# GLOBAL CONSERVATION, LOCAL IMPACTS:

# ENVIRONMENTAL DECISION MAKING IN THE GREAT LIMPOPO

# TRANSFRONTIER PARK

By

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## Abstract

In 1996, two years after the election of a fully democratic government and the return of South Africa as an acceptable member of international society, the Premier of South Africa's Limpopo Province met with his counterpart, the Governor of Gaza Province, in Mozambique, to discuss the potential of establishing business links between these two adjacent regions. As a result, an International Agreement to establish the Great Limpopo National Park (GLTP) was signed in 2000. Areas included in the GLTP are the Kruger National Park (KNP) in South Africa, Limpopo National Park (LNP) in Mozambique and the Gonarezhou National Park in Zimbabwe. Other areas earmarked for inclusion are the Sengwe Communal land in Zimbabwe, and Zinave and Banhine National Parks in Mozambique. This thesis explores the processes of decision making throughout the administrative hierarchy of the Great Limpopo Transfrontier Park (GLTP), and evaluates these in terms of social and environmental justice principles. The three main objectives are: to identify decision making procedures and approaches currently being used in the setting up of the GLTP; to determine the extent to which decision making approaches have incorporated concerns relating to social and environmental justice; and to assess public participation in the GLTP to date – particularly at the community level. Findings indicate that the popular rhetoric surrounding the GLTP has, to date not taken place in reality. Many of the flagship projects have been met with opposition from the community. Social justice is not sufficiently prioritised within the GLTP, as shown by ongoing power differentials, prioritising of wildlife over people in terms of water rights, ongoing harsh treatment of "poachers", the disruption of traditional land use activities, and resettlement of villages into new and potentially different communities. Findings displayed in the questionnaire results, indicate that policies and action plans for the GLTP were developed by the state with little public participation. The community's powerless to influence any decisions or affect any change is encapsulated in the fact that they are, at present living with introduced wild animals. A public participation technique that took the form of a community barriers meeting did take place. This however did not contribute to the community having a say in the park plans. One cannot deny that decision makers have realised their mistake of bypassing community consultation and moving directly to implementation. It seems more effort is being made to bring communities into the process, through the formation of the Project Liaison Board, and thereby ensuring that they receive their promised benefit from the development of the GLTP. It is very difficult to try and categorise the type of approach to community conservation in the GLTP. Certain elements from all three relationships are evident, but more so from Protected Area Outreach.

# Acknowledgements

# List of Acronyms

| | |
|---|---|
| AWF | African Wildlife Foundation |
| CBNRM | Community Based Natural Resource Management |
| DEAT | Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism |
| DNAC | National Directorate of Conservation |
| GEF | Global Environment Facility (of the World Bank) |
| GLTP | Great Limpopo Transfrontier Park |
| IUCN | World Conservation Union (former International Union for the Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources) |
| KfW | Kredietanstadlt fur WiedeAufbau (German development bank) |
| KNP | Kruger National Park |
| LNP | Limpopo National Park |
| NGO | Non-government Organisation |
| PPF | Peace Parks Foundation |
| PIU | Project Implementation Unit |
| SADC | Southern African Development Community |
| SADF | South African Defense Force |
| SANParks | South African National Parks |
| SDI | Spatial Development Initiative |
| TBPA | Transboundary Protected Areas |
| TFCA | Transfrontier Conservation Areas |
| WWF | World Wide Fund for Nature |

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# Chapter 1

## Introduction

### 1.1 Introduction

The number of transfrontier / transboundary protected areas has doubled since 1990. Currently, there are over 169 transfrontier / transboundary protected areas worldwide. The idea of managing protected areas that straddle international borders is not necessarily new yet the rapid pace of adoption of this paradigm, coupled with the lack of resources for implementation, creates great challenges (IUCN, 2003). Each transfrontier / transboundary protected area has a unique set of circumstances that resulted in the need for cooperation across borders. Due to differences in culture, legal systems, resource availability, land tenure, and because of unique socio-political and historical contexts, there exists no proven guide to transboundary conservation.

Most of the world's protected areas are inhabited by human communities, either under traditional occupation or through more recent population movements (IUCN, 2003). The old protected area paradigm (which is still supported legally and politically in many countries) promotes protected areas that are free from human "interference". This however, has proven to be inequitable and unrealistic. There is therefore, growing consensus that a more flexible concept of "parks with people" is required.

Because border areas are unique, human communities in transboundary areas usually have particular relationships with national and local institutions, including the military, and thus conventional participatory approaches to nature conservation need to be adapted to the new institutional context, as well as to the particular socio-cultural conditions of people inhabiting and using those areas (IUCN, 2003). Local support for transboundary conservation depends on being given a genuine voice in decision making, and receiving tangible benefits from the conservation initiative.

### 1.2 Rationale for the Study

Transfrontier parks or "peace parks" are often presented as an uncomplicated social "good" with no negative connotations. This is certainly the case in the southern African region, where the transfrontier park that is the focus of this study is situated. The following quote from one of the most well known and respected world leaders, who believes deeply in the need for peace and the African Renaissance, provides a typical example. Nelson Mandela stated at the official launch of the Great Limpopo Transfrontier Park (GLTP) on 4 October 2001 that he knows "of no political movement, no philosophy, no ideology, which does not agree with the peace parks concept as we see it going into

fruition today. It is a concept that can be embraced by all. In a world beset by conflict and division, peace is one of the cornerstones of the future. Peace parks are building blocks in this process, not only in our region, but potentially in the entire world" (cited in Van Wyk, 2003).

However, Zerner (2000) believes that all nature conservation and environmental management efforts are inevitably projects in politics and that asking questions about justice and the environment in the late twentieth century (and the new millennium) will involve a vigorous engagement with politics, governance, and power:

> "Certain species, landscapes and environmental outcomes are privileged while others are peripheralized or disenfranchised. Each park, reserve and protected area is a project in governance: in drawing boundaries - conceptual, topographic, and normative; in implicating a regime of rules regulating permissible human conduct; in elaborating an institutional structure vested with power to enforce rules; and in articulating a project mission rendering the management regime reasonable, even natural" (Zerner, 2000: 16).

With this in mind, it is necessary when advocating mechanisms intended to achieve international environmental justice - and transfrontier parks are one such mechanism - to examine actual regimes of nature management, to identify what kind of politics and governance are imagined and implemented, and to assess the consequences.

The transnational nature of environmental problems and the fact that wildlife is a fugitive resource has highlighted the need for co-operation between nation states and this is an important motivation for the establishment of parks that cross national boundaries (Duffy, 1997). The transfrontier or "superpark" concept thus tends to draw on preservationist notions of wildlife management and ecocentric environmental philosophies. It emphasises the importance of biodiversity and criticizes environmentally inappropriate political boundaries.

A further aim of transfrontier parks is to promote peace and co-operation between states. The GLTP for example claims to take an anti-colonial approach drawing on community-based conservation and ecotourism discourses. Yet one needs to ask whether there really is a qualitative difference between the much-promoted transfrontier park and previous conservation regimes. How different is this park, in its effects for local people, from previous colonial and postcolonial experiments? This question is central to the research undertaken in this thesis.

Certainly if these lofty aims are to be achieved, the environmental decision making process and conditions must be fair and acceptable to all parties. This research is undertaken to explore the nature of stakeholders' involvement in the decision making process in the setting up of southern Africa's most prestigious transfrontier park, the Great Limpopo Transfrontier Park. The research attempts to tease out the relationships between decision makers and to determine whether the GLTP is truly a

community conservation initiative focusing on co-management by including local communities within all stages of the decision making process. As the largest transfrontier park project initiated in Africa, this is an exciting topic for those interested in community development and tourism. It combines issues of biodiversity conservation, inter-state collaboration, international assistance and involvement of local communities as interested and affected stakeholders. It is hoped that the results of this study may highlight not only shortcomings but possible solutions for the future implementation of protected areas that, it is hoped, will involve and benefit surrounding communities.

## 1.3 Aim of Study

To explore the processes of decision making throughout the administrative hierarchy of the Great Limpopo Transfrontier Park (GLTP), and to evaluate these processes in terms of social and environmental justice principles

## 1.4 Objectives of Study

1.4.1. To identify decision making procedures and approach(es) currently being used in the setting up of the GLTP.

1.4.2. To determine the extent to which these approaches have incorporated concerns relating to social justice (fair distribution of material and social assets) and environmental justice (fair distribution of good and bad environments to humans).

1.4.3. To assess public participation to date, at the community level in particular.

## 1.5 Thesis Structure

This research focuses on the establishment of the GLTP and associated environmental decision making. In order to provide theoretical background to the study, as well as tools for analysis, **Chapter Two** reviews recent critical literature on conservation and society. It begins by discussing changes in conservation ideology and practice that have occurred in the last decades, in particular in relation to the ideology, establishment and new forms of National Parks with associated problems and lessons learnt. The chapter then discusses contemporary theory in three areas: social and environmental justice, environmental decision making and finally public participation (with particular reference to South Africa). In the last section, definitions and different types of community conservation are discussed in order to provide a reference point for consideration of the GLTP processes. These theoretical tools inform the analysis of environmental decision making in the GLTP to date. Case studies are also provided to illustrate issues where appropriate.

**Chapter Three** provides background to the study itself by discussing the emergence of the transfrontier concept and more specifically the GLTP. Substantial research has been undertaken on the history of the Kruger National Park, an important part of the transfrontier park, and this research is presented together with background information on the "processes and successes" of the Makuleke land claim and settlement. The physical and socio-economic environment of the study area is provided to place the study in context and to provide the reader with an idea of the differing biological, developmental and political situation within each participating state.

**Chapter Four** outlines the research methodology drawing on the use of a qualitative approach. The use of secondary and primary data is discussed as well as the use of semi-structured interviews, questionnaires and observation. Limitations of the study are also highlighted.

The results of the study are presented in **Chapter Five**, which is titled "Responses from the Local Community and from the Decision Makers". The data presented is derived from the field study in Mozambique as well as the responses to the questionnaires and is arranged in terms of 4 main themes: The Massingir Community's Current Livelihood Strategies and Attitudes to the Proposed Superpark; On the Other Side of the Fence, Attitudes within the Superpark Hierarchy; and Environmental Decision Making in the Great Limpopo Transfrontier Park. Direct quotes from respondents are used as primary data. Analysis and discussion is carried out in **Chapter Six** in order to meet the stated objectives of the study drawing on literature reviewed, recorded quotes and formal documents.

**Chapter Seven** concludes this research by presenting a summary, providing some lessons learnt and a few recommendations.

## 1.6 Concluding Remarks

People have differing opinions about transfrontier parks. Some view them as a brave vision and others, an impossible dream. It is tempting to be cynical when one thinks of the many ill-conceived quick fix schemes aimed at "sorting out Africa's problems" (Mabunda, 2002) that have failed due to a lack of commitment, funding, and continued political unrest to name but a few.

The concept behind transfrontier conservation seems to be grounded in common sense – "creating areas where everyone has a vested interest in the good management of the project and well being of natural resources" (Mabuna, 2002). Most compelling is the macro-economic potential in regions desperate to create jobs and a sustainable local economy. In many of these biodiversity-rich areas that are earmarked for transfrontier conservation, live the poorest people facing difficult conflicts.

It should be recognized that these initiatives will not be easy to implement, as there are technical challenges associated with park development, a lack of resources, as well as social and political obstacles. Most importantly, as will be highlighted in this study, the fact that communities are living within the boundaries of these transfrontier parks, is a challenge that *cannot* be ignored.

## Chapter 2
## Literature Review and Conceptual Framework

### 2.1 Introduction

This chapter explores literature on the theme of conservation and society. It is divided into four main sections. The first section reviews literature on the ideology and establishment of national parks, particularly those in Africa, and explains the new conservation philosophies that have attempted to overcome these legacies. This is the background to the concept of transfrontier parks - they are intended to improve on the earlier (colonial) concept of national parks. Critics such as Adams and Mulligan (2003), however, argue that transfrontier parks still retain many of the characteristics of national parks.

The remainder of the chapter presents theoretical tools that will be used in conducting the analysis of results laid out in Chapters Five and Six. This study will use the framework of environmental decision making to determine whether the development of the Great Limpopo National Park (GLTP) has included issues of social and environmental justice and public participation relating to Community-based Natural resource Management (CBNRM) - the concept on which the Peace Parks Foundation has based the project on from conception to implementation phase. In particular, theory relating to three areas of concern to this study is discussed. These areas are: environmental justice and its relationship to social justice; theories of environmental decision making; and finally public participation and community involvement in policy processes.

### 2.2 The Ideology and Establishments of National Parks and New Forms

Due to the fact the transfrontier concept is a new form of protected area management, the chapter begins by comparing the old ideology of the national park with this new ideology. Reference will be made in particular on MacKenzie's (1988) explanation for the emergence of national parks in Africa and Asia. Beinart and Coates's (1995) and Adams's (2003) also describe colonial conservation's influence in Africa. . Case Studies from Uganda, Kenya, South Africa and Egypt will be drawn on to illustrate the changing ideologies and conditions of conservation. In order to draw a comparison between the differing ideologies in the past and present, the challenges that this new superpark concept may pose to the nation states involved are discussed.

### 2.2.1 The Establishment of National Parks in the Africa

For any historical analysis of national parks, Beinart and Coates (1995) believe that it is necessary to keep in mind that the idea of wilderness is a cultural construct rather than a tangible physical entity.

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Although many perceive and present protected areas as pure, untouched landscapes resembling the Garden of Eden it should be recognized that "national parks and similar wilderness areas are systematically and sometimes intensively managed spaces subject to a wide variety of crosscutting interests" (Beinart & Coates, 1995: 72) and a host of regulations govern human exploitation of these vulnerable places.

By the start of the 20th century, wildlife conservation became the subject of "trans-imperial concern about environmental degradation. In 1900, the African colonial powers (Germany, France, Britain, Portugal, Spain, Italy and Belgium) met in London and signed a Convention for the Preservation of Animals, Birds and Fish in Africa" (Adams, 2003: 32). Mackenzie (1988) explains that in 1930 the SPFE commissioned Major RWG Hingston to visit the British colonies in East and Central Africa to report on game reserves and the potential for the creation of national parks. "He returned with an apocalyptic vision of the destruction of wildlife...and his solution was the creation of national parks , and in proposing them he put forward the most uncompromising argument for total segregation of human and animal life" (MacKenzie, 1988: 269 -270). Although tourism had not been the primary argument for the first parks or reserves, it was soon recognized and provided a pay-off for the investment in protected national areas. The KNP (which was visited by 180 cars in 1928), was attracting 30 000 visitors annually by the late 1930s.

Beinart and Coates (1995) believe that this first-hand experience of wild nature throughout the globe must be situated within a longer curiosity about a world that challenged European notions of civilization and control. Public interest in evolution and natural history reached the proportions of what MacKenzie (1988) calls a "craze". Perhaps because of this fascination with wild and untouched landscapes, many draconian measures were put in place to control the natural human existence within these areas. "Whole peoples were denied opportunities as wilderness was converted from social space to the domain of beasts, a tourist's pleasuring ground" (Burnett & wa Katg'ethe, 1994: 155). Regulation seemed essential to the efficient and long-term success of conservation, as locals were perceived to be wasteful and inefficient in their resource use. The response was to impose environmental and social controls.

Colonial conservation tried to end hunting by Africans through control on the possession of firearms as they condemned African hunting, its barbarity and presumed lack of modernization[7]. Beinart and Coates (1995: 84) describe the unjust and ignorant actions that accompanied these ideas:

> "So convinced were these conservationists of the righteousness of their cause that they, reflecting broader colonial preoccupations, overlooked claims that indigenous people might

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[7] Trophy hunting by the white elite or 'outsider' however was still permissible as Africa became an ideal place for nature tourists and hunters like Roosevelt (Adams, 2003).

have on reserved land. Protection of elephants and buffalo in South African state forests in the nineteenth century had entailed forced removal of African villages to often waterless sites without any compensation. Game conservation, even when it became ecologically and habitat orientated, was an increasingly exclusive pursuit where the only legitimate human roles were those of ranger, scientist and camera clicking tourist. A prolonged war of attrition had been fought out along the eastern boundary of the Kruger park where some of the 'poachers' had previously had access to land for hunting. While new police posts along the border with Mozambique in the 1930s helped contain the problem, park boundaries were never entirely secure."

In 1949 The National Parks Act provided for the creation of conservation areas in Britain, as well as the declaration of national parks in British colonies in southern and East Africa. In Southern Rhodesia, the Department of National Parks was founded. By that stage the national parks and wildlife land already covered 12 percent of the total area of the country: "[m]ost of this land was on the fringes of the territory usually well away from white settlement, with the land demarcated for African use acting as buffer territory between the game and the whites" (Mackenzie, 1988: 272). Mackenzie (1988: 273) explains that policies in Northern Rhodesia were not dissimilar, as "land segregation on the line of rail had encouraged the recovery of game.

In East Africa, national parks were established under the National Park Ordinance of 1945 with Kenya leading the way (Mackenzie, 1988). Steinhart (1994) discusses the consequences of Kenya's new program being modeled on the experiences of the United States preservationist movement. The focus was on the preservation of habitats as self-contained ecological systems rather than the conservation of game as a resource. In addition, even when there was evidence of long-established human occupation, efforts were made to return the area to an imagined pristine environment. This did not transfer easily to African conditions:

> "During the 1950s, the success of the National Parks program spelled the end of African hunting for many peoples who operated as subsistence and commercial ivory hunters in and around the newly proclaimed game sanctuaries" (Steinhart, 1994: 61).

It was the absence of elephants rather than the presence of lions that initiated the preservationist campaign for a total sanctuary for Kenya's wildlife. As a result, the Tsavo National Park was gazetted in April 1948 which became Kenya's largest and most difficult park to administer (Steinhart, 1994). Tsavo was split into two sections along the line of rail for ease of administration but disagreement still occurred between the Royal National Parks of Kenya committee and the Kenyan Game Department. The biggest problem in this park was the threat of poaching. Gamekeepers made shocking discoveries during their surveys in the remote areas of Tsavo East - "they found a large number of fresh elephant kills, tusks removed but most of the meat left to rot" (Steinhart, 1994: 66). In the absence of mechanized transport and under the conditions in which Waata and Kamba poachers operated in the 1950s, it was believed that poaching by these bow-and-arrow hunters did not pose a significant threat to elephant herds or their habitats at that time. Steinhart (1994: 67) however highlights that the real

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problem was that this presented a "significant challenge to the image and mission of the National Parks as a 'total sanctuary' for the preservation of wildlife in a state of nature, free from human predation".

The outbreak of the Mau Mau Emergency in 1952 brought an end to anti-poaching programs that had been in operation. Steinhart (1994) explains that the Emergency and its suppression had a great militaristic influence on the next phase of anti-poaching operations. "In 1955, the Voi Feld Force[8] was in operation ...[it] enjoyed initial success in finding and apprehending both Waata and Kamba poachers...and became the model for the World Bank-sponsored postcolonial Anti-Poaching Units operating in Kenya from the late 1960s to the present" (Steinhart, 1994: 71). In an effort to apprehend poachers and destroy their support networks and access to local resources, poachers themselves were turned into gamekeepers[9]. These men had a greater knowledge of the terrain, methods of operation, and habits of the Tsavo poachers. .

