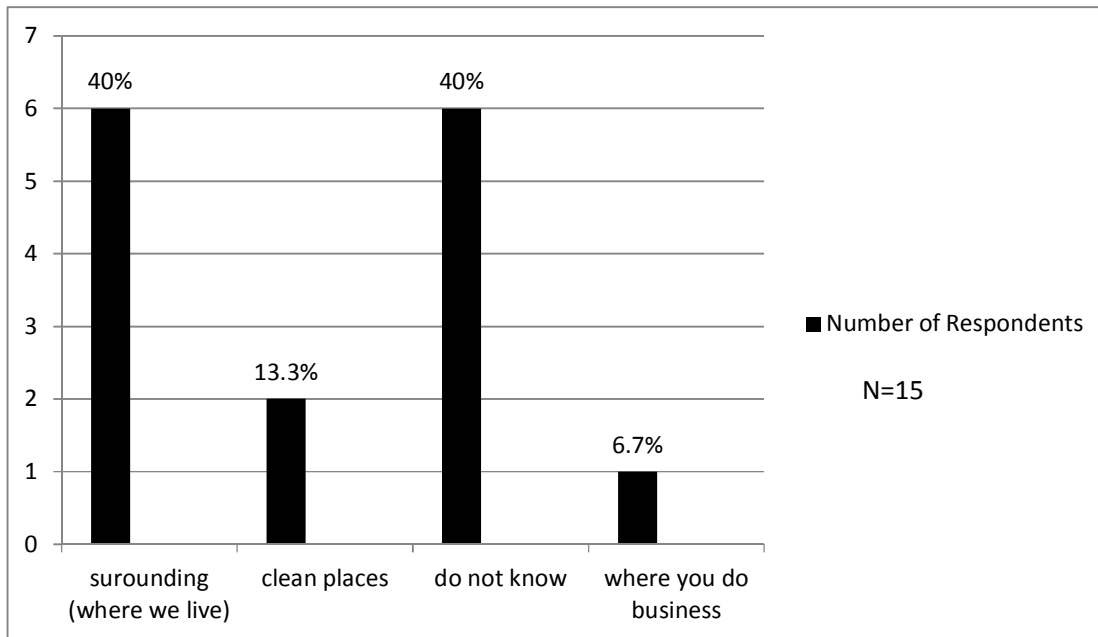
There are different definitions for the term environment, all of which come with a different conceptual meaning (Stapp et.al 1970). Table five shows that six respondents defined the environment as their surrounding or the place in which they live, also six respondents said they did not know what the term meant. Two respondents said that environment means a clean place and one respondents defined it as the place of business. This indicates further need to raise awareness and explain to people the meaning and concept of the term environment and all it encompasses. YEN Zambia said they incorporate this aspect of environmental education into their programs. The PNRMO explained that awareness campaigns have been launched that aim at explaining environment and environmental concepts to the public.

Understanding what the environment encompasses, makes the identification of environmental problems easier. Effective community participation requires a collective agreement on the main issues of importance (UNEP 2002).

Table 7 (What do you think are the main environmental problems in Zambia?) N=16

Environmental Problems FGDøs	Percentage of respondents
Poor sanitation	35%
Floodings	29%
Waste	24%
Pollution (air & noise)	6%
Contaminated water	6%

Table 8 (What do you think are the main environmental Problems in Zambia?) N=4

Environmental Problems Officials	Percentage of respondents
Deforestation	36%
Waste	29%
Poor sanitation	21%
Climate change	14%

Tables six and seven summarize the main environmental problems identified by both officials interviewed and respondents of the FGDs. All official institutions interviewed stated that the most pressing environmental problem in Zambia right now is deforestation. When discussed in the FGDøs most respondents indicated that they did not know what the term meant. After the concept of deforestation had been explained, the majority indicated that they were not aware of the problem and impact of deforestation. On other issues such as poor sanitation and waste, consensus was identified.

Findings show a need to raise awareness about environmental issues such as deforestation, climate change and human settlement. The statement that some sources of energy can be harmful for the environment was turned away as a ridiculous statement by the majority of respondents and hence also needs further awareness campaigns.

The NPE requires schools to teach environmental education. According to YEN Zambia, these teachings are incorporated into the geography lessons and mainly as a lecture. The NGO expresses concern about these methods of teaching. Environmental education needs to be taken out of the classroom and design with practical activities.

As concerns waste management, knowledge is very limited (table 4) and advocacy is crucial. With 64% of the population living below the poverty line, it is a big challenge to tell them to spend money on waste collection firms. In addition illegal waste collectors cover households with wheelbarrows, charging a fraction of the price, and then disposing of the waste in an illegal manner. FDGs revealed that the majority of respondents did not know what possible negative effects the burying or burning of trash has on the environment as well as their communities. Knowledge of the existence of the NPE was also very limited with only one respondent having heard about it. (see table eight) There has been an official launch but few awareness campaigns after that and many people that are supposed to be implementers of the policy are still not aware of its existence.