The Amboseli park provides another interesting study in colonial conservation and also suggests that the origins of "community-based conservation" dates back further than often thought. Mackenzie (1988) briefly mentions that the Amboseli national reserve, on the northern slopes of Mount Kilimanjaro was converted into a national park according to the National Parks Ordinance of 1945. Lindsay (1987) however goes into greater detail of the transformation and accompanying social and environmental issues. Hunting was prohibited, but the Maasai were still allowed to herd livestock in and around the Amboseli National Reserve. Visits by foreign and resident Europeans grew however, and the colonial government was faced with increasing pressure to protect Amboseli wildlife. According to Lindsay (1987) this pressure was increased after a drought in 1955 which forced the Maasai to concentrate in the central basin habitats. Consequently, in the late 1950s government "attempted to shift livestock concentrations away from the center of the Amboseli basin by constructing watering points in peripheral areas and controlling livestock grazing patterns" (Lindsay, 1987: 154). As a form of protest and resistance against the threatened loss of their dry season grazing land, the Maasai councils - who received no direct benefit from the Reserve -increased the use of the central basin and Maasai warriors began killing wildlife such as rhinoceros and elephants (Lindsay, 1987).

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[8] This was initially an operation within the National Park administration including ranking Police and Game Department Officials and specially recruited African rangers who would undergo a three-month training period in new techniques. They also had access to transportation, including a police spotter plane (Steinhart, 1994).

[9] Something similar occurred amongst the Maasai in the Amboseli National Park as "group ranch elders frequently helped park authorities in identifying poachers. With failure of many of the terms of agreement however, this cooperation decreased and poaching resumed" (Lindsay, 1987: 160).

This precipitated negotiations with the communities. According to an economic analysis conducted in 1973 the best use of the Amboseli area would be a combination of tourism and commercial livestock ranching and on the basis of these recommendations, a "488 squared kilometer portion of the Amboseli basin was gazetted as a National Park in 1974 while negotiations continued with the Maasai[10]" (Lindsay, 187: 156). In nationwide program of land adjudication, these local Maasai became joint owners of the surrounding bushlands organized roughly around clan lines and traditional grazing areas. In an attempt to provide the Amboseli Maasai with sufficient compensation for the loss of their land the Park proposed the following benefits:

i.    "Guarantee of adequate water supplies outside the proposed Park area, through maintenance of existing boreholes, and through the construction of a pipeline to carry water from a major spring in the basin to outlying water tanks...

ii.   Compensation for the 'opportunity costs' of tolerating wildlife grazing on their group ranch lands...

iii.  Direct economic benefits to the Maasai group ranches through the development of wildlife viewing circuits and tourist campsites, and through trophy hunting and possibly cropping on the group ranch lands...

iv.   Additional direct benefits in the form of services such as a school, dispensary, and community center which would be included in a new Park headquarters at the edge of the park..." (Lindsay, 1987: 157).

In 1977 the Maasai agreed to vacate the Park land in return for the benefits described above.


National Parks in Tanganyika and Uganda followed similar patterns of exclusion. In Tanganyika, the Serengeti National Park was officially gazetted in 1950 (Mackenzie, 1988). But this did not occur without protest. According to Neumann (1995) the National Park Ordinance was passed in 1948 creating a strict legal protection for the park and established an autonomous governing body. The proposed park boundaries however were immediately disputed by Africans living near by. Neumann (1995: 163) makes three relevant points in his discussion:

> "First, the establishment of National parks in colonial Tanganyika was as much a process of Nature *production* as nature *preservation*...Nature was produced in national parks based on a preconceived, culturally constituted vision of Africa as primitive wilderness...Initially it could include the people who claimed customary rights of occupation and use because they were considered to be part of primeval nature...Ultimately however, the myth of the Maasai as 'natural' humans could not be sustained as preservationists were increasingly confronted with the evidence of their labour and agency. Thus, nature, as represented in national parks, was produced by removing the people who, ironically enough, had influenced the ecology of the Serengeti through thousands of years of human agency.
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> Second, the colonial government's effort at intensifying agricultural and livestock production through development schemes near Serengeti National Park created contradictions and sharp distinctions between landscapes of production and consumption...both were about controlling nature, one for aesthetic purposes, the other for the purpose of intensifying production... [This] control over nature equates with control over people. In each case,

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[10] The process resulted in compromises over Park boundaries, which finally encompassed an area of 390 squared kilometers around the basin springs.

African production practices had to be removed, reoriented or reorganized depending on the needs and desires of the colonizers...

Finally, the history of Serengeti National Park can be read as a cautionary tale for contemporary efforts to establish and maintain parks and protected areas in Africa...In addition to the degrading humiliating character of such protected-area designs, they beg the question of inevitable cultural change. Proponents of these culture/nature reserves often gloss over the surrender of political power and loss of control over daily life..."

The Ugandan National Parks Committee was set up in 1948. If game reserves had been the brainchild of a hunting elite, identified with the imperial right, national parks were the inspiration of the new environmental lobbyists, the forerunners of the 'Greens'. The reactionary preservation had become the visionary conservation" (MacKenzie, 1988: 274). These parks were to be designed for the recreation and glorification of the people of Uganda, but as it turned out as in most of Africa, they proved more significant in the recreation and glorification of international tourists.

Conservation was an important cultural focus of white-ruled South Africa. In terms of the goals of preservation, as Beinart and Coates (1995) explain, South African parks were a success. State power enabled strict control over boundaries to be practiced resulting in an increase of wildlife. "Whereas there were barely a couple of hundred elephants at the turn of the century in the country as a whole, over 8 000 roamed the land by the 1980s. In neighbouring Namibia, Botswana and Zimbabwe, the rise was even more spectacular" (Beinart & Coates, 1995: 86). But by the 1970s the nature of poaching changed from wire traps to gangs with firearms and direct links with middlemen in the Far East's ivory trade. Also game stocks in the region were decimated by civil war- even more so than by commercial poaching. In Mozambique the troops lived off the land and Renamo exchanged ivory for arms. The tusk trade was sustained by rising prices through to the 1980s (Beinart & Coates, 1995).

Although the popularity of game viewing (nature tourism) had helped to convince the inheritor African governments that tourism was a worthwhile sector of the post-colonial economy, many parks later became the victim of the aftermath of decolonisation. "Some became a haven of dissidents and resisters in civil wars, others the sanctuary of guerillas operating against white rule in southern Africa. Once more game became a resource in human conflict, and the parks represented political and military frontiers rather than recreational areas for urban populations" (MacKenzie, 1988: 275).

It is evident from this section that the establishment of national parks throughout Africa followed a distinct pattern of prioritising the needs of the colonial power and wildlife over the welfare of local people. As a result the process is full of ironies as the 'outsider', interested in preserving Africa's pristine environment neglected to take into account the knowledge of local people, excluded them from their land and dislocated the social organisation on which there societies were based. This drive

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for conservation was mainly intended to prevent the extinction of large mammals. Subsistence hunting by Africans was seen as the main cause of wildlife decline but these vocal advocates for protected areas were hunters themselves. Protected areas ended up needing the help of Africans to carry out some drastic management projects such as culling.

### 2.2.2    Current Themes in African Conservation
### 2.2.2.1 Human-Animal Conflict

Many conservationists view human-wildlife conflict as a new problem created by growing rural populations settling in or near wildlife habitats. More historically aware experts however, realise that local farmers have lost crops and livestock to wildlife for centuries. Naughton-Treves (1997) explores the risk avoidance, and coping strategies of people living around the Kibale National Park in Uganda.

For many centuries the Toro of western Uganda shared forests with a diversity of wild animals. These agriculturalists developed coping strategies. Traditionally, they "attempted to balance crop loss to mammals with bush-meat gains by trapping animals in and around their fields" (Naughton-Treves, 1997: 28). They also planted widely dispersed fields and practiced rotational planting while guarding their fields. Despite this however, crop damage by particular wildlife, such as elephant prevented the cultivation of some arable land. Naughton-Treves (1997: 28) explains that these "linked strategies of farming and hunting were decoupled in 1906, when British colonial authorities prohibited so-called native hunting and declared all wild animals the sole property of the Crown". The colonial Ugandan Game Department protected royal game in parks for elite hunters, and elsewhere implemented militaristic campaigns to eradicate problem animas, including elephants, hippopotamuses and leopards for the expansion of agriculture.

Mugisha (1994 in Naughton-Treves, 1997: 30) explains that 54 percent of the land within one kilometer of Kibale's boundary is used for smallholder agriculture. Farmers in the area include the Toro tribe and immigrant Kiga who interplant species for both subsistence purposes and cash crops. Toro chiefs traditionally allocated land to immigrants on the outskirts of their settlements hoping that they would act as a buffer for Toro farmers against crop damage by wildlife. Participatory-appraisal mapping exercises and government census data all indicate that Kiga immigrants are disproportionately represented on the forest edge. This follows environmental risk theory with the most vulnerable people living in the most risk-prone areas. Proximity to the forest is a strong predictor of crop loss to large mammals at Kibale and elsewhere in Africa.

Different groups experience differing vulnerability and coping capacities. The majority of respondents (78 percent) reported using a defensive strategy namely guarding. Other strategies mentioned included: fencing, trenches, trapping and poisoning wildlife - although the latter is illegal.

The typical justification from residents was "[t]hese animals leave us poor and hungry. Why should we starve so that baboons eat" (Naughton-Treves, 1997: 35). Smallholders have less choice in locating crops of different palatability unlike large farm owners around Kibale who plant a buffer of bananas between maize fields on the forest edge. The individuals who rent land at the forest edge are identified by Naughton-Treves (1997) as especially vulnerable as custom does not allow them to plant bananas or other perennials. Instead they are confined to planting maize and sweet potato which are the two crops identified as highly vulnerable. Further, affluent farmers are more equipped to cope as they use pasture to separate their food crops from the forest edge and also employ others to guard their fields. Poorer or individual farmers must either face the risk of crop loss with no guard or sacrifice their children's schooling so that they can watch over the crops (Naughton-Treves, 1997).

It is evident from this article that human-wildlife conflict is not a new problem in Africa. According to Naughton-Treves (1997: 43) the "contemporary conflict between farmers and wildlife at the edge of Uganda's parks and reserves echoes the traditional pattern of conflict on African agricultural frontiers...Now park edges mark a permanent 'frontier' where wildlife habitats meet agriculture or other intensive human land uses". But despite the problems highlighted above, "government is attempting to maintain substantial wildlife populations adjacent to densely settled agriculture, while also limiting farmer's traditional coping strategies". The greatest challenge facing contemporary conservation is balancing global environmental goals with local resident concerns.

## 2.2.2.2 A Change in Conservation Ideology - Towards Co-Management?

Until the 1990s, the establishment of national parks conventionally meant the "suppression of resource use by local people and the forced abandonment of established rights and resource-use patterns" (Adams, 2003). Machlis and Tichnell (1985: 1) state that this "fences and fines approach[11] proved counterproductive, for it resulted in economic hardship for local people, widespread resentment of park and national officials, and, often damage to the natural resources the parks were designed to protect". Today, managers of protected areas aim at more ethical goals, often both protecting natural environments and permitting reasonable human uses. Beinart and Coates (1995) explain that this strategy has much in common with the concept of conservation practiced in England and Wales, where a permanent and long-standing presence also had to be incorporated. State Conservation in Britain argues that "careful husbandry by farmers themselves sustains nature more efficiently and knowledgeably than any outside government authority[12]" (Beinart & Coates, 1995: 87).

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[11] Associated with the concept of fortress conservation imposed on African landscapes.

[12] " In a way, this reflects the difference between European perceptions of nature as an eminently cultural product and South African and American cultural hankerings after pristine wilderness or 'untouched' frontier landscape" (Beinart & Coates, 1995: 87)

Hobbs (1996: 2) asserts that "local people should participate in decisions concerning the objectives and management strategies of protected areas. Local participation is meant to ensure that residents come to understand the protected area as a means of ensuring their own survival". He identifies a reason why many of these projects fail. These being the methods used for involving local people and the absence of ensuring long-term natural resource conservation. The problem is that park authorities often fail to speak with local people in the early stages of the project. In Hobbs' view, it is critical that park managers speak with people before designing management plans. The old idea that conservation cannot be practiced unless indigenous people are removed is being replaced by the recognition that conservation cannot be guaranteed in the long-term unless it has the support of local people.

> A recent effort to use the methodology of speaking with residents is presented by Hobbs (1996) in St. Katherine National Park in Egypt. Here an assessment of how residents might contribute to and benefit from this protected area is made. The Bedouin Support Program, initiated in the park is to "reduce or eliminate destructive Bedouin uses of resources and to encourage these residents to make tourists feel welcome in the region" (Hobbs, 1996: 50). A majority of the Bedouin interviewed implied that they would only adhere to restrictions if provided with direct benefits. They would for example, only prevent sheep and goats from entering restricted areas if provided with fodder and offered economic incentives such as the creation of jobs for "wildlife watchmen" (Hobbs, 1996: 10). After being made aware of the benefits of increased natural vegetation and wildlife, the Bedouin were generally optimistic about the project but many focused on abuses by outsiders.

The Bedouin hoped that the St. Katherine National Park would improve their economic and social welfare by providing housing, schools, medical and veterinary clinics, electricity, and agricultural improvements as well as outlets to sell crafts (Hobbs, 1996). They saw increased tourist activity as being able to provide them with this solution. The quote below shows the optimism of residents for tourism:

> "[t]ribesmen themselves repeatedly raised the choice between cultivating opium poppies or tourism. 'If we don't have tourism we might steal or we might do who knows what', one said. Understanding this as a reference to opium, I asked him why his people grew narcotics in the mountains. If there were 'resources other than drugs,' he responded, they would not grow poppies, and he specifically said that tourism was the ideal replacement for opium" (Hobbs, 1996: 15).

This project attempted a long period of face-to-face dialogue with the Bedouin, focusing on economic incentives for conservation, negotiating the drug problem, and creating a Bedouin-orientated tourism industry. It was proposed for rangers and park authorities to open a wide-scale dialogue with the Bedouin "using formal workshops and routine, informal field visits to solicit continual input on what Bedouin perceive as their most pressing environmental problems and economic needs" (Hobbs, 1996: 16). The local people were to collaborate in preparing the management plan for the protected area. This dialogue is viewed by Hobbs (1996: 16) as "critical in deciding how vegetation is to be used and in identifying which, if any, restricted areas are to be established. It is essential to the project's long-

term viability that any selection of interdict areas be discussed with the people. With their superior knowledge of regional species distribution and ecology, the locals are best able to identify areas of maximum conservation value".

Renard and Hudson (1992 in Hobbs, 1996: 16) explain that a give-and-take relationship between parties on restricted-use areas and other issues could lead to the much desired, but very rare, goal of co-management of the protected area by park authorities and indigenous people. In the case of the Bedouin, Hobbs recommended that once the management plan is formalized, it should be taken back to the community for a series of briefings.

Unsatisfactory conservation results are only too evident in the Amboseli National Park case study where all the programs failed to provide the Maasai community with continuous benefits in return for compromises in their use (or rather non-use) of land. Further, little thought was given to protecting people from the threat of wildlife and new conflicts have emerged. In 1983 a small area of irrigated agriculture was greatly expanded around the Namalog swamp system immediately to the east of the Park (Lindsay, 1987). This agricultural land use inevitably encountered conflict with primates and larger herbivores such as elephants and buffaloes, but the identified primary management options of fencing or removal of wildlife was expensive. Lindsay (1987: 162) also identifies a problem in the park design as it was based almost entirely on a single factor- "the input of money for the water supply system and for the large annual payments to the group ranches". In this case, the surveying of attitudes of the local population towards various development options and an assessment of their satisfaction with the Park program was lacking. No extension work was undertaken to encourage the pastoralists in their appreciation for park benefits. In addition, the success of the program depended on the continuous support from the higher government levels and foreign aid which often failed to materialize[13]. With the above in mind, it is not surprising that there was little incentive for the Maasai to remain out of the Park.

Lindsay (1987: 163) suggests that additional "ecological and sociological studies" need to be undertaken in order to move forward at Amboseli. "The nature of change in Maasai society and its relations with the environment, the potential for competition or sharing of resources by wildlife and domestic stock, and the influence of external pressures on the system, remain largely unquantified". Lindsay hopes that such studies would aid decision making on the exclusion or inclusion of Maasai livestock in the Amboseli basin.

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[13] If tourism is to contribute sustainably to the operation of the program, then sufficient funds from Park entry fees should be retained locally to cover basic operating expenses until dependable alternate income sources are developed (Lindsay, 1987).

A South African example of "conservation with a human-face" where rural communities retain some rights to park resources, is the Richtersveld National Park, located in the northern Cape on the border with Namibia. In 1991 a 'contract' National Park was established in the Richtersveld reserve. "The concept of a contract park implies that it is a joint venture between the National Park Board and the local population, and the latter have majority representation on the Management Plan Committee" (Boonzaier, 1996: 308). The original conceived establishment of this park however, received opposition from the local population. This is due to the fact that it implied the loss of 160 000 hectares of communal grazing land and that the population would have been denied access to other resources in the park such as firewood, medicinal plants and honey (Boonzaier, 1996).

When the park was about to be proclaimed in 1989, a local delegation representing the local community obtained an interdict to prevent the signing. The community spokesperson, together with land activists persuaded the Parks Board that the "local Nama people had grazed their stock in the area for centuries without irrevocably destroying it" (Beinart & Coates, 1995: 88). This resulted in negotiations and an eventual agreement as the National Parks Board realised that no park could be viable with such strong opposition. The agreement involved taking less and giving more in compensation for the loss of some grazing land. Further, "community access for grazing and the garnering of natural products such as honey was secured. A portion of the park income was promised to a trust fund, guides would be recruited locally and opportunities developed for craft sales" (Beinart & Coates, 1995: 89).

Boonzaier's (1996) provides a cynical statement that "[r]ecent 'successful' conservation efforts would seem to suggest that conservationists win converts by ensuring conservation efforts translate into material advantage for local populations. In short, we 'buy' local support with the money obtained from tourism". In the Richtersveld case, this makes sense as subsistence farmers concerned with long-term survival would favour the generation of income to buy fuel if restricted to collect resources such as firewood in protected areas.

### 2.2.2.3 The Transnational Park Concept

The Transnational Parks concept is a significant recent development in conservation practice. It focuses on the preservation of bioregions, allowing animals to follow ancient migration routes, disrupted by barriers such as political borders or transport routes in the past. As explained in Chapter 3 transnational parks may also be termed transfrontier parks or protected areas, transboundary parks or conservation areas (TBCAs), superparks, peace parks, or biosphere reserves. These terms are often used interchangeably as is evident in this research. Although definitions vary slightly, transnational parks mean that authorities responsible for areas in which the primary focus is wildlife conservation,

and which border each other across international boundaries, formerly agree to manage those areas as one integrated unit according to a streamlined management plan (Braak, 2002).

In 2001 a "Parks for Peace Conference" was held to consider conditions for, constraints to, and benefits of transboundary cooperation (TBC). Some of these papers are reviewed here. TBC is referred to, by Hamilton (2001: 27) as "a situation where there are two abutting parks on a common frontier between two countries...However this is also meant to include cases where there may be more than two protected areas or countries". He believes that where relations have been strained or in situations of hostility or armed conflict between countries, the creation of transboundary parks may promote more friendly interactions between countries, reduce military presence and perhaps even lead to solving boundary disputes. Other than the benefit of non-political interaction potentially promoting greater understanding, trust and cooperation between countries, Hamilton (2001) believes that the most obvious and direct benefits of TBC is that of biodiversity conservation.

There is little mention of benefits accruing to the local communities but Hamilton (2001) does mention that benefits and any changes in the project need to be communicated to local people living within and neighbouring the park.