Table 9 (Have you heard about the National Policy on Environment?)
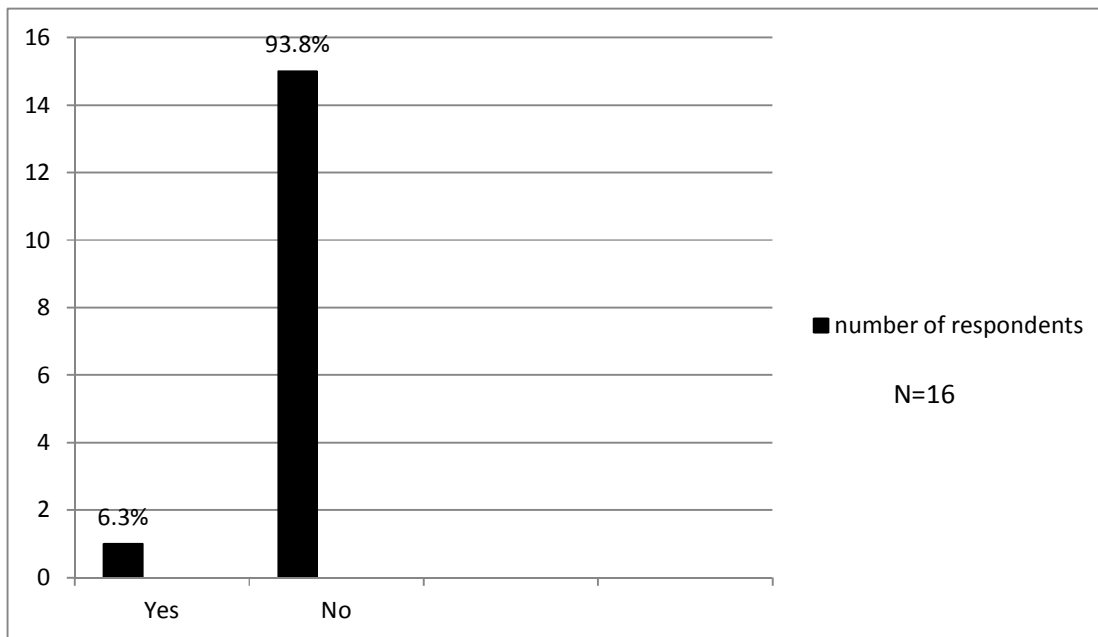
This can be attributed to the challenge of putting the policy in a format that is easily understood by all Zambians. The PNRMO pointed out that : õ*there are problems of literacy. Not everybody can read and though most have a radio set in the rural setting. But many Zambians can only read their local languages*ö.

Mode of Participation

Participation comes in different forms or modes as discussed in chapter two. Research has shown that the more involved communities are in different aspects of policy participation, the higher implementability of the policy (Muriisa 2001 in: Mruma 2005).

1) Needs assessment

People and communities are faced with environmental problems on a day to day basis and therefore in a good position to participate in the identification of problems. In the case of the NPE communities were not involved in this process. Governmental representatives took an environmental assessment of Zambia without any involvement of

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the communities. Rural communities however incorporate people via town-meetings where everyone can air their thoughts.

2) Program Design

Once the problems had been identified, a solution had to be formulated and designed. Involving the communities can be particularly helpful in respect of implementation. If communities develop a solution they are more likely to implement them daily. Policy formulation of the NPE happened on ministerial level, though some local governmental representatives were involved. Utilizing the knowledge of traditional practices that helped sustain the environment would have added to fit the policy to local needs. As with needs assessment, rural communities and small towns have town meetings in which the communities can give ideas to how to solve environmental programs in the area. In Mazabuka at such meetings companies that are planning projects address the town population and give them the opportunity to address issues or questions concerning the environmental impact of these projects.

3) Ownership of programs

It is important for people to feel like they own the programs they are supposed to implement. Decentralization aims at involving the target groups in the implementation on a daily basis. Since the communities were not involved in the development of the policy and its programs, feeling of ownership is low. Respondents do not feel incorporated or validated by the government.

4) Program Management

Programs under the NPE are managed by various organizations ranging from government organizations and line ministries to private companies and NGOs. Local communities are being involved in the management in the rural areas of the country. In the cities their main duty is implementation.

CONCLUSION AND POLICY IMPLICATIONS

It was the aim of this study to analyze feasibility of the implementation of the NPE. Rather than measuring policy outcomes at this stage, the aim was to look at the preconditions of the policy and apply process evaluation. Four research questions guided the study.

1) How suitable is the institutional framework for the implementing agencies and organizations?