Shine (2001: 37) also lists a number of benefits according to the IUCN protected area management categories 1 to 5:

> "reduction of political tension and / or the promotion of peace; more effective management of natural resources and environments; promotion of the economic welfare of the regions communities; the preservation and enhancement of cultural values and, in certain cases, the protection of transboundary peoples".

The aim of transboundary cooperation is "to confirm, strengthen or re-establish good relations with neighbouring state(s); to prevent escalation of border disputes; or to safeguard important areas of biodiversity which are or were military zones" (Shine, 2001: 37).

The primary purpose of transfrontier co-operation according to Shine is improvement in the ecological management of migratory species. Shine (2001: 37) emphasises that these benefits are inter-related and that peaceful cooperation is most likely to be strengthened "if natural resources are sustainably used and the interests of local populations are taken fully into account". When considering resource-based conflicts, it is arguable that neighbouring countries which commit themselves to joint consultation and management arrangements will be more equipped to deal with any cross-border problems and negotiate solutions. Although failure may result from political, socio-economic or financial problems, it can be exacerbated by weaknesses in the legal and institutional framework for protected area management at the national or international level:

"Legally, there is no difference between a protected area in a border region and any other protected area in the same country. Both will be subject to the relevant legislation of the country concerned. Ecologically...since political boundaries between states have usually been drawn for demographic, geographic or security reasons, they may take no account of parameters of an ecological unit...In the absence of an appropriate management regime for the whole unit, there may be a heightened risk of conflict over use of the shared resources[14]"

In management terms it would be ideal for the whole area to be administered as a single unit by one institutional body in accordance with a single management plan. This however is not always politically possible as "initiatives to develop joint regimes may be rejected as an unacceptable relinquishment of sovereign rights over part of the national territory and an invitation to foreign interference in national affairs" (Shine, 2001: 38). Many of these obstacles are evident in the case study presented by Duffy (1997).

Duffy (1997) shows that wildlife protection zones which cross national borders are not a new idea. The governments of South Africa, Botswana, Zimbabwe and Mozambique attempted to create transnational parks and reserves from the 1940s. These proposals however, were opposed by powerful political and economic interest groups, namely miners and ranchers. For example, despite the great tourism potential, the cattle industry feared the spread of tsetse fly and other diseases through transfrontier schemes (Duffy, 1997). Her article explores the politics involved and challenges facing governments, particularly in sub-Saharan Africa, when initiating these superpark projects.

The superpark of the 1990s is based on some of the same principles as those proposed in the 1940s but perhaps the central difference is the degree of international support. The new scheme is particularly attractive to global donors. This could be problematic. Duffy (1997: 443) argues that the "World Bank has indicated interest in funding a superpark which reflects concepts of bio-regionalism, but is essentially concerned that funding follows its underlying philosophy of increased privatisation and commercial ventures within conservation". In the case of the transfrontier park discussed in this thesis, financial assistance from the Global Environmental Facility (GEF) has been offered to Zimbabwe for the "decentralization and commercialization of the National Parks department and the establishment of the tourist-centred superpark" (Duffy, 1997:443).

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[14] Where protected areas in neighbouring countries are located along the international border, this border forms a jurisdictional boundary between management authorities of the areas thereby creating a line at which each country's laws cease to be applicable. Different parts of an ecosystem will therefore be managed by different institutions according to different legal rules. This is unsatisfactory from a scientific point of view and can lead to duplication of effort, conflicting management policies, wasted socio-economic opportunities and weak or non-existent law enforcement (Shine, 2001).

One of the criticisms of the superpark concept however, is that "it follows a traditional pattern of national park development which has clearly failed across the continent. The exclusion of local people from wildlife conservation areas has led to incursions beyond park boundaries by local people" (Duffy, 1997: 444). Although the superpark is intended to empower rural people, Duffy (1997) remains skeptical whether local communities will benefit from anything, other than employment in tourist facilities.

It is evident from Duffy's paper that the superpark idea does pose a challenge to the traditional boundaries and powers of nation-states in the southern African region. As early as 1997, Duffy identified the land issue as a key one for the Zimbabwean government. She noted that the "key issue of land distribution in Zimbabwe has been one important factor in the superpark debate and some of the opposition stems from the fact that there have been calls for land to be allocated to resettlement schemes for people rather than to wildlife conservation" (Duffy, 1997:466) as promised to people in the Communal Lands by the guerillas during the liberation war. Opposition within Zimbabwe also stemmed from promotion of the superpark as an extension of the World Bank's controversial plans for commercialisation of the Parks Department. Duffy (1997) explains that although this may benefit some interest groups within Zimbabwe, it would disempower others by removing their control over lucrative wildlife resources and tourism developments. The superpark was therefore considered to represent great risk to the Zimbabwean state and wildlife management authorities. Subsequent to Duffy's article, the land issue in Zimbabwe has exploded as commercial farmers have been evicted from land and the country has entered a period of political and economic crisis.

Ramutsindela (2002) highlights conditions that finally enabled the adaptation of transfrontier parks in southern Africa, and he also discusses some of the problems experienced to date in the establishment of the GLTP. In Ramutsindela's view (2002: 3), the "transfrontier parks that emerged in southern Africa in the 1990s are not a regional phenomena" but are "promoted by the IUCN as a drive towards global ecological governance". The economic situation in southern Africa is ideal for the adoption of these schemes as transfrontier parks are widely believed to provide economic benefits to local, national and regional economies. This is due to the increase in foreign exchange earned from tourism and to the associated objective of poverty alleviation. Another reason for support is that the South African government and park authorities see the transfrontier schemes as "a solution to the funding and management problems of national parks in the country" (Ramutsindela, 2002: 11).

One method of gaining political support is the use of political figures like Nelson Mandela in marketing schemes. The involvement of political leaders is "meant to gain credibility and to publicise

the schemes as a local initiative"[15] as well as "to counteract notions of colonial conservation policies that were a European export" (Ramutsindela, 2002: 5). In addition, the schemes are presented as a de-colonising strategy as colonial boundaries imposed in the past are broken down; and thus the schemes contribute to the African Renaissance. This anti-colonial approach is accompanied by "projected new conservation-community relationships" already discussed and which is an important focus of this thesis.

The above sections present a review on African conservation case studies and the ideologies underpinning their establishment. The recent shift in conservation from national parks, characterised by the exclusion of local people; to the transnational concept, promoting the principles of community conservation and co-management is also reviewed.

The following section includes the theoretical ideas which will shape the analysis of this research. First, social and environmental justice is discussed. Principles underpinning these concepts will be referred to, to allow for the analysis of the GLTP situation and to determine whether this project does in fact attempt to right the wrongs of environmental discrimination and racism characteristic of past protected area management. Second, environmental decision making in conservation is discussed. Public participation principles in South Africa will provide a tool in order to determine whether the affected local communities do in fact play an equitable role in the environmental decision making of the GLTP. The framework of community conservation as a type of environmental decision making will also provide a tool for analysis.

## 2.3    Social and Environmental Justice

Social and environmental justice are important issues in the new South Africa, and have become fundamental underlying principles in conservation and development projects, such as the GLTP. The GLTP objectives imply a commitment to community conservation. This anthropocentric approach rejects the idea of conservation ideologies being imposed on African landscapes and people, as happened in the past. The question however is how and whether the concerns of local people are truly represented.

### 2.3.1 Defining Environmental and Social Justice

Social justice involves the distribution of social and economic resources of society for the benefit of all people. It is the "process through which society attains a more equitable distribution of power in the political, economic and social realms" (Community Foundation of Canada, 2004: 1) by seeking

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[15] This involvement of a key political figure is similar to the use of President Paul Kruger's association with the establishment of the KNP.

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solutions to social and political injustice by addressing root causes of problems and not just their symptoms. This concept is based on the belief that each individual and group within a given society has a right to civil liberties, equal opportunities, fairness, and participation in the educational, economic, institutional, social and moral freedoms and responsibilities valued by the community.

Environmental justice affirms the right to be free from ecological destruction. It demands that "public policy be based on mutual respect and justice for all peoples ... and mandates the right to ethical, balanced and responsible uses of land and renewable resources in the interest of sustainability" (First People of Colour Environmental Leadership Summit, 1991). It also affirms the fundamental right to economical, cultural and environmental self-determination of all peoples, and protects the right of victims of environmental injustice to receive full compensation and reparations for damages.

Social and environmental justice both call for the education of present and future generations which emphasises social and environmental issues, based on our experience and an appreciation of diverse cultural perspectives.

2.3.2    Environmental Discrimination and the Rise of Environmental Justice in Conservation

Environmental racism is a term that has gained currency in the public sphere in the last few decades. Environmental discrimination is a slightly milder term but with a similar meaning. The activities of conservationists have not escaped these labels. In the developing world, a number of cases of suppression or attempted suppression of indigenous economic activity in favour of a conservation land use are seen by activists and scholars to provide evidence of environmental racism. Langton (2003) argues that by targeting small-scale indigenous groups in their campaigns against national and multinational environmental violations, "conservation organizations privilege global commercialization of the natural world over ancient economic systems in their increasing demands for the suppression of traditional forms of wildlife exploitation" (Langton, 2003: 80). With their minimal and often inaccurate understanding of indigenous societies, environmental scientists, planners and managers have the potential to cause great harm to native people. Indigenous societies face increasing hardships as governments, conservation campaigners and the private sector further marginalize them in the belief that global biodiversity preservation goals take precedence over the needs of local people (Langton, 2003).

Although the term 'environmental justice' is relatively new, the underlying issues are not - that of fairness and equality. Sexton and Zimmerman (1999) state that environmental justice is a nationally prominent public policy issue in America. Broadly, this concern focuses on questions of whether "economically and politically disadvantaged communities bear a disproportionate burden of environmental hazards, and whether past environmental practices, policies and decisions have been

fair" (Sexton & Zimmerman, 1999: 419). During the 1980s, hundreds of grassroots community-action groups emerged in America to protest locally unwanted land uses and to bring attention to the environmental problems facing disadvantaged communities. By 1992 environmental justice was at the forefront of the nation's environmental policy agenda, and policy responses began to be formulated at federal, state and local levels. Sexton and Zimmerman (1999) explain that through these ongoing efforts community-based concerns about environmental justice are gradually being incorporated into the fabric and structure of environmental decision making in the United States of America.

Rising awareness of environmental justice has been linked to the development of what is referred to as "civic environmentalism". Civic environmentalism, associated with an increased awareness of the need for social justice, consists of place-specific participatory agreements. John and Mlay (1999) suggest that civic environmentalism is a blend of three elements. First, the development of a civic environmentalist movement depends on grassroots impulse. The foundation for grassroots action is usually broad citizen interest and a sense of environmental crisis. Members of this community "look beyond the narrow authorities and concerns of their agencies or other employers to agree on a strategy that requires new forms of cooperation or entirely new approaches" (John & Mlay, 1999: 360). A group termed 'sponsors' or 'sparkplugs' are also part of this grassroots impulse and are often elected officials who intervene to give the above mentioned community permission to develop a formal plan and constantly push for collaborative agreement so as to make the process as fair as possible.

The second element of civic environmentalism is a set of new roles for state and federal agencies. John and Mlay (1999) explain that at the outset, state or federal agencies often seem to be the problem, as they push ahead with narrow statutory programs, stir up resentment or opposition or miss the real issue entirely. However, "once a civic process starts to search for a different way to define and address local problems, state and federal agencies provide much power to keep the planning going" (John and Mlay, 1999: 360) through lending expertise and finance. This is referred to by John and Mlay as "community-based environmental protection". According to them (1991: 361) community-based environmental protection is "a bundle of techniques and approaches that governmental agencies use to encourage, catalyze or support civic environmentalism". Civic environmentalism can thus be viewed essentially as an ad-hoc bottom-up process of local problem solving and decision making, and community-based environmental protection is "top-down support for bottom-up initiatives" (John &Mlay, 1999: 361).

The third element of successful civic environmentalism is moral authority. This is only possible if individual agencies rise above individual concerns and work together while sparkplugs and sponsors champion the process. This is necessary to build faith in the process.

Zerner (2000) makes the critical point that local governance and community cannot be separated from the issue of justice:

> "Justice-both distributive and procedural- in the context of participatory natural resource management is about *what* is devolved to *whom*. "To whom" is about the problem of representation. "Indigenous" and "local" do not necessarily mean representative or fair. Some processes of inclusion or some form of accountable representation must be constructed if the notion of community-which is always a stratified ensemble of persons with different needs and powers- is to have a collective meaning. This story[16] brings into question whether chiefs really do "represent" their villages in any accountable sense. It brings up the question of whether new natural resource policies should place powers in a chief's hands, strengthening this particular local-but not necessarily representative or just-institution'. (Zerner, 2000: 12).

### 2.3.3    Impact of International Agencies

The notions of conservation and development have become increasingly intertwined in the last decades and this relationship is often expressed in terms of achieving "environmental justice" through development projects. During the 1970s, debates about global environmental priorities were being polarized into the simplistic dichotomies of "number of people" versus "quantity of consumption and pollution". This is an issue that should not be simplified in this manner as the number of people does not necessary indicate the level of consumption and pollution. Many other factors such as the level of development will factor into the level of consumption and pollution.

The notion subsequently became embedded in the core of inherited conservation ideology and embraced government control, job creation and poverty alleviation. These western environmental ideas and language rapidly became internationalized and were advanced by a new and diverse group of international activists and aid organizations such as "the International Union for the Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources[17] (IUCN) (1956), World Wildlife Fund (1961), Friends of the Earth (1969) and Greenpeace (1971)" (Beinart and Coates, 1995: 98). Many of these conservation organizations have become involved in rural development programs. These programs often include some form of community based natural resource management- but cannot often be viewed as successful civic environmentalist movements.

Past views had placed the causes of rural poverty firmly in the nature of developing world societies. Dixon (1990) explains that much emphasis was placed on the way in which non-Western values and practices perpetuated 'backwardness'. Often these views totally ignored the nature of rural systems of production and how they reacted to externally induced change. Similarly, especially during the colonial period, poverty was often depicted as self inflicted. Communities were poor because of

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[16] Case Study presented by Jesse C. Ribot (2000) entitled, 'Rebellion, Representation and Enfranchisement in the Forest Villages of Makacoulibantang, Eastern Senegal'.
[17] Now named the World Conservation Union.

"idleness, drunkenness, gambling, unwise expenditure, incompetence, ignorance and even lack of intelligence" (Dixon, 1990: 53). Some of these explanations were overtly racist and neglected to consider physical, ecological and socio-economic explanations. The socio-economic approach, sometimes referred to as the 'political economy' view, sees the root cause of poverty in the distribution of wealth and power in society. Rural poverty can therefore be seen as a result of processes which concentrate power and resources operating at all scales. Dixon (1990: 55) explains that "to understand the predicament of the rural poor they have to be seen in this broader context. Processes operating at the local scale then reinforce the national and international ones". This is clearly the case in the resource-poor regions of sub-Saharan Africa.

Although many development aid programs such as those of the World Bank have good intentions in developing countries, Harrison (1987) explains how foreign aid has often aggravated problems in Africa. First, aid projects often falter or collapse as foreign funding typically only lasts three to five years and donors do not usually accept responsibility for on-going costs after that period. Once projects are officially over and aid funds 'dry up', governments who welcomed the chance of a subsidized programme are often unable to take on full costs. Second, aid to government tends to reinforce government authority over popular organizations and the private sector. Therefore, unless efforts are made to avoid it, aid can "strengthen centralization, sustain unpopular governments and inflate over paid bureaucracies" (Harrison, 1987: 65). Third, there is often a lack of real commitment to projects and programmes inspired by donors as policy shifts occur quite independently of changes in African government politics. Harrison (1987) explains that fashions and trends sweep through bilateral and multilateral programmes as Western governments and key personnel change and as past failures lead to the search for new solutions.

It is clear therefore that if projects are to contribute to Africa's long-term development, they must be sustainable, but aid projects have often in the past neglected this factor. The time beyond the life-span of the aid project, when the host country will have to shoulder ongoing costs, is ignored in favour of fast and visible results. In the case of conservation-related development projects, Zerner warns that advocates, donors and the academic community need to be alert to the ways in which CBNRM is being "socialized in the discourses of projects of bilateral aid agencies and international financial institutions, as well as in the politically creative projects of transnational and national non-governmental groups" (Zerner, 2000: 12). CBNRM is used to promote projects involving local conservation efforts and rural development but because of its broad definition, there is risk of it being an "empty term"- full of promises but no action on the ground. Of course, in imagining strategies for local justice and empowerment, activists and analysts also need to take into account the ways in which communities seize and transform transnational movements into local opportunities. They should also

be cautious of the ways in which transnational movements use representations of local realities on the national and international stage.

Beinart and Coates (1995) explain that those seeking to build bi-racial reform coalitions modeled on the early 1960s American civil rights movement, and to empower local communities, insist that socio-economic justice must become one of the central objectives of conservation and environmentalism. The goals of social justice are forcing a redefinition of environmentalism's familiar parameters. As a result, radical environmentalism in South Africa is firmly part of a broader socio-economic and political critique- and an anthropocentric approach with the interests of the less privileged at heart. Khan (1998) states that more established conservation organizations and societies have been obliged to respond to this more 'people-centred' orientation by the rapidity of political change. What has been the impact of this civic environmentalism? Unfortunately, in the view of Beinart and Coates (1995) for all its grassroots impetus, the new environmentalism has become as dependent on an interventionist state as the old conservation due to a lack of popularly inspired legislation in South Africa.

### 2.3.4   Case Study: Conflicts over Land Rights and Conservation in Tanzania

A case study provided by Neumann (2000) highlights the interrelationships between land rights, justice and state conservation policies. The establishment of virtually every national park in Tanzania has required either the removal of rural communities or curtailment of access to land and resources. The historical processes of colonialism and also post-colonial nation-building have shaped the basic relationship between peasant farmers and pastoralists and the conservation regime. From the perspective of pastoralist political activists, numerous injustices have been carried out by the state in the name of wildlife conservation.

The plan for an international agreement to create national parks in East Africa in the early twentieth century was the product of an influential conservation group in London, the SPFE (Neumann, 2000: 120). The SPFE believed that human populations were undesirable in parks but their presence in the park was to be tolerated if indigenous communities lived in, what European preservationists thought to be a state of harmony with nature.

As the pressure for park establishment increased administrative officials and the colonial administration in the region voiced their concerns over the displacement of populations and the curtailment of customary access rights - specifically "rights to grazing, hunting and minor forest products" (Neumann, 2000: 121). Despite these concerns the National Park Ordinance was passed in 1948. This created strict legal protection of the Serengeti National Park and established an autonomous governing body to oversee its administration. According to Neumann (2000) this

ordinance permitted the free movement of people whose place of birth or ordinary residence was within the park. But injustices occurred as park boundaries were immediately disputed, a trading post and cattle market in Ngorongoro was removed and statements prepared by the Maasai were dismissed by international conservationists (Neumann, 2000).

> Further, the government amended the National Park Ordinance in 1954 to "expressly deny any right of occupants to cultivate, and to give the governor extraordinary powers to prohibit any other activities deemed undesirable" (Neumann, 2000: 124). The National Park Board of Trustees wrote in 1955 that Serengeti is to be "reserved as a national habitat for both game and human beings in their primitive state". The Maasai were imagined to be living more or less in harmony with nature as they were nomadic, did not hunt and generally did not cultivate. The Maasai in the park were therefore viewed by preservationists as a colonial possession and could be preserved as part of their fauna. This however did not include other African pastoralist tribes that did not live up to British stereotypes. This exclusion of human rights in a national park was endorsed in the committee's final recommendation. Although the amended National Park Ordinance was passed in 1951 allowing the Maasai to remain in the park[18], many injustices still continued by force. Dislocations and tightening of restrictions on resource use continued through the 1970s and 1980s. Further in 1974 people were evicted from the Ngorongoro Conservation Area

Local resistance, protest and petitions obliged international conservationists and state authorities to reassess coercive park and wildlife protection policies and encourage 'local participation' and the redistribution of benefits of national park tourism. And as independence approached, international conservation NGOs such as the IUCN and AWF assisted nations such as Tanzania to plan and manage their own park and conservation programs. This, according to Neumann (2000) was coupled with increasing domestic and international pressure for 'democratizing' the electoral process. Neumann (2000:126) however does not have a very optimistic view of these changes as he states that:

> "Laws vary little from the colonial period, many of the boundaries are unchanged, forced relocations have continued, African personnel are trained in practices developed in the West, and international conservation NGOs continue to play a critical role. As a consequence of the coercive nature of wildlife conservation, everyday forms of resistance to national park establishment and management policies have persisted throughout the period of independence"

Despite this generally bleak outlook some success has occurred as new political parties and activist groups have organized around issues of justice, land rights, and the environment. Groups have been registering with the government as NGOs and establishing contacts with other domestic and international NGOs and institutions. The most visible example according to Neumann (2000) is the Korongoro Integrated Peoples Oriented to Conservation (KIPOC) primarily concerned with the defense of the culture and rights of indigenous minority groups, the restoration of legal and political

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[18] The Maasai were to live in the Ngorongoro Crater sector which was excised from the park and managed as a special conservation unit- the Ngorongoro Conservation Area. Under this ordinance the Tanganyika National Parks became for the first time, areas where all human rights were excluded thus eliminating the biggest problem of the park's governance in the past (Neumann, 2000: 125).

respect to community ancestral lands and the integration of community development with nature conservation. Most significantly, activists for pastoralist rights are using their newly empowered voices to highlight past injustices and displacements resulting from protected area conservation.

Importantly, pastoralists are portrayed as victims of human rights abuses generated by conservation practices, rather than as encroachers on protected areas:

> 'The victims are shown relocation areas [and] the authorities do not bother to provide even the very basic humanitarian resettlement services' (KIPOC, 1992, 15).

International conservation NGOs are now concentrating their efforts on trying to ease these conflicts with local communities and open new possibilities for dialogue and community participation.

A collection of NGOs and government agencies launched the Serengeti Regional Conservation Strategy (SRCS) in 1985 with the goal to find long term solutions to the resource use conflicts threatening conservation. The 'new approach' to conservation represented by the SRCS however, is in part based on the assumption that:

> "Local communities are committed to conservation...through being directly involved in [wildlife] management and utilization and through receiving direct benefits [and that] local communities achieve sustainable use of other resources in the region through ownership of land and village-generated land use plans, thereby reducing pressures on the resources of the protected area" (Mbano et al, 1995 in Neumann, 2000: 129).

SRCS has been funded and supported by a variety of sources including the Norwegian Agency for International Development (NORAD), IUCN and AWF. AWF has made efforts to increase the cooperation between the park and neighboring communities. "From 1985 to 1990, AWF conducted a pilot program in three villages in the Ngorongoro District that has since become an integral part of the Tanzania National Park's (TANAPA's) protected area management strategy and is now called the Community Conservation Service (CCS)" (Neumann, 2000: 130). These activities are aimed at reducing animosity and mistrust as the AWF considers communities concerns and initiates possibilities for common-interest planning. According to Neumann (2000), the goals of SRCS have been joined with the goals of local land rights activists, as there has been a joint recognition that secure land tenure is essential for effective land husbandry thus introducing a program of demarcating villages and securing title deeds.

In conclusion, there is a fundamental difference in the aims of the international and local NGOs. The former is concerned with "finding innovative ways to secure existing protected areas against historical hostile neighboring communities" (Neumann, 2000: 131) and they do not address past dislocations. Instead, they attempt to "redistribute tourism benefits and promote welfare in communities adjoining protected areas" (Neumann, 2000: 131). The local groups on the other hand are "demanding

autonomous control of land and resources, which they view as customary property rights that have been usurped by the state" (Neumann, 2000: 131). Local participation and benefit-sharing are clearly not the same as local power to control use and access which is what communities seek in the end. Continued pressure from 'below' will necessitate further attention to questions of land rights and justice. From this case study it is clear that conservation issues cannot be addressed without considering broader struggles for human rights and social justice.

## 2.4   Environmental Decision Making

Environmental decision making is a detailed process that involves physical, chemical, biological, technological, psychological, ethical, legal and political factors (Sexton et al, 1999). Environmental decision making therefore requires a holistic effort from many disciplines. A theoretical framework for understanding the way environmental decision are made and implemented in different contexts is presented in the following sections. These theoretical tools will allow an analysis to determine what type of environmental decision making has occurred in the GLTP and whether it has incorporated the social dimension by including local people.

## 2.4.1   Community Participation in Environmental Decision Making

Meaningful involvement by affected communities is an increasingly important aspect of environmental decision making. This has not always been the case but with the rise of civic movements it has become necessary to involve interested and affected people in decisions affecting their living environment. Great attention has been given to the development of tools for information gathering: however, less developed and no less important are tools for involving people in the decision making process.

Obviously, information gathering is an important aspect of environmental decision making but the decision making process needs to go beyond information gathering. It is clear that local communities have little patience with bearing the consequences of environmental decisions imposed on them by government and industry. They object to being "harangued by bureaucrats and managers who consult them *after* making a decision" (Murdock & Sexton, 1999: 377). Despite the growing importance of community-based decisions about environmental issues, there is a general lack of knowledge and understanding about how best to involve communities in the decision making process.

Crosby (1999) explains that traditionally there are three methods of citizen input to decision making. These are commonly referred to as "standard methods: public opinion polls, focus groups and public meetings" (Crosby, 1999: 402). He explains that all have significant shortcomings. Strictly speaking, public opinion polling is not a method of decision making since none of the participants speak to each

other. In focus groups, people speak to each other but spend only a couple of hours together in a highly structured environment while being observed.

Thus while the best way for a policy maker to keep control over a decision is to gather citizen input through focus groups and opinion polls, these methods – while giving a great deal of power to those that set them up - do not empower the public. Public meetings however, can sometimes be a method of decision making, depending on how well certain groups are empowered to present their views and how open those conducting the meeting are to opinions being expressed (Crosby, 1999). In some communities where conflict is low, public meetings may work quite well as a method of citizen input. This however can be disrupted if there is a high level of conflict in the community or trust in government is weak.

Understanding how and why communities make choices about environmental issues is an important aspect of evaluating whether policies are fostering better environmental decisions. Community decisions about environmental problems are intrinsically complicated, involving political, social and economic issues. Finnegan and Sexton (1999) believe that they inevitably involve value judgments about tradeoffs which are seldom simple and usually contentious. This means that the potential for conflict is great, especially if important stakeholders involved in environmental decisions feel estranged from the decision making process.

From the above paragraph it is clear that understanding communities is a critical step in joint decision making. There are numerous benefits from analyzing community readiness for a project, power and leadership. These are presented by Finnegan and Sexton (1999): first community analysis can be used as a type of formative research to assist planners in avoiding major strategy mistakes caused by ignorance of community social and cultural traditions; second analysis can be effective in mobilizing community power and influence to 'empower' communities so that they develop the capacity for coalition building, public participation and consensus-based environmental decision making; and third, community analysis can identify criteria for evaluating outcomes of community-based decisions , and can measure the extent to which these criteria have been achieved. Another advantage identified is the building of trust which provides a platform for constructive dialogue and debate.

### 2.4.2 Environmental Decision Making in Conservation

Conservationists are increasingly aware of the dilemmas for indigenous peoples, discussed above; and yet, considerations of equity and justice remain peripheral in the delivery of national and regional conservation programmes and resources. Langton (2003: 90) believes that "conservation - as a general descriptor of human activities that are intended to mitigate against environmental degradation and biodiversity loss - refers primarily to human decision making about the wise use of resources and

the maintenance of the natural and cultural values of land, water and biota". How humans make decisions however, depends on their cultural, social and economic contexts. As a sphere of human decision making, Langton argues, "conservation cannot be deemed a discrete field because of the relevance of social, cultural, economic and political factors that must be taken into account by any group of decision makers" (Langton, 2003: 91). Today there is a complex mix of conservation, subsistence and development issues that must be taken into account (whether conservationist are happy with this or not).

Another issue with decision making is the differing scales involved in any particular decision. As Dews (1997 in Langton, 2003: 91) notes, indigenous communities tend to make decisions from a local perspective and conservationists and planners are concerned with large-scale even global processes, and believe they are acting on behalf of the entire planet.

Often, the problem with these broad global discourses influencing environmental decisions is that they do not take into account or engage with local conditions or practices of local communities. Zerner (2002: 16) highlights the fact that often, the consequences of these shifting normative ideas being inserted into highly variable local contexts are not taken into account. These global discourses have in the past, resulted in "coercion, political repression or economic injustice or marginalization at the local sites where these agendas are operationalized and enforced" Rather, he advocates the practice of reflexive decision making that take into consideration the rights of those people being affected. Local communities on the other hand, seldom have the power to make decisions that directly affect them, let alone other parts of the world. Local communities within the developing world commonly make decisions concerning their survival. This is their priority - not the conservation of global biodiversity.

A key element of new conservation ideologies is the need for greater public participation in decision making. This new focus ensures that all decision making power is not vested in the state but shared by a number of stakeholders. The following section provides a description of the principles which aim to allow for inclusive public participation within South Africa, allowing the assessment of the environmental decision making and public participation process within the GLTP. Without equitable public participation and environmental decision making, social and environmental justice cannot be achieved.

### 2.4.3   Public Participation Principles in South Africa

With its colonial past, the southern African region has had a relatively brief history of democratic decision making. In South Africa for example, Khan (1998), points out that the history of South Africa has until recently lacked a tradition of democracy and public involvement, especially at the grass roots level. This has resulted in minimal broad based public participation in environmental

decision making. Increasingly, the procedures adopted by state agencies reflect the principles of Integrated Environmental Management (IEM), and the fact that broad based community involvement is essential for responsible and accountable environmental planning and resource management is reflected in the main principle underpinning this approach. This approach contains elements such as: open and participatory planning; consultation of interested and affected parties; informed decision making; accountability; and a democratic regard for individual rights and obligations (Khan, 1998).

Khan (1998) however highlights a number of obstacles which face agencies attempting to implement responsible decision making. These obstacles pertain particularly to the involvement of poor, mainly black communities. Firstly, due to the socio-economic legacy of past apartheid policies, South Africa has inherited a "backlog in the fulfillment of basic needs and services such as housing, water and sanitation" (Khan, 1998: 73). As a consequence, it is inevitable that the poor will focus on issues of survival, with conservation often being perceived as a peripheral issue with little relevance to their daily lives. Secondly, public participation techniques more suited to a first world approach are "applied indiscriminately in poor communities" (Khan, 1998: 73). This impacts negatively by intimidating or antagonising the communities which these techniques are attempting to involve. Some of these inappropriate techniques include: lengthy questionnaires; public documents written in academic or scientific jargon; public meetings held in inaccessible venues or at inconvenient times; public meetings conducted in a language not commonly understood by local communities (Khan, 1998).

Khan (1998) states further that genuine public participation constitutes more than just consultation and needs to incorporate the public as an equal partner in decision making. Local people need to be educated and empowered to participate as partners in the decision making process. Environmental decision makers thus have an obligation and a responsibility to ensure inclusiveness and representivity, as well as meaningful participation by historically disadvantaged communities. This 'true participation' should involve at least some of the key decisions being taken and plans being formulated on the local level.

This new emphasis relates to a recent attempted shift in a democratic South Africa from vertical decision making structures to more horizontal decision making, where a wide range of stakeholders contribute to decision making. According to Scott (1999), this South African change is partly due to the emergence of a global postmodern form of governance as well as constituting a challenge to the centralized decision making processes of the apartheid state. The new approach can be associated with the emergence of the democratic Constitution and discourse of the Reconstruction and Development Programme which emerged in post-apartheid South Africa. This discourse advocates the values of equality, social justice and the redressing of the past as key elements of the development

process (Scott, 1999). Scott (1999) also highlights the importance of conflict resolution mechanisms for successful environmental governance.

Khan (1998) provides broad principles for the successful involvement of disadvantaged communities. First, sensitivity to the legacy of apartheid as well as its continuing impact is necessary. Second, it is important to remember that communities are not homogenous, but diverse entities with a mix of different experiences, opinions and expectations. Hence there is no single correct technique for implementing public participation. Third, public participation techniques should be aimed at ensuring the broadly representative involvement of the local population - hence these should be both appropriate and responsive to local conditions. Finally, it is essential to recognize that public participation techniques, especially those aimed at historically disadvantaged communities, are time consuming hence sufficient time should be allowed to carry out these programmes (Khan, 1998).

It is therefore evident that environmental decision makers should be aware of the socio-political environment when involving communities in planning and development in order to understand what is truly needed as well as what is feasible. A critical component of this would be the inclusion of local knowledge as an alternative resource in decision making. It is against this background that the success of environmental decision making in the GLTP shall be assessed.

2.4.4    Community Conservation and Environmental Decision Making in Southern Africa

The language of democracy and participation has over the last couple of years become very widespread and the need for participatory approaches is being embodied in conservation. This is reflected in IUCN's (1991) statement that "properly mandated, empowered and informed, communities can contribute to decisions that affect them and play an indispensable part in creating a securely-based sustainable society" (Barrow & Murphree, 1997: 6).

One set of approaches formulated in southern Africa (and other developing world contexts) to address the difficulty of ensuring that community voices are heard and listened to in conservation is broadly referred to as "community conservation". Community Conservation can be viewed as a new framework focusing on community-based, decentralized, multi-sectoral natural resource management through the empowerment of local communities and a redefinition of the role of government and various NGOs. It is one of the new approaches to conservation briefly discussed in Section 2.2.2.2 above.

According to the World Bank (1998) community based conservation 'encourages a supportive national and regional policy and legislative base, increases local capacity and management skills and facilitates investment in appropriate responses to natural resource degradation and to meeting basic rural needs

(WWF-SA, 1997, 4). A number of other terms and definitions generally encompass the same elements. Examples of such terms include Community Based Natural Resource Management (CBNRM) and conservation-based community development. According to WWF-SA (1997) the common themes are usually 'natural resource management' by local people and 'direct benefits' to communities. Essentially at the point where development and conservation merge, Community Conservation is aimed primarily at "enabling local people to be the principal actors, 'owners' and beneficiaries of resource use, as well as the main beneficiaries of donor-funded projects and programmes" (WWF-SA, 1997: 4).

Barrow and Murphree (1997) explain how these approaches have been given the umbrella term of 'community conservation' (CC). Terms they identify as having more or less the same meaning include CBNRM, Integrated Conservation and Development Projects (ICDP), Community-Based Conservation (CBC), Community Wildlife Management (CWM), Collaborative (or Co-) Management (CM) and Protected Area Outreach Projects. According to Barrow and Murphree (1997), these terms in their most generic sense represent:

> "a broad spectrum of new management arrangements and benefit sharing partnerships for the involvement in natural resource management by people who are not agents of the state, but who, by virtue of their collective location and activities are critically placed to enhance the present and future status of natural resources, and their own well-being" (Barrow & Murphree, 1997: 3).

While a good one, which links community conservation specifically to environmental decision making, this definition lacks content in terms of concept and practice.

For the purposes of the rest of the discussion, community conservation projects will be referred to as ICDPS. Brown and Wyckoff-Baird (1992) describe ICDPs as 'an attempt to create conditions for the poor to invest in long-term, sustainable exploitation strategies so that they can avoid depleting their resources to survive' (Brown & Wyckoff-Baird, 1992, 4). ICDPs therefore target human populations as primary beneficiaries so that bio-diversity can survive and flourish. In designing an ICDP it is therefore crucial to address both poverty and environmental degradation. A critical review by Wells, Brandon and Hannah (1992 in Brown and Wyckoff-Baird, 1992: 4) defines ICDPS to include "activities in buffer zones, biosphere reserves, small-scale rural development projects on park boundaries, and protected areas included in regional development plans". Clearly, all these projects aim to enhance the conservation of biodiversity in protected areas by focusing on the social and economic needs of people living in nearby communities. In each instance, ICDPs represent "a shift away from traditional approaches to park management, which emphasize patrols and penalties for illegal use, to increased emphasis on promoting the participation of local resource users in conservation activities" (Brown & Wyckoff-Baird, 1992, 4).

A popular component of ICDPS identified by Brown and Wyckoff-Baird (1992: 28) are buffer zones to protected areas. A buffer zone is defined by them as "an area inside or adjacent to a protected area where the harmonious relationship between the natural environment and people is promoted". The objective of buffer zone management is to optimize the political, economic, social, cultural, ecological and intrinsic worth of resources through adaptive management, with fairness to all groups, and allowing for changing values over time. Theoretically, the concept of establishing a zone of limited or non-use around a protected area as a means of reducing human pressures is seen by many as a rational proposition. Problems however emerge due to the over-emphasis given to the physical assets and legal status of buffer zones as a means to protect biodiversity, ignoring the needs and aspirations of resource users living in those zones- little or no attention is usually given to the promotion of development activities in these zones.

Scholars have identified a number of problems with the way in which "community conservation" approaches are often implemented. First, the definition of community is rarely addressed in approaches which seek community involvement in wildlife management. This is due to the fact that the term 'community' is one of the vaguest concepts as no community lives in isolation and communities are dynamic and variable over time. In its study of community approaches to wildlife, the International Institute for Environment and Development (IIED) (1994) points out that the concept can be approached in spatial, socio-cultural and economic terms. Spatially communities can be considered as "groupings of people who physically live in the same place". Socio-culturally they can be considered as "social groupings who derive a unity from common history and cultural heritage, frequently based on kinship". Economically they can be considered as 'groupings of people who share interests and control over particular resources'. Combining these constructs one can derive a model of community as an "entity socially bound by a common cultural identity, living within defined spatial boundaries and having a common economic interest in the resources of this area" (Barrow & Murphree, 1997: 4).

It is for this reason that Brown and Wyckoff-Baird (1992) highlight the importance of *stakeholder analysis*[19]. Local participants in projects are not a homogenous group of community members; rather they differ in terms of 'their access to resources, their use of resources, and their place within the community'. It is therefore essential that "project planners identify and take into account this diversity to ensure that those individuals and groups expected to adopt new behaviors are in fact targeted and participate in the project" (Brown & Wyckoff-Baird, 1992: 1). It should also be understood how

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[19] A stakeholder is an individual or group with a direct interest in the use and management of the natural resource base... Inevitably it may be impractical to include all resource user groups equally in design. Nevertheless, planning should include any groups that are involved in resource management activities within the project area. Ideally, the social and institutional analysis to identify such stakeholders should be done jointly with resource user/owner groups (Brown & Wyckoff-Baird, 1992: 14).

ownership and management rights and responsibilities over resources are differentiated by gender. Strategies should be devised that give priority to addressing the root causes of conflicts between stakeholder groups.

McCracken and Conway (1988 in Brown and Wyckoff-Baird, 1992: 15) provide a definition of Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) as "a systematic yet semi-structured activity carried out in the field by a multi-disciplinary team and designed to acquire new information on and new hypotheses about rural development". PRA is therefore a useful tool for bringing together development needs as defined by community groups and the resources and skills of governments, donors and NGOs.