The MTENR was intended to serve as the supervising and coordinating agency, bringing together the various policies that preceded the NPE. Research showed that the ministry, as well as most of the agencies it handles, lack capacity, manpower and resources to fulfill the mandates of the NPE. The policy further does not provide a framework and mandate to monitor the implementation on a day to day basis. This consequently may lead to a lack of implementability of policy measures. The NPE involves a large number of institutions and organizations from various different policy backgrounds, all working together under the management of the MTENR. The MTENR however, is not ready to perform this task. Lack of resources and manpower are further made more difficult by a lack of commitment to the implementation of this policy on many levels. As a result, the institutional framework would require some adjustments, primarily placing emphasis on the MTENR generating resources with possibly environmental taxes or funds, as well as developing a plan for day to day monitoring of environmental regulations. Overall, though the MTENR has a clear mandate, there are no clear roles and duties specified in the policy.

2) How much flexibility does the local level have in implementing the policy?

The NPE relies heavily on the notion that decentralization has taken place and that the local level is largely independent and has the ability to implement using discretion. However, Zambia's decentralization process has been restricted, administratively, politically as well as fiscally. Mainly regional agencies and governments are still to a large extent dependent on the central government. According to Hampwaye (2008) there is a shortage of qualified staff at the local

level due to the absence of implementation of the cost-recovery principle. By 2004, according to the Zambian government, little progress in the decentralization efforts has been noticed (Zambia, 2004). So while the NPE itself allows and even requires the local level to be flexible in implementing the NPE, the current dependency on the central government and lack of qualified staff, creates a paradoxical situation.

3) How well established is the cooperation and interdependence between the central government, local agents and civil society?

Cooperation has a strong correlation with the salience of the issue. If individuals feel like the issue is very important, they are more likely to work together. However, in the case of the NPE, such a feeling is lacking. Implementers feel that the only reason for implementation of this policy is to ensure donations from outside. Absence of authority further weakens cooperation. This study further revealed that cooperation between street level implementers and the government is weak and slow. Some implementers were not even aware that the policy is already in the implementation phase which further highlights a lack of communication between the various actors. A lack of monitoring and enforcement of the NPE guidelines, due to a lack of manpower and resources, leads to more discretionary decisions of the individual actors. The lack of communication however, increases chances of these discretionary decisions to not align with the policy goals and guidelines. The MTENR in its current form is a new agency and is experiencing problems coordinating all separate bodies that, in the past did not have to work together.

4) How well established is community-participation, knowledge and support for the implementation?

Community participation starts by knowing there is a problem that needs to be solved. Several awareness raising campaigns have been launched so far as well as environmental education in schools. The main problem in terms of community participation lies in the importance of issues. While the policy clearly sees issues such as deforestation and climate change as the number one environmental problems, the community feels they are unaffected by them. For them issues such as waste management and sanitation are more important to their daily lives. Participation is however limited even when tackling these issues, since the public mostly sees these problems as

problems the government needs to fix by providing better drainage systems and free waste management, to name but a few. It is important to note though, that community participation and support for the NPE is relatively high in rural areas where the community is well informed and incorporated in the implementation. The community feels like they are being heard and taken seriously, which in turn makes them more likely to participate in community action.

Symbolic Policy

The NPE being a cross-sectoral policy is faces a great challenge in finding consensus on goals and means and hence presents a mostly symbolic function. Edelman (1970), as well as Barrett & Tsui (1999) emphasized that symbolic policies have no clear structured, reachable goals and present little will throughout all layers of actors. Implementers, from policy designers, to street-level bureaucrats to the general population have different priorities.

A lack of resources furthers this difference in priorities since there is strong disagreement on how to use the few available funds. Weak organizational structures, little capacity and a lack of decentralization, all indicate that the NPE was not tailored to the requirements of the Zambian state and that possible alternatives were not explored. Hence, a rational explanatory model is not applicable. Little bargaining has taken place in the policy formulation and design stage, ruling out the use of a conflict bargaining model. Results of this research indicate that the main motivation for the development of the NPE was to please the donor community and ensure further funding, as well as to act symbolically on international pressure. This agrees with previous research such as Barrett & Tsui (1999) and Howard (1999), that environmental policies face the challenge of overcoming their symbolic nature in general.

Policy Implications

The implementation of the NPE is very important for the future of Zambia, since it will aid in preserving the environment and as a result can help in poverty reduction. The policy itself is well intended and encompasses most important aspects an environmental policy requires. However, this research indicates a lack of implementability due to several factors.

The introduction of monitoring bodies is crucial in ensuring compliance with policy guidelines. Monitoring needs to take place on all levels, central governmental, local and civil society.

Communication between the MTENR and other actors is another point that needs improvement in order to ensure successful implementation. Everyone needs to be aware of their roles and duties and have a clear understanding of the policy goals and measures.