If carried out properly, PRA offers an alternative to conventional, top-down approaches to rural development. The methodology assumes that:

"a) participation by local people is a fundamental ingredient in successful project planning;

b) locally maintained technologies as well as sustainable economic, political, and ecological systems are essential to reverse environmental decline; and

c) truly sustainable development initiatives must incorporate approaches that local communities themselves can plan, manage and control" (Brown & Wyckoff-Baird, 1992:15).

A second problem associated with the implementation of community conservation projects is that indigenous knowledge is often underestimated or ignored. The incorporation of indigenous knowledge systems is critical to the design of socially sound projects that build upon existing social arrangements, knowledge and skills. Indigenous knowledge relevant to designing an ICDP may consist of "information on specific aspects of resource management, the culture and society of resource users, socio-economic aspects that impact management, trends in natural resources, and the causes behind the trends" (Brown & Wyckoff-Baird, 1992: 18). Further, ICDP staff need to understand a culture's belief system and the relationships between those values and resource management. Brown and Wyckoff-Baird (1992) believe that if the above is undertaken, the project design will have more chance of meeting its conservation and development goals than if it tries to impose externally developed technologies and institutions. An example where indigenous knowledge has been used to aid conservation efforts took place in Kenya as converted poachers were used as trackers and gamekeepers due to their knowledge of the terrain and methods used by poachers. This was discussed in greater detail earlier in section 2.2.1.

In conclusion, participants in the community conservation projects need to perceive themselves as partners in the project and maximizing local responsibility and authority for natural resources generally results in more effective projects. This need for true participation will be discussed in the following section.

## 2.4.4.1 Participation, Partnerships and Responsibility

Perhaps the most important lesson learned in development over the last twenty years is that the failure to equitably involve stakeholders as partners in all phases of project implementation from design through to evaluation has consistently led to disappointing project results. Wells, Brandon and Hannah (1992 in Brown and Wyckoff-Baird, 1992: 15) and other researchers have found that most projects they have reviewed have "involved intended project beneficiaries not as active partners but rather as passive recipients or implementers of others' plans". They argue that "token participation cannot suffice in the design process. Instead, participation includes all relevant stakeholder groups in a way that enables each to perceive a stake in, and the ability to impact, the process".

Participation helps strengthen the capacities of rural people to exercise responsibility for their natural resources but participation varies from being passive at one extreme to self-mobilization at the other (Table 1). Adopting participatory approaches is a powerful tool in planning and implementation but does not itself guarantee equity. Oakley (1991 in Barrow and Murphree, 1997: 7) warns that participation cannot be merely wished upon rural people. Instead "[it] must begin by recognizing the powerful, multidimensional and in many instances, anti-participatory forces which dominate the lives of rural people". In the field of community conservation, different forms of participation are used to different degrees of scale and scope in different types of conservation. These different approaches to participation ultimately relate to the statutory conditions which control access to, ownership and use of conservation resources. The next section discusses the various possibilities in detail.

Table 1: How People can Participate in Development Programmes (Source: Pimbert & Pretty, 1994, Oakley, 1991 in Barrow & Murphree, 1997: 7).

| Participation Typology | Some Components |
|---|---|
| Passive Participation | Being told what is going to happen or already happened. Top-down, information shared belongs only to external professionals. |
| Participation in information gathering | Answer questions posed by extractive researchers- using surveys etc. People not able to influence. |
| Participation by consultation | Consulted and external agents listen to views. Usually externally defined problems and solutions. People not really involved in decision making. Participation as consultation. |
| Participation by material incentives | Provision of resources eg. labour. Little incentive to participate after incentives end eg. some community forestry. |
| Functional Participation | Form groups to meet predetermined objectives. Usually done after major project decisions made, therefore initially dependent on outsiders but may become self-dependent, and enabling. Participation as organization. |
| Interactive Participation | Joint analysis to joint actions. Possible use of new local institutions or strengthening existing ones. Enabling and empowering so people have stake maintaining structures and practices. |
| Self-Mobilisation | Already empowered, take decisions independent of external institutions. May or may not challenge existing inequitable distribution of wealth and power. Participation as empowering. |

## 2.4.4.2 Types of Community Conservation

The elements of community conservation can be varied. They will however include at least local resource users and the conservation resource, be under some form of conservation policy and legislative regime and may also include state conservation authorities. They will have varying institutional arrangements with an equally diverse array of potential levels of participation. Barrow and Murphree (1997) discuss three major forms of community conservation. Each has different tenurial or access regimes with different foci. They identify one dominant[20] and a further five sets of variables which shape the profile of policies, programs and projects that fall under the umbrella of community conservation.

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[20] That being the ownership or tenure of land and resources.

Murphree (1996) highlights the fact that land tenure[21] is a critical factor for conservation, since it determines the linkages between responsibility and authority over land and natural resources and also determines the incentive structures for sustainable use. There are however, two contrasting tenure rules - statutory and customary and these often co-exist, resulting in conflict. This is due to the fact that in terms of tenure, it is questionable whether it is possible to reconcile the interests of the local population and the state, since customary law is largely unwritten and may not coincide with the wider development process.

The three different types of community conservation, based on varying ownership arrangements are discussed below.

a)      Protected Area Outreach

Protected area outreach "seeks to enhance the biological integrity of parks by working to educate and benefit local communities and enhance the role of a protected area in local planning" (Barrow & Murphree, 1997: 12). It is a recent attempt to improve long term conservation goals while addressing some past injustices. It recognizes that the most important shortcomings in the past establishment of protected areas was not geographical or ecological, but human and institutional. Protected areas in Africa were usually established without the participation or consent of local people and many times involved forced removal (West & Brechin, 1991). Few attempts were made to educate people about the importance of an area or alternatively to learn about its importance from the people living there. Further parks were "not established with linkages to local land use plans nor part of a system which provided opportunities for sustainable development" (Adams & Mcshane, 1992). This attitude has started to change as many Africans have started to be viewed as the solution and not the problem.

Community conservation however cannot be simplified to the provision of benefits but has to relate to wider issues of land use and tenure together with local and national needs and aspirations. Protected area outreach provides a number of mechanisms to meet the need for alliances and real partnerships. These seek to: "identify mutual problems of protected areas and local people who live close to that protected area, and solve them in a manner that all benefit; create opportunities and benefit flows, using protected areas as a basis for local people to improve their livelihoods; and resolve conflicts in a mutually agreeable manner" (Barrow & Murphree, 1997: 14). The framework of protected area outreach allows for the protected area to be a nationally gazetted legal entity managed by a state conservation authority (for example national parks), which often forbid any use of conservation resources within the protected area.

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[21] Land tenure refers to the possession and holding of the many rights associated with each parcel of land and its resources (Riddell 1987 in Barrow and Murphree, 1997: 8). Further, any system of land tenure is dependent upon the historical and cultural circumstances within which the given community has evolved.

When protected areas were declared, governments replaced traditional tenure with western ownership. This exclusive ownership led to no community or resource user involvement, or benefit flows except through 'theft' of government assets. Protected area outreach therefore attempts "to introduce the idea of broadening the tenure arrangement, therefore assuming some level of tenure rights for local communities, converted into benefits, while government retains 'legal' ownership" (Barrow & Murphree, 1997: 14). It is clear that conservation objectives are the key management priority and rural livelihoods are of secondary importance as "dialogue, conflict resolution, and forms of benefit sharing arrangements, which do not include use of protected area natural resources, are the major components of outreach" (Barrow & Murphree, 1997: 15). Benefits contribute more indirectly to poverty alleviation through the provision of improved services such as schools, health facilities and water.

Protected area outreach is most developed in East Africa and is institutionally strongest in Tanzania National Parks (Bergin, 1996). An example is provided by Neumann in his paper entitled "Land, Justice and the Politics of Conservation in Tanzania" discussed in Section 2.3.3. above. Neumann's work highlights the fact that, in protected area outreach, communities benefit through the provision of services rather than playing a real role in the management of the national park.

b)      Collaborative Management or Co-Management

Collaborative management[22] "seeks to create agreements between local communities or groups of resource users, and conservation authorities for negotiated access to natural resources which are usually under some form of statutory authority" (Barrow & Murphree, 1997: 12). Although the focus is on protected areas, collaborative management can apply to areas which do not have protected area status and can apply to virtually all types of resources. The important aspect of collaborative management is the shift in balance of tenure rights and ownership in order is to redress the historic shift from customary to state control. A key difference with other forms of community conservation is its relatively high degree of access to benefits and the extent to which a genuine local role in decision making is encouraged and honoured (Borrini-Feyerabend, 1996 in Barrow and Murphree, 1997: 15).

This framework represents an arrangement where a community or group of resource users, and a conservation authority collaborate to jointly manage a resource or an area of conservation value. The resource or conservation area is usually governed by national policy and legal instruments and not

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[22] Collaborative Management is also referred to as co-management, participatory management, joint management, shared-management, multi-stakeholder management or round table management (Borrini-Feyerabend, 1996).

legally owned by individuals or local resource users. Collaborative partnerships negotiate rights and responsibilities and seek to do the following:

> "identify important community resources that were, in one form or other 'illegal' to use. The resource(s) may be in a forest reserve, park or in some way nationally regulated; create a negotiated framework through some form of formal agreement, with agreed rights and responsibilities by all involved stakeholders to use resources or a conservation area 'sustainably'; and establishes local responsibility for the management of such resources so as to achieve conservation as well as community objectives" (Barrow & Murphree, 1997: 15).

Collaborative management refers to arrangements where the resource or land is normally owned by the state and local resource users have negotiated and agreed rights of access. This agreed use or rights in joint protected area planning and management is formalised "through documented agreements, management contracts or memoranda of understanding" (Borrini-Feyerabend, 1996 in Barrow and Murphree: 23). Collaborative management may be chosen for a number of reasons such as "the conservation resource being less critical; or because government capacity to manage the resources is lower; or because government accepts that greater tenure rights exist for local communities and users, whether legally or morally; or a combination of these three factors".

Despite this, collaborative management is still driven by conservation objectives. Management however is focused through sustainable use. This framework recognises that if use of land or resources in part of a nation's conservation heritage contributes to livelihoods or poverty alleviation, the collaborative agreement will be stronger than when benefits do not accrue to the people. This arrangement however is normally confined to those who live relatively close to the protected area.

An example of co-management is provided by Jeffery and Sundar (1999) where they develop a framework to deconstruct and understand potential participatory outcomes of the Joint Forest Management (JFM) programmes between the community and forest bureaucrats in India. The most important aim of this regime is "to break the barrier of mistrust that divides state agencies and user groups, so that local knowledge of the resource and existing social structures can be used to develop more effective strategies for resource use" (Jeffery & Sundar, 1999: 255).

According to Jeffery and Sundar (1999: 260) resource users have been found to formulate and adhere to restrictions on the use of local commons, and co-operative behaviour is observed. One rule identified is to ensure that exclusion, use, management, and access are carried out in a manner consistent with group objectives. Factors that are commonly identified in this literature as creating conditions that are conducive to local-level management of resources include:

1) Perceived benefits from co-operating;
2) Clearly defined rights and boundaries for the resource;
3) Knowledge about the state of the resource;
4) Small size of user group;

5) Low degree of heterogeneity of the user group;
6) Long-term, multi-layered interaction among the community;
7) Simple rules and adaptable management regimes;
8) Graduated sanctions as punishment;
9) Ease of monitoring and accountability;
10) Conflict resolution mechanisms and the role of leadership, and;
11) Influences from the wider political economy

Two types of village communities are identified by Jeffery and Sundar (1999). They argue that collective action is more likely to occur in *homogeneous* groups. They identify three factors that affect the motivation of *heterogeneous* groups in collective action, namely: cultural divisions, different individual interests, and different household endowments. It must be noted that inequality does not always impede collective action, as long as groups have a common interest in maintaining the resource in a healthy state. What is necessary in all co-management projects is the equitable access to the resource.

Existing studies on participation have suggested considerable variations of community-state partnerships, ranging from coercive and manipulative strategies to completely decentralized processes which "involve the substantial devolution of decision-making power and management responsibility" (Jeffery & Sundar, 1999: 274). Varying degrees of success in the implementation of JFM suggests that a simple dichotomy between success and failure may be inappropriate for most joint management regimes. While full equitable participation between local communities and bureaucracy is one possibility, other types of partnerships may exist, and these could be recognized as being partially success along the joint management continuum.

c)      Community Based Natural Resource Management (CBNRM)

CBNRM schemes have "the sustainable management of natural resources through returning control over, or responsible authority for these resources to the community" as their chief objective (Barrow & Murphree, 1997: 13). Within this framework the 'community' has ownership of their resources while the government retains minimal rights. Ownership may be based on western or traditional norms and is vested in the recognized individual or groups. Conservation is therefore undertaken by the people, who are free to manage responsibly in a sustainable and beneficial manner.

CBNRM or community based conservation seeks to: "empower local people to sustainably manage their own resources; create the enabling legal and policy instruments; establish mechanisms for local ownership and responsibility for the process; and ensure that benefits accrue responsibly and equitably" (Barrow & Murphree, 1997: 16). The land either belongs to users (titled) or resource users (customary) but steps should be taken to ensure responsible use so as to prevent problems such as the discounted value or disappearance of wildlife due to active removal, poaching and land use

conversion. Incentives to use and have responsible authority are therefore key concepts. Conservation is usually in reality, a secondary objective and if rural livelihoods is the primary objective, wildlife may disappear and will only really survive where they are of real and substantive value such as economic, cultural or aesthetic.

The example of Zimbabwe is illustrative of an attempt at CBNRM. A change in the philosophical basis of wildlife management came with a new Parks and Wildlife Act in 1975, allowing landholders to manage wildlife for their own benefit in an attempt to encourage wildlife conservation (Furze, De Lacy, Birckhead, 1996). Alexander and McGregor (2000) note that at this stage white commercial farmers were the main group to benefit from this legislation. This however changed in post-colonial Zimbabwe with the passing of the Communal Lands Act in 1982[23]. This legislation "vests ownership of communal lands and resources with the state, and assigns to rural district councils (RDCs) the power to regulate land holding and land use in communal areas under their jurisdiction" (Murombedzi, 2003: 141). According to the Act, access to communal land is in terms of the customary law relating to allocation, occupation and use of the land.

Hill (1996) explains that under CAMPFIRE, all adults in the community become shareholders in the projects. 'Ideally they receive benefits from income, employment and production generated by tourism, ivory culling, meat marketing and problem animal control'. Under the CAMPFIRE programme Hill (1996: 111) identifies three major political benefits to government:

> "First, the legitimate authority of the government in directing conservation would ideally be recognized and respected by the local communities participating in the CAMPFIRE programs. National Parks officials provide guidance to the local wildlife conservation efforts, and distribute profits to them made from wildlife. At the same time, these local wildlife cooperatives would be autonomous in the administration of their own conservation programs.
>
> Second, some measure of earned trust between the local resource committees and the national authorities would develop within a framework based as closely as possible on traditional (pre-colonial) methods of wildlife management.
>
> Third, economic reciprocity would ideally develop between the relevant localities and the national government, since monetary gains that come from locally-culled ivory and hunted animals are returned to the local level after the ivory is auctioned by the national authorities, and trophy fees distributed to the District Councils".

Hill (1996) however questions whether this apparent 'grassroots' conservation programme aimed at decentralization is merely an extension of central state authority and control over rural areas. First he points out that white hunters are the prime group bringing in other white foreign clients to hunt and are therefore the prime generators of revenue for CAMPFIRE. The fact that safari hunting by outsiders is

preferred to subsistence hunting, which is still illegal, indicates that "this aspect of the CAMPFIRE program does not break the [previous] racial patterns evident in hunting and conservation in Rhodesia" (Hill, 1996: 115). He is also critical of local level engagement in the program as 'local group *strength* to engage the state, either nationally or through RDCs, is usually limited to the subservient role of receiving funds". He therefore believes that this "total lack of truly local level interest groups, and the establishment of a district level CAMPFIRE Association interest group, [gives] the state much leeway in further development of CAMPFIRE as a new tax program" (Hill, 1996: 118).

Alexander and McGregor (2000) also explore why a programme filled with such promise went wrong in the case of Nkayi and Lupane districts. They identify two assumptions that the program was based on. Firstly, that "financial returns alone will deliver the desired changes in attitude and practice. The assumption that local communities' hostility to wildlife - historically and at present - lies principally in their exclusion from its economic benefits" and "the assumption that economic returns will solve institutional quandaries" were mistaken (Alexander & McGregor, 2000: 208). It is also highlighted that the people were not directly involved in the decision making over resources, but only indirectly through district councils. The councils were criticized and at the local level their failure to deliver was often blamed at least in part on councilors' corruption and self interest.

Murombedzi (2003) brings attention to the fact that the theory and principles behind CBNRM in Zimbabwe is not always carried out on the ground as communal residents typically do not determine how wildlife is going to be produced and how the benefits generated are to be utilized. "These decisions tend to be made by the RDCs and other outsiders. The level of benefit is thus affected by policy decisions over which the wildlife producers' themselves have little or no control" (Murombedzi, 2003: 142). In addition, communities have to pay a variety of taxes to the district councils for managing their wildlife. They do not have the right to use wildlife, only the right to benefit from the use of wildlife by others. In practice then, "appropriate authority has come to represent the decentralization of authority and control over wildlife only to the statutory land authorities with jurisdiction over communal lands - the RDCs" (Murombedzi, 2003: 142).

Another criticism made by Murombedzi (2003: 142) is that due to the "absence of *formal* resource management institutions in most communities, a significant component of implementing CAMPFIRE has been an institutional development program aimed at creating new forms communal organization for wildlife management" namely, village, ward and district wildlife management committees. The creation of these new formal institutions has ignored the old traditional institutions and "wildlife

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[23] Alexander and McGregor (2003), Murombedzi (2003) and Hill (1996) however still maintain that white safari operators are the main beneficiaries of CAMPFIRE.

management has been completely divorced from other local systems of rights of communal resources" (Murombedzi, 2003: 143). In addition institutional development has not developed into a process of defining local rights over the wildlife resource. Instead most local people continue to view wildlife as a resource belonging to either government or the RDCs. Murombedzi (2003: 144) believes that this is "a huge contradiction in a programme that is supposedly a decentralization programme, creating community forms of resource ownership". Public Participation in CAMPFIRE is viewed by some as nothing more than the acceptance of handouts. Murombedzi (2003: 144) observes that "attempts to entice people's participation in conservation through the distribution of revenues from some forms of resource utilization will not necessarily improve local stewardship of resources".

In conclusion Murombedzi (2003) explains that "in small homogenous communities with access to expansive wilderness, CAMPFIRE has been a phenomenal success in terms of stimulating people to demand more secure rights to the wildlife resources from local authorities" but where wildlife costs continue to be greater than the benefits, management of wildlife will continue to be top down and coercive.

### 2.4.4.3 Additional Variables to Consider in Community Conservation Analysis

The institutionalization of community conservation in Africa today through policies, programs and projects is largely a product of initiatives by international conservation agencies endorsed by state governments, shaped by conservation professionals, and funded by the internationalization of environmental grant sources. Community conservation therefore brings together two sets of social actors whose values, goals and definitions are likely to be very different. Rural farmers and pastoralists value wildlife for their instrumental use and economic implications in the maintenance of their livelihoods whereas conservation agencies emphasize wildlife's intrinsic and aesthetic value and recreational use (Barrow & Murphree, 1997). It is unlikely that community conservation initiatives will be effective unless these differences are recognized and reconciled.

Good wildlife conservation requires political will on the part of government and the people who put it in power (Murphree, 1996). In Africa this political group is broad and dominated by rural land users who are concerned with survival, and for whom the costs of wildlife management are high and the benefits marginal. Unless the costs and benefits are reversed in favour of land users, conservation will continue to suffer. These benefits however need to be tangible and desired by the people; global incentives are insufficient. The question of benefits is a complex one. When looking at the broader picture, conservation value may not be simply one of local land use, but have national and global implications for sustainable conservation of biodiversity. According to Dixon and Sherman (1990), benefits which may accrue from protected area management can be classified into eight areas: recreation, tourism, watershed protection, ecological processes, biodiversity, education and research,

non-consumptive benefits (for example historical and cultural), and future values. Barrow et al. (1995 in Barrow and Murphree, 1997: 7) point out however that the problem with these benefits is that they are not divided among people in a manner proportional to the costs.

As mentioned earlier, a critical policy matter is ownership. One way to increase incentives for community conservation is to grant communities multiple use rights to wildlife. If a government decides to devolve wildlife use rights to communities (which is often not easy for government institutions), then it must "also decide upon the structures and institutions to which these rights should be devolved, the transferability of these rights, and the checks and balances on these rights" (Barrow & Murphree, 1997: 19). Within many countries in Africa there is an increasing political and policy shift to decentralization to a more local level. This means that government should no longer hold the power of command and control. It is evident that when local users gain responsibility and authority they must show that they are capable of managing natural resources in a responsible manner. From a policy perspective, a serious shortcoming from the past and existing community conservation efforts has been that the initiative has been undertaken by donor-funded projects within a tradition of strict preservation and law enforcement.

It is problematic that when considering the process and implementation of initiatives, projects and programmes are generally the principle contexts which bring together local and international incentives for conservation. Implementation however has focused on two cultures. First, the reductionist, bureaucratic and directive approach operating through the project cycle. Second, the incrementalist, personalized and consensual approach operating through adaptation and indeterminate time frames (Murphree, 1998). Changing essentially more preservationist 'military' type state conservation institutions to one of facilitating, sharing power and empowering local communities and resource users has been difficult. Jentoft (1997) states that donors and projects can help facilitate this change through being more innovative and less tied to rigidities of the project cycle which will allow for real institutional learning, and allow for a new focus on experiential adaptation of roles and norms in new and changing circumstances. Related to this are steps being taken to try and create partnerships with mechanisms including dialogue and conflict resolution, benefit flows, enterprise development, and memoranda of understanding to harmonize activities.

In conclusion it is evident that there can be no single common framework for community conservation, but different sets of arrangements suit different tenurial and institutional mechanisms. The three forms of community conservation, though based on tenure as a dominant variable (as discussed earlier), are also influenced by other variables. Different objectives influence the type of tenurial arrangements adopted, which ultimately determine the nature, scale of, and scope for community conservation, as well as the role conservation plays in the landscape, and attitudes held by

land users. Finally, it is evident that conservation objectives are still important but are increasingly embedded in and related to livelihood objectives.

## 2.5    Conclusion

This chapter was divided into two distinct sections. The first section provided a literature review on the development and changes within conservation and national park ideologies in southern Africa. Carruthers (1994) poses the question whether the manner in which, and principles behind the establishment of the KNP will present management problems in the new South Africa. Other case studies on the establishment of national parks within Africa such as Kenya, Egypt and Tanzania are presented by Mackenzie (1988). Current themes in conservation such as human-animal conflict and the global shift towards collaborative management is also reviewed. Lastly, the new ideology of transnational conservation is discussed. This draws on Papers presented at the Parks for Peace Conference held in 2001 including Shine's proposed rationale and benefits. Duffy, (1997) provides challenges facing the implementation and establishment of the GLTP, highlighting the criticism that the superpark concept "follows a traditional pattern of national park development" and Ramutsindela (2002) highlights conditions that finally enabled the adaptation of transfrontier parks in southern Africa.

The last section of this chapter discussed the theoretical tools which will inform the analysis and discussion on the environmental decision making in the GLTP to date. First, the theory on social and environmental justice is discussed. It highlights the rise of environmental racism and subsequently the importance of social and environmental justice. John and Mlay's (1999) elements of successful civic environmentalism is also discussed in order to try and determine whether environmental justice principles are being upheld in the GLTP. This section also draws on top-down approaches that have affected or discriminated against local communities in the past, as well as the role of, and dependency on, aid organisations or donor agencies in development projects in the developing world, as well as unintentional consequences of their involvement. These concepts will allow for the analysis of whether the GLTP does in fact attempt to right the wrongs of environmental discrimination and racism characteristic of past protected area management practices.

Second, environmental decision making in conservation is discussed. Public participation principles presented by Khan (1998) in South Africa will provide a tool in order to determine whether the affected local communities do in fact play an equitable role in the environmental decision making of the GLTP.

Finally, this research will use the framework of community conservation as a 'model' for assessing environmental decision making concerned with social and environmental justice in conservation

projects. The public participation continuum (Table 1) will be used to determine whether local communities are acting as true partners in the GLTP decision making process. Barrow and Murphree (1997) present land tenure as the dominant variable in the analysis of community conservation projects drawing on elements of three models. These include: protected area outreach (evident within Tanzanian national parks and the Kruger National Park); co-management (as developed through joint forest management in India); and community based natural resource management (implemented in Zimbabwe through CAMPFIRE). This and the components of ICDPS presented by Brown and Wyckoff-Baird (1992) will be used to meet objectives of this thesis.

## Chapter 3
## Background to the Study

### 3.1    Introduction

The previous chapter reviewed the new conservation philosophy represented by the move from national parks to transfrontier parks and, more broadly, community-based conservation. It also developed theoretical tools, such as the concepts of social and environmental justice and the principles of public participation within environmental decision making, that will be used to meet the objectives of the study in Chapter 6.

This chapter introduces the reader to some of the key concepts in the study, highlighting distinguishing definitions. It provides a brief account of the development of the Kruger National Park (KNP), transfrontier conservation within southern Africa and more specifically the establishment of the Great Limpopo Transfrontier Park (GLTP). The physical and socio-economic context of the GLTP, with particular reference to the Maluleke community and their successful land claim within the Kruger National Park is also discussed.

### 3.2    Transboundary Conservation in Southern Africa

The transfrontier park or transboundary conservation concept is not new, but it has received importance and widespread attention over the past decade. Initially the primary focus in transboundary conservation was to conserve ecosystems and biodiversity disrupted by political boundaries. This concept has been extended to include a concern for socio-economic development associated with a paradigm shift from state-centered to people-centered conservation. It encourages a variety of stakeholders to play a more proactive role in the management of natural resources. The intention is to encourage the formation of partnerships between different stakeholders such as government departments, the private sector, local communities and non-governmental organizations (NGOS).

In an increasingly globalized world, no nation is a self-contained island. It has been recognized that developing countries in particular need to establish regional partnerships in order to compete effectively in the global market. Tourism is an expanding source of foreign revenue and Southern Africa has great, but under-utilised opportunities in this industry, including a rich biodiversity to

attract foreign tourists (Conceptual Plan for the Establishment of the Proposed GKG Transfrontier Park; Braak, 2002a). Cross-border collaboration is the vision of the Southern African Development Community (SADC), which aims to combine regional initiatives so as to spread economic, social and conservation benefits over the subcontinent.

The SADC's governments have also recognized that peace parks have the potential to promote sustainable economic development, biodiversity conservation and regional peace and stability. One of the specific objectives of the SADC Protocol on Wildlife Conservation and Law Enforcement of 1999[1] is "to promote the conservation of shared wildlife resources through the establishment of transfrontier conservation area (TFCA)" (Africa Geographic, 2003: 68). These TFCA's are being linked to regional economic development in the tourism sector resulting in nodes of rural development and the legitimation of conservation as a valuable land use. With this in mind, the SADC tourism ministers recently commissioned a TFCA feasibility study for their area funded by Peace Parks Foundation (PPF) and the Development Bank of Southern Africa and supported by the Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism (Africa Geographic, 2003). Twenty-two areas, including seven already developed areas were identified. Their locations are depicted on Figure 1. Other than attracting tourists, these areas encompass all the major biomes and eco-regions in SADC, thereby contributing to biodiversity conservation.

Feasibility studies focused on three potential areas, namely Dongola (South Africa, Zimbabwe and Botswana), Gaza (Zimbabwe, Mozambique and South Africa) and Chimanimani (Mozambique and Zimbabwe) (Duffy, 1997). The most ideal area was identified as the Gaza region. Duffy (1997: 444) notes that this "favoured site consists of an enormous tract of land, would incorporate existing conservation areas such as the Maputo Wetlands and Kruger National Park in South Africa, Gonarezhou National Park in Zimbabwe and Banyini National Park in Southern Mozambique" (See Figure 2). This park was also planned to incorporate privately owned conservancies and neighbouring communally owned lands in Zimbabwe. This is the basis of the GLTP as currently conceived.

Conservation benefits provided by the park will include reopening old wildlife migration routes and increasing the genetic diversity within species[2]. The creation of the superpark will give

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[1] Signed in Maputo, by the Heads of State.
[2] Duffy (1997) argues that although ecocentrists may view the superpark as a commitment to bioregionalism and wildlife preservation, it is essentially a proposal based on economic imperatives.

tourists access to the largest wildlife conservation area in Africa, with the aim to generate income in economically depressed areas. Upholding the principles of donors to environment and development initiatives, the World Bank has emphasised the inclusion of local communities as a condition for its support. Participation in the project by local people is viewed as essential for successful wildlife protection as promoters of the superpark believe that through the use of participatory approaches, local people will feel like they have a real stake in protecting wildlife, thereby providing more support to the project. Park plans have tried to address the situation by including provisions allowing communities which border planned parks to "share directly in benefits" (Duffy, 1997: 444).
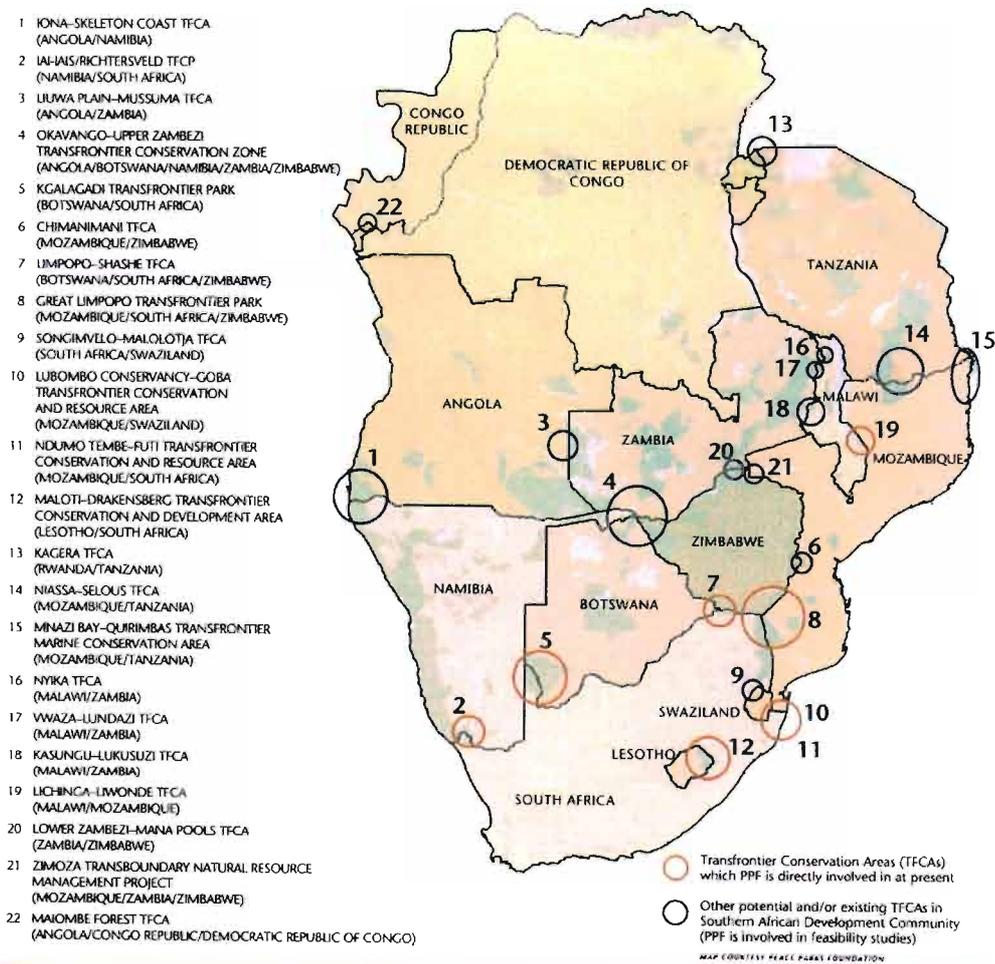


Figure 1: Map showing areas identified in the SADC for TFCAs (Africa Geographic, 2003:69)

There are many terms used when referring to transboundary conservation and this was discussed in detail in Chapter 2. However, it is beneficial at this point to re-distinguish between two terms. A *transfrontier park or peace park* indicates that authorities responsible for areas in which the primary focus is wildlife conservation, and which border each other across international boundaries, formally agree to manage those areas as one integrated unit according to a streamlined management plan. These authorities also undertake to remove all human barriers within the transfrontier park so that animals can roam freely. Alternatively, a *transfrontier conservation area (TFCA)* usually refers to a cross-border region where the component areas have different forms of conservation status, such as private game reserves, communal natural resource management areas, and hunting concession areas. These various areas are typically separated by fences, major roads, railway lines and other natural or human-made barriers. Although these areas which border each other are managed together for long-term sustainable use of natural resources, the free movement of animals between different parts is impossible (Braak, 2002b). Transfrontier parks are thus conceived as more integrated management entities[3] with the primary focus on conservation. TFCAs on the other hand may also focus on issues of rural development as communal areas are incorporated into the management entity.

Although there is no formal law or convention that sets up transboundary protected areas (TBPAs), a number of laws that can play a role in establishment and management have been identified by the International Union for the Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources (IUCN) (2003): international law (binding agreements like multilateral environmental agreements, international customary law, treaties and voluntary agreements; negotiated law (bilateral and multilateral agreements where parties agree to provisions which become enforceable); national policy, law and regulation (these can help create a TBPA but integrating different national legal, administrative and judicial structures can be difficult); sub-national law and regulations (conservation responsibilities are often decentralised so that negotiations are undertaken by provinces or states); local, customary or traditional law (devolution of authority for protected areas can and has be extended to a very local level such as municipalities or villages).

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[3] To illustrate these concepts: the areas included in the Great Limpopo Transfrontier Park (GLTP) are the Kruger National Park in South Africa, Limpopo National Park in Mozambique and the Gonarezhou National Park in Zimbabwe. Alternatively, areas included in the Great Limpopo TFCA include the three national parks mentioned above, plus the Sengwe Communal land in Zimbabwe, and Zinave and Banhine National Parks in Mozambique (these area are not directly adjacent the GLTP but will be managed in a similar manner). See Figure 2.

The first transfrontier park in Southern Africa was declared in the year 2000 by the Presidents of Botswana and South Africa- creating the Kgalagadi Transfrontier Park. This park has existed informally however, since 1948 through a verbal agreement between South Africa and Botswana. It consists of the Gemsbok National Park in Botswana and the Kalahari Gemsbok National Park in South Africa, which has since been extended to include the Mabusehube Game Reserve, situated on the south-western side of Botswana. It currently covers an area of 37 991 square kilometers and land belonging to the San bushmen is still to be joined as a contractual park.

## 3.2.1   The Establishment of the Great Limpopo Transfrontier Park and Organisations Involved

The broad transfrontier conservation concept in Mozambique, South Africa and Zimbabwe dates back to 1938 when a Portuguese ecologist, Gomes de Sousa proposed that the Mozambican colonial administration negotiate with the neighbouring states to establish transfrontier parks (Braak, 2002a). According to Ramutsindela (2002) the proposal was later endorsed by the then South African Defence Force (SADF) under the leadership of Colonel Gert Otto. Otto hoped to use Renamo contacts to secure support for the proposal. A corporation called the Mozaic Mission was set up with the objective of "stabilizing the area next to the Kruger National Park, generating profits that would help reduce expenditure by the SADF and to provide intelligence to the security forces" (Ramutsindela, 2002: 8). This proposal was however rejected due to political factors and conflicts of interest over land on both sides of the international boundaries. The concept has therefore been evolving for approximately six decades but for a different purpose – to promote peace. Local conservationists have long fostered the peace parks ideal, but it was rejected for many years due to continuing political tension and war in the sub-continent. Political changes, the emergence of new conservation policies, growing poverty experienced in the region and the private sector's interest in biodiversity conservation did however lead to the revival of the proposal in 1990 (Ramutsindela, 2002).

Despite its eventual implementation, many problems still face the GLTP. According to Ramutsindela (2002), the proposal for the GLTP was welcomed in South African conservation circles. The SANP, for example favoured this plan, as it would relieve the elephant population pressure experienced in the KNP. The first relocation into Mozambique, which took place on 4th October 2001, was used as a marketing scheme. Valli Moosa, the South African Minister of Environmental Affairs and Tourism, made a speech invoking memories of colonization to emphasise change and the new progressive spirit embodied in these conservation schemes, and former president Nelson Mandela was present as a patron of the new park.

Other problems have been created by the unstable relationship with neighbouring partners. Zimbabwe was reluctant to agree to joint authority over an area of their territory and the history of poaching and unrest in the area where Zimbabwe, South Africa and Mozambique meet has given rise to security concerns. Duffy (1997) explains that Zimbabwe has never favoured the South African Defense Force's (SADF) involvement in anti-poaching since the 1980s[4] and considering the recent civil war in Mozambique, Zimbabwe doubts its ability to protect and conserve wildlife. Another reason for the government's reluctance is that the Mozambican part of the proposed park still contains people who will have to be disarmed or moved. Duffy argues that the image of poachers shared by the Zimbabwean government and western conservation organizations is of "greedy, poor and black Mozambicans and Zambians assisted by the corrupt practices of their post-independence governments" (Duffy, 1997: 495). Yet, internal poachers, especially in Gonarezhou are still active. Duffy (1997) believes that "an increase in tourist traffic in the area known as the 'crooks corner' (where the borders of Zimbabwe, South Africa and Mozambique meet) would constrain continued opportunities to poach.

In addition the conditions in Mozambique- "incompatible land use, inadequate law enforcement, depleted wildlife, land mines, widespread poverty and poor infrastructure" (Ramutsindela, 2002: 13) are noted as main obstacles. Concern is also expressed about the fact that the Mozambican government has still not resolved the issue of people living within the area to be incorporated into the park:

> "[the] fate of these inhabitants will be a tacit test to the pretensions of the propagandists of the schemes- they claim that communities will not be removed to give way to the new parks. Both government officials and conservationists have been silent about the impending forced removal of communities in Mozambique, mainly because of efforts to market the new schemes as humane as opposed to the chequered history of national parks." (Ramutsindela, 2002: 13).

Another problem is the lack of references made by officials about the difficulties Zimbabwe has presented in the establishment of the GLTP. Obstacles are referred to in general terms as "a lack of conveniently-located border crossings, wildlife diseases, high summer temperatures and the spread of malaria" (Ramutsindela, 2002: 14). This could be due to the reports of notorious land invasions and extensive poaching occurring in Zimbabwe- in close proximity to the Gonarezhou National Park.

In South Africa problems occur in "harmonising the interests and roles of different government departments involved in the area" (Ramutsindela, 2002: 14) such as the Department of Defence

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[4] The SADF used poaching as part of their destabilization campaign (Duffy, 1997).