The involvement of the public in the decision making process may also aid community participation. If the community feels they own the policy, they will be more likely to participate in the implementation process.

A more complex issue is the problem of resources. Few resources have been put towards the NPE since it is not seen as as important as issues such as Health and poverty. It is important to address the codependence of environmental issues and poverty and health. Environmental problems are cross sectional and need to be addressed within other policy sectors as well. The only way for this incorporation to be successful is with the realization of the importance of preserving the environment and the benefits that accompany this preservation. Zambia has a wealth of resources and action is required now, in order to sustain these resources on all levels.

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Appendix 1: Question outline FGD

Interview Guide

Project Title: Decentralized Environmental Policy Implementation, The Case of The Zambian NPE
Method: Focus-Group-Discussion
Target Audience: cluster sampled general population at markets in rural and urban Lusaka, Mazabuka and Kabwe.
Principal Investigator: Daniela Chipimo (daniela.chipimo@student.uib.no), University of Bergen, Norway

Below is a general guide that will lead through the focus-group discussions. Questions were modified depending on the topics and issues raised by the respondents.

1) **Introduction**
   - Welcome everyone
   - Explain the purpose of this study and the aim
   - Raise awareness of the presence of a recording device
   - Invite the individual participants to introduce themselves
2) Start by asking **general questions about the topic**. Ask the participants to explain their answers and give examples.
   - *What do you understand under the term õenvironmentö?*
   - *In your opinion, what are the environmental problems in your area?*
   - *Who do you think is in the best position to tackle these problems? State the reasons why.*
   - *What do you think affects the environment?*
   - *Do you know about anything the government is doing about these issues?*
   - *What do you think can be done?*
3) Move on to asking **more specific questions**. Again explore the individual answer of the participant and ask them to give detailed examples.
   - *How do you manage your waste at home?*
   - *Are there facilities to recycle waste in your area?*
   - *Are there public trash bins in your area?*
   - *If you would see someone throwing trash in the street, how would you react?*
   - *What different household energy sources come to your mind?*
   - *What source of energy do you use in your household?*
   - *Do you own one or more cars?*

- *If yes, how do you feel about carbon emission tax?*
- *What is your source of water?*
- *Do you think this water is safe?*
- *Have there ever been any illnesses in your family that you think are related to the water?*
- *Do you think that cooking can affect the environment?*
- *What do you use for cooking in your household?*
- *Would you be willing to make changes in your daily life in order to tackle environmental problems?*
- *Do you think fishing can cause environmental problems? If yes, what are they?*
- *Do you think there is a benefit in the government controlling fishing methods? If yes, what are they?*
- *Do you think uncontrolled population growth has an impact on the environment? If yes, explain.*
- *What in your opinion is a small family?*
- *If the government would offer benefits for small-size families would you consider a small family over a big one?*

4) **Conclude** with the general question*: How can you as an individual contribute to solving environmental problems?*

5) **Closing remarks***: Is there anything that you think has not been discussed that might be important?* If not proceed to thank the participants for taking the time in participating in this discussion

Apendix 2: **CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN RESEARCH**

PROJECT TITLE: Decentralizing Environmental Policy Implementation, the Case of the Zambian NPE

PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

This case study is intended to analyze the prerequisites for the implementation of the NPE in Zambia and address constrains to the process as well as offer suggestions as to how to strengthen the decentralized implementation process.

CONFIDENTIALITY

The information from your interview is chiefly for research purposes only and if used in publications or reports, no reference will be made to your identity in any way. All data will be treated as strictly confidential.

Codes for identification of the persons interviewed and the interview transcripts will be used in order to ensure confidentiality. Only the researcher will have access to the codes and to the original data.

PARTICIPATION AND WITHDRAWAL

Participation in the study is voluntary and you have the right to withdraw from the study at any time.

PROCEDURES

If you decide to participate you will be asked to join a group discussion of about 20 minutes. The discussion will be about environmental issues in your area.

POTENTIAL BENEFITS

Your contribution will help us to asses if the National Policy on Environment can be, in its current form, successfully implemented.

CONTACT PERSONS

If you have any questions or concerns about the study, please feel free to contact the following:

Name of Researcher**:** Daniela Chipimo

Contact Address: Fridalsveien 22, box 414, 5063 Bergen, Norway

Mobile: 0047/46259799

SIGNATURE / THUMB PRINT OF THE INFORMANT / PARTICIPANT

I understand the information provided above. Any questions or concerns I had have been answered to my satisfaction, and I agree to participate in this study.

_____

Name of Informant/Participant

_____

Position of Informant/Participant

_____   _____

Signature/Thumbprint of Informant/ Participant   Date

SIGNATURE OF THE RESEARCHER

In my judgment the informant/participant is willing and has consented to participate in this study.

_____
Name of Researcher

_____   _____
Signature of Researcher   Date