(concerned with security issues on the South Africa-Mozambican border[5]), and the Department of Land Affairs reluctant to participate in the project. The Makuleke Land Claim in 1996 discussed below was also seen as a threat to the proposed scheme.

Getting started with TFCA's requires early establishment of cross-border working groups addressing technical, social and legal issues as well as synchronizing the programs of the project. Working groups need to form strong partnerships and identify ways to actively involve local stakeholders and to encourage political and financial support (IUCN, 2003). The following paragraphs discuss the main role players- international and local organizations- involved in catalyzing the process for the establishment of the GLTP.

In May 1990 Dr Anton Rupert, president of the World Wide Fund for Nature (WWF) in South Africa met Mozambican president Joaquim Chissano in Maputo to discuss the possibility of a permanent link between some of the protected areas in southern Mozambique and adjacent counterparts in South Africa, Swaziland and Zimbabwe. Dr Rupert, also described as "the doyen of the Afrikaner business community", also launched the PPF. The aim of the Peace Parks Foundation is "to facilitate the establishment of the TFCAs in the SADC supporting sustainable economic development, the conservation of biodiversity, and regional peace and stability" (Van Riet, 2002:3).

As a result of the meeting, WWF in South Africa was requested to carry out the relevant feasibility study, which was completed and submitted to the Government of Mozambique in September 1991. Subsequently, Mozambican ministers requested further assessments with the aid of the Global Environment Facility (GEF) of the World Bank. Assistance was granted and the GEF conducted feasibility studies that examined the ecological, socio-economic and political feasibility of the initiative. Recommendations were released in 1996. According to van Riet (2002), the report suggested an important conceptual shift away from the idea of strictly protected national parks towards greater emphasis on multiple resource use by local communities. On 10th November 2000, an international agreement was signed between the governments of South Africa, Mozambique and Zimbabwe agreeing to engage in the process which would lead to the establishment of the Gaza-Kruger-Gonarezhou (GKG) Transfrontier Conservation Area (Braak, 2000). Subsequently, the Great Limpopo Transfrontier Park (GLTP) which spans an area of 35 383 square kilometres was proclaimed through a Tri-lateral Treaty by the three Heads of State of

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[5] Objections to the GLTP included the fear that "the project will open flood gates for Mozambicans who will destroy wildlife and bring crime into South Africa" (Ramutsindela, 2002: 9).

the countries involved at Xai-Xai in Mozambique in December 2002. As shown in Figure 2 below, this peace park comprises the Kruger National Park (KNP) and the Makuleke Region (administered as part of the Kruger National Park which was proclaimed in 1926 in South Africa), Coutada 16 Wildlife Utilization Area in Mozambique (a former government hunting concession area), and the Gonarezhou National Park proclaimed in 1972.
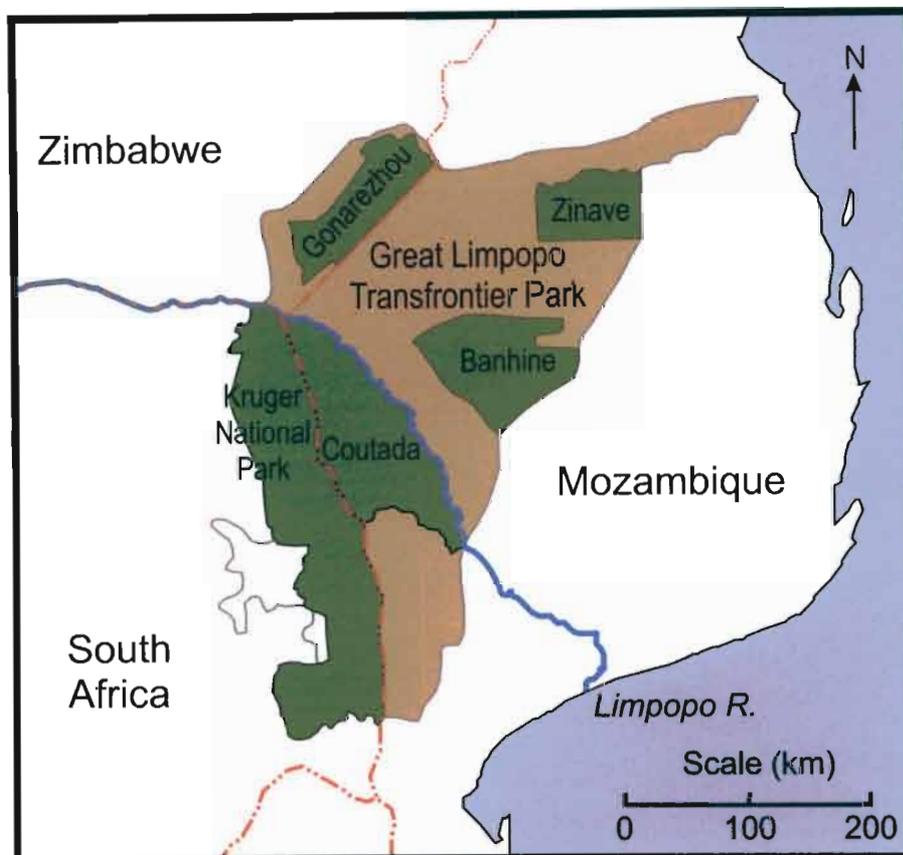


Figure 2: Map showing areas included in the GLTP (Braak, 2002)

The objectives of the creation of the GLTP stated in the Tri-nation agreement (2002: 3) are the following:

> "to *foster transnational collaboration and co-operation* among the Parties in implementing ecosystem management through the establishment, development and management of the Transfrontier Park; to *promote alliances in the management of biological natural resources* by encouraging social, economic and other partnerships among the parties, private sector, local communities and non-governmental organisations (NGOs); *to enhance ecosystem integrity* and natural ecological processes

by harmonising environmental management procedures across international boundaries and striving to remove artificial barriers impeding the natural movement of animals; to develop frameworks and strategies whereby *local communities can participate in, and tangibly benefit from, the management and sustainable use of natural resources* that occur within the Transfrontier Park; to facilitate the establishment and maintenance of a *sub-regional economic base* by way of appropriate development frameworks, strategies and work plans; and to develop *trans-border ecotourism* as a means for fostering regional socio-economic development".

The authorities responsible for the implementation of the agreement are: the DirecV âo Nacional de Florestas e Fauna Bravia through the Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development in Mozambique; the South African National Parks (SANParks, formerly the National Parks Board) through the Ministry of Environmental Affairs and Tourism (DEAT); and the Department of National Parks and Wildlife Management through the Ministry of Environment and Tourism (Tri-nation Agreement, 2002).

On the South African side, three organisations operate at different levels according to a tri-lateral agreement. DEAT provides policy direction and guidance on the TFCA process from a South African perspective and represents the South African Government, in other words, the political side of the transfrontier park. SANparks is a semi-state organisation which acts as the implementing agent for the GLTP activities carried out in national parks. Peace Parks Foundation (PPF) is an independent non-profit section 21 company that acts as the regional catalyst of the global initiative and is responsible for promoting the objectives of the new park. The overall mission of the foundation is "to facilitate the establishment of transfrontier conservation areas in the SADC supporting sustainable economic development, the conservation of biodiversity; and regional peace and stability" (Van Riet, 2002: 3).

The first significant step the Mozambican government took towards opening the GLTP was the proclamation of Coutada 16 as the Limpopo National Park (LNP), an area of more than 10 000 square kilometers, in November 2001 (KfW, 2002). This event intended to assist in streamlining the integration of that portion of land with Kruger and Gonarezhou National Parks. Planning and development of the LNP is a joint effort by the German development bank called German Kredietanstaldt fur WiederAufbau (KfW), the Mozambican conservation authorities, and the PPF. The Project Implementation Unit (PIU) of the PPF, consisting of a project manager, park warden, financial officer, community officer, wildlife relocation officer and an interim project implementor are responsible for the administration and running of the park (Van Wyk, 2003).

Two members from the Mozambican Ministry of Tourism will also oversee the administration of the LNP as part of the signed agreement. The German government has, through KfW, made an initial grant of approximately 6 million Euros towards the development of the Limpopo National Park. Other donors supporting the project include the World Bank, USAID and IUCN (Braak, 2001).

The African Wildlife Foundation (AWF) has been involved in community conservation since the early 1980s. The objectives of the foundation's work in Africa include:

> "working with local governments and people to develop detailed conservation plans; strengthening the infrastructure and management of national parks and game reserves; identifying and securing wildlife migration corridors, water sources and other critical resources; working with rural communities to manage their land and wildlife resources; providing technical assistance and capital to local communities so that they can engage in wildlife-related enterprises, such as eco-tourism, to improve their livelihoods; working with private sector to harness their ideas and resources; ongoing research and monitoring" (Africa Geographic, 2003: 33).

The National Directorate of Conservation (DNAC) recognizes that community participation is one of the key ingredients for the successful implementation of the GLTP. It has therefore developed Terms of Reference for the development and implementation of a community based natural resource management (CBNRM) action plan to make sure communities derive tangible benefits from the GLTP. The AWF is responsible for the implementation of this plan. GFA Terra systems, a German consultancy have also been involved in community consultation in the GLTP.
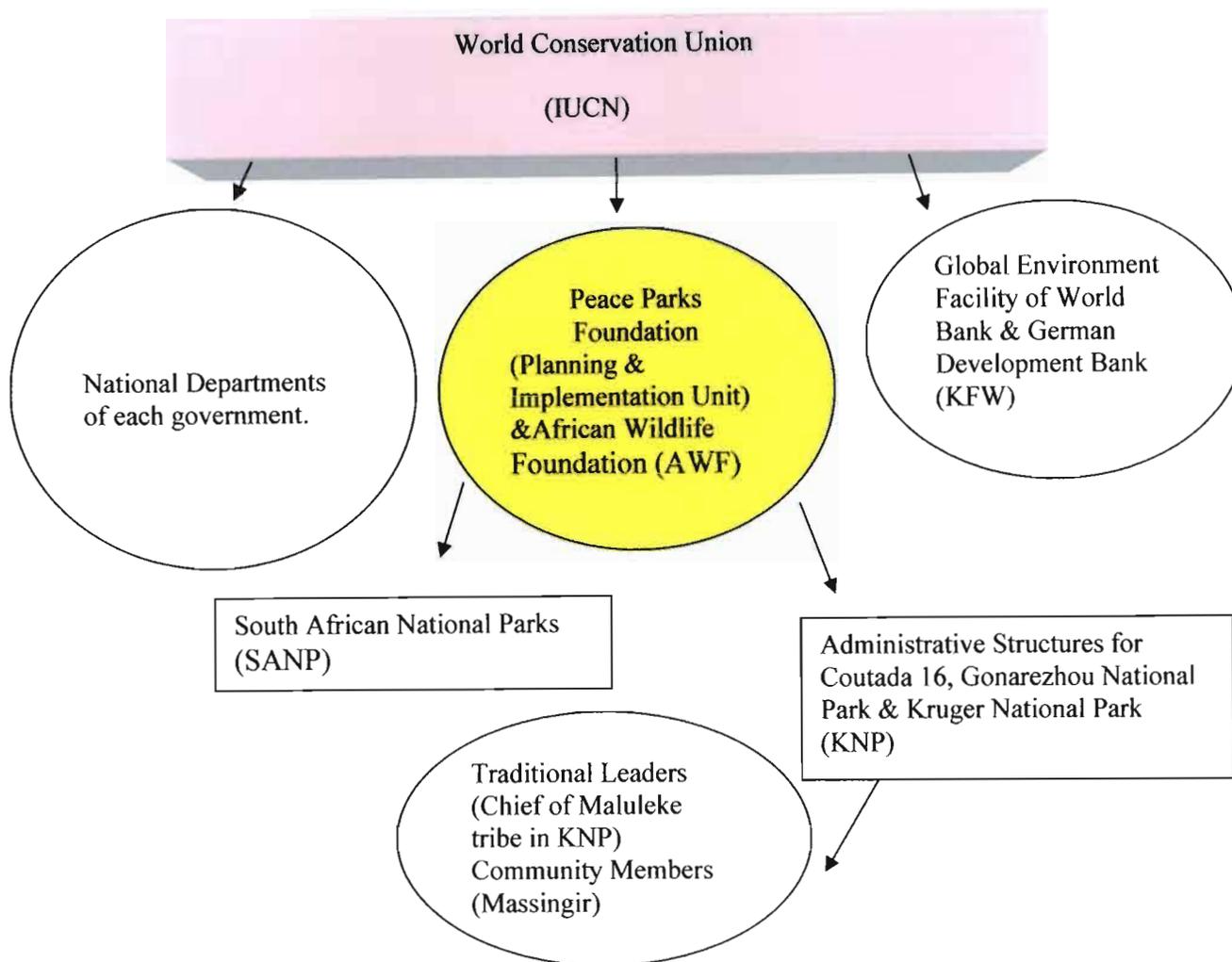
Figure 3: Proposed Decision Making Hierarchy for the GLTP (Source: Dyll, 2002)

This decision making hierarchy was compiled using preliminary information gathered in order to understand who the main role players in the development of the GLTP are and the way in which they interact at different levels. Figure 2 depicts a conceptual understanding of how decisions are made regarding the park. It provides the basis for the way in which this research was approached.

3.3 Biophysical Features of the GLTP

3.3.1 Landscape

The GLTP is an extensive area of essentially flat savanna. These lowland plains are bisected in a north-south direction by the Lebombo mountain range. Lowland plains in Mozambique rise to about 450 metres above sea-level in the KNP. This area is drained by four river systems flowing

from west to east, namely the Save, Limpopo, Olifants and Komati Rivers. Each of these riverine courses have distinctive ecosystems associated with them. Temperatures are mild in winter and summers are hot with daily temperatures averaging in the thirties centigrade. The area is therefore generally dry with a rainy season in summer. Average rainfall is approximately 550 mm per annum (Braak, 2002a).

According to Braak (2002a) several vegetation communities exist. Mopane woodland and shrubveld communities feature in the northern and western parts of the Transfrontier Park. Two types of Mopane stands prevail: vast stretches of mopane shrubveld, and more localised areas of tall mopane forest usually associated with hilly landscapes. Although these communities are often regarded as poor game-viewing habitat, they are used by a wide range of animal, bird and invertebrate species and are thus important components of the ecosystem. Elephant and buffalo populations, for example, thrive in this habitat. Mixed Bushveld communities dominated by *Acacia nigrescens,* occur mainly in the southern half of the Transfrontier Park. These habitats form prime game-viewing areas within the KNP and potentially Mozambique. They have large herds of zebra, wildebeest, buffalo, giraffe, impala, and to a lesser extent rhino and elephant, associated with them. Sandveld areas occur mainly within Mozambique and include a diverse range of plant species. This makes them important areas for biodiversity conservation. Certain species of mammals, such as the springhare, and birds confine themselves to this habitat. They are also the only places in which very rare species of fish are found such as the lungfish and killifish. Tall riverine woodland exists along most river courses in the KNP and Gonarezhou and to some extent, the Mozambican portion of the GLTP. Although only a narrow band rarely exceeding 150 metres in width on each bank, these riverine forests represent a diverse and specialized habitat or refuge for many mammals such as elephant shrews, nyala, bushbuck and hippo, and birds (Braak, 2002a).

3.3.2    Species Diversity and Endemism

The KNP on its own is one of the major areas of vertebrate diversity in southern Africa. A total of 147 species are known to inhabit this area (none of these are endemic). The KNP is one of the few protected areas in southern Africa capable of maintaining a natural large carnivore/prey system. This is likely to be enhanced once the whole TFCA is in place (Van Riet, 2002). Significant populations of mammals include 1 500 lion, 2 000 spotted hyena, 8320 elephants, 32000 zebra, 2200 hippos, 5000 giraffe, 1500 warthog, 16640 buffalo, 3500 kudu, 1500 waterbuck, 14000 blue wildebeest and over 100 000 impala. Other ungulates include: eland,

nyala, bushbuck, steenbok, mountain reedbuck, Sharpe's grysbok, klipspringer, red duiker and common duiker. There are18 Red Data Book mammal species in the KNP alone. It is however feared that the unfortunate increase in tuberculosis due to *Mycrobacterium bovis* in buffalo and several other mammal species could delay the implementation of the TFCA (Van Riet, 2002).

Currently the KNP is also one of the last areas anywhere in the world to accommodate significant and viable populations of Wild Dog *Lycaon pictus*. There are 300 in total. The population of 3000 white rhino *Ceratotherium simum* present in the KNP is the biggest anywhere in the world, while the 300 black rhino *Diceros bicornis* is the second largest population. Both these species are increasing steadily and increased range opportunities into Mozambique and Zimbabwe will enhance the conservation of these threatened animals as well as the endangered wild dogs. A number of rare antelope species representing unique gene pools are also largely localized in the TFCA. These include roan antelope *Hippotrgus equines*, sable *Hippotragus niger*, and tsessebe *Damaliscus lunatus* (Braak, 2002a).

The Gonarezhou National Park has a similarly diverse vertebrate fauna, although the total number of species and individuals is lower. Elephants and several species of ungulates formerly moved freely between South Africa, Mozambique and Zimbabwe before fences divided the area. The many years of civil war in Mozambique coupled with recent droughts and a lack of management capacity has resulted in the decimation or complete elimination of most of the large and medium-sized mammals in wildlife reserves and national parks. The extent of the decline is difficult to determine because no systematic survey has been carried out in these parts of Mozambique for over twenty years (Van Riet, 2002).

As already mentioned, the plant life of the TFCA is equally as diverse, varying from tropical to subtropical with some temperate forms occurring at higher altitudes. At least 2000 species of vascular plants have been recorded, none of which are exclusive to the area (Van Riet, 2002).

Forty-nine species of fish are known to occur in the area. Three species deserve special conservation status because of their rarity and limited distribution. These are the two seasonal pan inhabitants *Nothobranchius orthonotus* and *Nothobranchius rachovii*, as well as the lungfish. Thirty-four species of amphibia have been recorded in the area. The sandveld Pyxie *Tomopterna krugerenis* was discovered within the KNP and its main area of distribution is within the Transfrontier Park, although some have been recorded in KwaZulu-Natal. At least 116 species of

reptile are known to occur in the Transfrontier Park area. The two endemic species include the blue-tailed sandveld lizard and De Coster's spade-snouted worm lizard. A total of 505 species of birds are known in the KNP, none of which are endemic. A small number of additional species is likely to be present in the Mozambican and Zimbabwean portions of the park.

## 3.4    Socio-Economic Status of GLTP

This section gives a description of the social and economic conditions of the study area as well as the demographics and current land-use.

### 3.4.1    Areas with National Park Status

On the South African side all the areas proposed for inclusion into the GLTP and GKG Transfrontier Conservation Area are formally proclaimed state conservation areas or private game reserves. Here, there are high standards of wildlife conservation, infrastructure, legislation and human resources to support the conserved areas (Braak , 2002a). The KNP is one of the most intensively managed national parks in southern Africa, which prioritizes wildlife conservation and tourism. An extensive and well-developed tourism infrastructure exists within the KNP. This includes twenty-five rest camps providing 4 056 beds as well as 405 caravan or camping sites. These are complimented by more up-market accommodation provided in the numerous private conservation areas adjoining the park (Van Riet, 2002). Critics argue however, that socio-economic benefits to surrounding rural communities have not been optimized in the past. The GLTP is intended to provide opportunities for changing this characteristic.

In areas on the Zimbabwean side[6] of the GLTP, wildlife conservation and sustainable resource use has taken place in the form of the proclaimed Gonarezhou National Park, private game ranches or conservancies, and areas subject to community based natural resource management not formally designated as wildlife protection areas through the CAMPFIRE program. Isolation of the south-eastern corner of Zimbabwe from the main tourist routes provides an area with unexploited tourism potential. This would be improved if direct access by road could be established with the KNP across the Limpopo. Facilities are generally less developed in Gonarezhou National Park with just one rest camp providing 21 beds, and a small number of

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[6] Zimbabwe has the fastest shrinking economy in the world. This declining economy is driven by President Mugabe's short-sighted government policies and widespread political violence, reflecting the government's reluctance to accept the reality of a popular opposition party. The tourism, manufacturing and mining sectors have been particularly devastated, and farming has almost come to a stand still due to conflict over commercial farmland and violence in the rural areas. This political instability has resulted in approximately 65 percent of the population being unemployed (Nohr, 2004).

camping sites. It is planned that an investment program to rehabilitate infrastructure such as roads, housing, electricity, water supply and telecommunications will be implemented to enhance the attraction and accessibility of the area (Braak, 2002a).

In Mozambique, civil war during the 1970s and 1980s disrupted previous conservation areas, leading to large-scale destruction of wildlife and a collapse of the associated tourism industry. Basic habitats however still exist and the area proposed for the GKG Transfrontier Conservation Area has great potential for successful re-introduction of wildlife and the establishment of eco-tourism ventures. Currently, the dominant form of land use on the Mozambican side of the GLTP is subsistence agriculture and limited raising of livestock. The potential for sustainable agriculture is low however, due to semi-arid zones, typified by poor soil except for alluvial soil along the major rivers systems, and unpredictable rainfall. Harvesting of trees for commercial timber, charcoal, firewood and building poles is another major land use. Subsistence hunting and fishing also occur along the Limpopo, Olifants and Save Rivers.

With 72% of the GKG Transfrontier Conservation Area to be located in Mozambique, considerable investment is required in infrastructure development and capacity building before the area can realize its potential. In addition, with the removal of the fences from the eastern boundary of the KNP, there will be a gradual and natural restocking of mammals in the areas immediately adjacent to the park[7] (Van Riet, 2002). Viable opportunities are therefore seen to exist for the establishment of the GLTP and for the simultaneous launching of Community Based Natural Resource Management (CBNRM) projects in the core protected areas and surrounding communities. This is a priority according to the Conceptual Plan (2002).

3.4.2   Communities of the GLTP and Their Recent History

3.4.2.1  Kruger National Park

As has been discussed, it is evident that conservation is not independent from local and global politics and trends. Carruthers (1994) uses the example of the Kruger National to argue that nature protection is totally enmeshed in national politics. She argues that Paul Kruger's association with the cause of conservation and the founding of the KNP is a successful myth as it is, in essence a simple anecdotal story: "forces of 'good against those of 'evil', opposition

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[7] During fieldwork, it was observed that this removal of the fence has not yet occurred and animals were translocated or transported into the LNP.

overcome by a strong hero ahead of his time and, an appeal of patriotism and nationalism and a direct, unchanging link between past and present" (Carruthers, 1994: 265).

Adams (2003) also recognizes the role of nationalism in the creation of national parks. As he notes, the importance of national political identity is well demonstrated by the creation of the Kruger National Park in 1926:

> "Jane Carruthers (1994; 1997) describes how the mostly English-speaking advocates of the park successfully linked the memory of Boer leader Paul Kruger to the history of the game reserves from which the park was created. In fact, he was no enthusiast for preservation; but by implying that the idea was his, the park's future was well secured. Indeed ironically, it became a shrine to Boer nationalism. This may be a special case, but many protected areas in former colonial territories exist because they served a political purpose" (Adams, 2003: 40).

Carruthers' research is important to look at in more detail. Carruthers (1994: 268) points out that the "first state game reserve in the Transvaal was a political measure rather than the culmination of a long personal struggle by its president to conserve the wildlife of the republic". The first recorded occasion where Paul Kruger made public his views on wildlife protection in the Volksraad was in 1884 where he opposed the petitions requesting more stringent hunting laws. He also went against the Volksraad during the rinderpest in 1896 by abolishing all hunting legislation and providing ammunition for the poor to acquire food. Three years later, in 1889, Kruger argued for wildlife protection on government land in order to prevent the extermination of wildlife and ensure their survival. The political issue involved in this decision was the government's desire to control the allocated game reserve area. The Sabi Game Reserve, now, the Kruger National Park was proclaimed in March 1898.

Game reserves and wildlife protectionist legislation was, from the start "rooted in separationist ideology" (Carruthers, 1994: 270) as legislation was enacted to reduce African access to wildlife as a result of diminishing herds. In addition, restrictions were imposed on firearm and dog ownership, and the trapping and killing of wildlife which had damaged crops was banned. Further, with the colonial government clarifying the purpose of game reserves as "sanctuaries in which game could recover from the depredations of the nineteenth century" (Carruthers, 1994: 271) and subsequent sport hunting activities, Africans were not included as partners, but were used for labour and became squatters on crown land. Africans could not continue their traditional subsistence lifestyle in conserved areas.

The name Paul Kruger only became important when the consolidated game reserves were elevated to national park status in 1926. Carruthers (1994) provides three reasons for the proclamation of a national park. The first was to ensure legal stability by national legislation to preserve and develop the reserve. And the second was due to a change in nature conservation philosophy, from sport hunting to wildlife viewing- national parks as tourist destinations. She also believes that the political, social and economic situation of South Africa at the time was ideal for the establishment of a national park, which could serve as a "symbol of cultural unity concentrated around a particular South African asset: wildlife" (Carruthers, 1994: 272). It was at this time that the name of Paul Kruger was invoked in order to encourage Afrikaans-speaking South Africans of all classes to support the scheme. Carruthers (1994: 272) states that the "time was ripe, too, to resuscitate Paul Kruger's memory because interest in Voortrekker culture and sentimental attachment to the past had become wide-spread in the mid-1920s…These constructs to forge a cultural identity for Afrikaners after more than two decades of imperial rule were enthusiastically adopted by politicians, for they attracted Afrikaners to the National Party".

Carruthers (1994: 271) identifies two factors for the support of English-speaking game protectionists in honoring Paul Kruger in this way: "First, it was an easy ploy to ensure Afrikaner endorsement for the scheme. Second, there was a strong desire at this time to weld English and Afrikaans-speakers- for so long enemies- into a South African 'nation'".

The Paul Kruger nature-conservation myth was developed rapidly from 1948 as the popularity of the national park facilitated its exploitation for political advantage. Carruthers (1994) notes that the National Parks Board[8] received increased financial and state aid from 1948 to endorse certain aspects of government policy by using Paul Kruger as a symbol. It was beneficial to depict the creation of the park as independent and Caruthers (1994) found that the National Parks Board history emphasised that no international agency was involved in the Sabi Game Reserve. Highlighting Kruger's role helped "denigrate Smuts for his international connections" (Carruthers, 1994: 277). Despite this desire to be seen independent from the rest of the world, the Kruger National Park and associated nature conservation allowed for international respectability. The aim of the National Parks Board was to give South Africa- facing increasing international isolation due to her racial policies- a place within the conservation community by "portraying

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[8] A non-political statutory body comprising state, provincial and private wildlife protection interests established in 1926 to oversee and regulate all aspects of South African national park policy (Carruthers, 1994).

Kruger as an early conservationist, and (incorrectly) as the founder of the second oldest national park in the world" (Carruthers, 1994: 278).

The National Party's rejection of internationalism but need for recognition formed part of its principal aim for establishing a republic (in 1960). By commemorating traditions of the past a direct political continuity between the past and present republic was made. The fact that present "South Africans were all the 'heirs of Paul Kruger' whose national park was founded for the 'benefit of the nation'" (Carruthers, 1994: 279) allowed for a fresh spirit of cohesion and patriotism. Carruthers (1994: 279) explains that "[e]quating 'the nation' with 'Paul Kruger' meant that patriotism and support for republicanism, Afrikaner traditions, apartheid and ultimately all policies of the government in power came to coincide".

With this in mind, it is interesting to note that the most fundamental platform of National Party policy has been apartheid and Africans have been traditionally regarded by whites as intruders and destroyers of the environment, which deserved European custodianship. In 1949, the first concern of the new Minister of Lands, Strijdom, was to ensure that the National Parks Board would uphold and extend apartheid (Carruthers, 1994). He suggested that "the Kruger National Park be dismembered or partitioned by setting aside a portion for exclusive 'non-white' use" and the Board in "1952 made the more concerted effort to rid the park of its few remaining African residents" (Carruthers, 1994: 281).

Carruthers (1994) gives an account of how the Makuleke community was affected by these developing ideologies associated with national parks. The area between the Pafuri and Limpopo Rivers was coveted by the Kruger National Park authorities due to two reasons: first, its rich riverine vegetation and second, the fact that it was viewed as a 'danger spot' as the Makuleke community practiced agriculture and hunting activities in close proximity to the park. The National Parks Board therefore proposed the removal of this community (Carruthers, 1994). For many years, the Native Affairs Department opposed the Board on this issue. Although removal did not take place at that time[9], the Board and provincial authorities "in 1933, by proclamation, declared the district as the Pafuri Game Reserve, placing it under National Parks Board control" and as a result the "Makuleke's location was surrounded by the reserve, although excluded from it" (Carruthers, 1994: 275).

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[9] A dry piece of land which was not as agriculturally viable was offered in exchange and the Makuleke remained on their ancestral land up until 1948 (Carruthers, 1994).

According to Carruthers (1994) these "African squatters" were not allowed to walk on public roads and were considered to be either 'poachers' or 'police boys'. This discriminatory treatment eroded further, the relations between white and black[10] South Africans, and their experience of nature. As mentioned earlier, efforts were made from 1952 to remove the presence of local communities in the Kruger National Park. The Makuleke community was affected by the National Parks Board's plan to evict African landowners. Given little help by the National Party Native Affairs Department, the "Makuleke community lost the struggle to retain their land, and in September 1969 were re-located to a 'homeland' in Ntlaveni area which had been excised from the Kruger National Park for use by the Makuleke people" (Carruthers, 1994: 282). The Pafuri Game Reserve was incorporated into the park.

Carruthers, writing in 1994, concludes by discussing the fact that the change to a new democratic South Africa and the associated new ideology behind conservation would force Kruger National Park to rethink and re-evaluate its principles. In order to survive "the National Parks Board will have to take account of historical factors other than Paul Kruger" and "come to appreciate the need to have black opinion on its side" (Carruthers, 1994: 283). She suggests that the perception of the Kruger national Park as an Afrikaner nationalist creation, characterized by African dispossession and subjugation, "may mean that justification for the park's continued existence will require a new history, perhaps even a new myth". The subsequent successful land claim has proved her correct

In South Africa in 1995, the Maluleke people lodged a successful land claim for land comprising about 250 square kilometers in the northern section of the KNP between the Luvuvhu and Limpopo Rivers. The claim was on the grounds that 15 000 people were deprived of their land rights based upon discriminatory legislation, as they were removed with force and without adequate compensation for land and possessions lost (Magome & Murombedzi, 2003). When the land restitution commission confirmed the validity of the claim, SANParks opposed it but political pressure existed for the claim to be settled. Magome and Murombedzi (2003: 111)

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[10] Although apartheid-era racial classifications area a social construct with no objective significance, the legacies of apartheid and the correlation between race and class in South(ern) Africa are such that racial classification remain an integral part of political analysis in the region. In this research, the terms "black" and "white" are utilized – the former referring to predominantly Africans (although in other research this includes Coloureds and Assians).

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believe that this settlement represented a "sign of impending disintegration of the national parks system".

The state's precondition for restoring the land rights of the Maluleke was that claimed land would continue in its current use of biodiversity conservation. The Maluleke agreed to the following: land would not be used for mining or agricultural purposes; no part of the land would be used for residential purposes other than for tourism; the land would be used solely for conservation and associated commercial activities; and no act would be performed that was detrimental to the obligation of the state should the area be declared a Ramsar World Heritage site (Magome & Murombedzi, 2003). The Maluleke are therefore only entitled to commercial developments on their land with limited harvesting of abundant wildlife species. Despite- or perhaps because of- these strict conditions, the Maluleke have agreed to have the land declared as part of the KNP, to be known as the Makuleke Region[11] of the KNP (Van Riet, 2002). This declaration is valid for 50 years on condition that the agreement may be cancelled after 25 years. A joint management board, with equal representation is to be responsible for the daily management of the reclaimed land and decisions are to be taken by consensus. In reality, however, SANParks is the management authority as it has control over wildlife. According to Magome and Murombedzi, (2003) this is the greatest source of conflict between the representatives of the Maluleke and SANParks.

The Makuleke region is situated in the one of the most remote and neglected corners of South Africa's extremely poor provinces. The unemployment level is as high as 80 per cent, and livelihoods depend upon a mixture of livestock farming and cash income. For the Maluleke, some of their cash is derived from limited trophy hunting on their land and from manufacturing industries located 200-500 kilometers away from their villages. Limited employment opportunities have been made available from National Parks Board in the past (Magome & Murombedzi, 2003). The Makuleke land benefits from KNP's big five status and contains the unique floodplains and wetlands of the Limpopo and Levhuvu Rivers. The community aims to use nature tourism as a means to achieve development, economic growth and job creation. More specifically, the plan envisages the development of six lodges at key sites in partnership with professional operators in the private sector (Van Riet, 2002).

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[11] The term Maluleke refers to the tribe name and Makuleke refers to the region once inhabited by the Maluleke tribe (per comms, Lamson Maluleke, 13 September 2003).

The Makuleke achievements are due to two elements according to Magome and Murombedzi (2003). First, the Maluleke leadership was able to harmonize differences and achieve coherent agreement on the use of the claimed land. This involved frequent and planned community meetings and education in tourism hospitality and conservation management, an approach that attracted both financial and technical support from donor agencies. Second, the Maluleke built a strong alliance with qualified white South African professionals involved in community development and planning of protected areas. These 'Friends of the Makuleke' were able to challenge SANParks on its own ground and using language within which it was forced to engage. The Maluleke therefore used lawyers to finally obtain title to control their land. A feasibility study on development options in the Makuleke region concluded that their area was marginal for viable tourism activities, but that limited hunting could help the Maluleke relieve their financial struggle. The Maluleke therefore proposed concessions for trophy hunting of two elephant and two buffalo bulls to raise money for community projects. The hunt took place despite opposition from KNP management as although the Maluleke recognized the fact that hunting was not appropriate in a national park, they highlighted the fact that it was suitable in a contract park (Magome & Murombedzi, 2003). This is explained as follows.

The National Parks Act 57 of 1976 was amended to allow for the joining of private land with national parks for mutual advantage. This land is registered as a 'contract national park' and reclassified as a Schedule Two national park as the area is of lesser status compared to a Schedule One national park. According to Magome and Murombedzi (2003) there is a provision in contract national parks for landowners to generate income. This is primarily achieved through tourism related activities including controlled harvesting of surplus wild plants and animals. In return, by entering into a contract national park agreement, SANParks gains additional land for biodiversity conservation resulting in the migration of more wildlife over a larger system.

Unfortunately, the contract national parks were not used to aid or mediate relations with black people during the apartheid regime. The "fences and *fines*" (Magome & Murombedzi, 2003: 113) approach to conservation at that time allowed for the unjustified removal of people off land desired for conservation. SANParks, concerned with changing to a "fences and *friends*" (Magome & Murombedzi, 2003: 113) approach have modeled communal contract national parks after those of the Aboriginal people of Australia. According to Magome and Murombedzi (2003), this could present a problem as black people are a major constituency in South Africa and have greater political power than the Australian aborigines. This system, they argue, perpetuates

the dual tenure system of individual freehold for white farmers and communal tenure for black farmers, and clearly fails to recognize the different political realities in South Africa and Australia. As discussed in Chapter 2, critics argue that in terms of the politics of land, new conservation strategies are merely and extension of colonial policy and from this point of view, transfrontier parks perhaps represent a "new imperialism".

### 3.4.2.2 Limpopo National Park

As in many parts of Mozambique[12], there is extreme poverty in the area of the GLTP with high unemployment rates and a lack of basic necessities such as clean water, health facilities and schools. All of the protected areas in Mozambique have resident communities. The policy of the Mozambican government has not been clearly defined in the past, but the generally accepted principle has been that communities, while permitted to reside in protected areas, are encouraged to leave (De Vletter, 2003). The encouragement takes the form of incentives such as monetary compensation or the promise of improved water sources. The human population is relatively sparse except along the major river systems within the GLTP on the Mozambican side (Braak, 2002a). This is due to the civil war which resulted in large-scale movement of people out of the GKG Transfrontier Conservation Area. But, with the signing of the Peace Accord in October 1992 (which ended the sixteen-year conflict), more people began moving back to the area (Seleti, 1997). The Makhandezulu community is one such community who have lived in the now Limpopo National Park for centuries. They are part of a closely related cross-border population spanning the borders of Mozambique, South Africa and Zimbabwe, and their family ties and cultural interaction have been greatly constrained by the establishment of the international boundaries imposed by colonial powers. During Mozambique's turbulent political history the Makhandezulu people were just one group who fled the country and lived as refugees in the neighbouring countries (Maluleke, 2003, pers. comm.)

More than 20 000 people are living within the boundaries of the LNP in about 50 villages. They belong to the Shangaan tribe which is settled over the Gaza Province. Each community is governed by a traditional chief (*regulo*) as well as a government official (*secretario*). The

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[12] According to Census Data collected by the World Bank (2003), the human poverty index of Mozambique is 50 percent with 69 percent of the population living below the poverty line, four-fifths of whom live in rural areas. Conditions indicative of this high rate of poverty include the fact that: 53 percent of Mozambique's population is undernourished and only 57 percent of the population has access to a suitable source of water. In addition, only 40 percent of the population above the age of 15 years is literate. According to the UNDP (2000) data, the country remains heavily dependent on aid, now 38 percent of the GDP and averaging $63 per person a year.

influence of these authorities is generally high and cooperation between traditional leaders and district administration is considered to be stable (KfW, 2002).

People in the LNP meet their livelihood needs through rain-fed agriculture, limited livestock production, and to a lesser extent hunting and fishing. Bushmeat constitutes an important source of protein and agriculture is difficult due to the erratic rainfall in the semi-arid region. The best land for cultivation is alluvial soil along the rivers. Income generating activities are rare, therefore the cash economy only plays a minor role in the region (KfW, 2003). Previously, hunting concessions have provided limited employment opportunities for the local community. Lease and hunting fees are paid directly to the central government and no revenue reaches the community, district or provincial levels.

Communities on the Mozambican side can be divided into two groups according to KfW (2003). The Shingwedzi Communities comprise of approximately 65 000 people and live in the Shingwedzi river basin in an area of approximately 3 700 square kilometers. The people are clustered in nine villages. The biggest contains about 2 000 people and the smallest, about 150 people. Although mainly subsistence farmers, a good harvest occasionally produces a surplus which is sold in markets in nearby villages, from Massingir to Maputo. The latter groups constitute the Limpopo Communities. These comprise of approximately 20 000 people who have settled and are still settling on the western bank of the Limpopo River. This is the side falling within the LNP boundaries. About 40 communities on this side of the Limpopo have seasonal access to better infrastructure and services on the eastern bank, as they are able to cross the river during dry periods.

Another community residing within or on the periphery of the LNP is the Massingir community. Once again this group can be divided into those living in Massingir Velho[13] (village) and those people living in the town of Massingir. These communities are approximately 43 kilometers apart with a number of villages in between, such as Macavene[14] and Mavotsi consisting of approximately 3 000 people. The communities in the *town* of Massingir have a relatively superior socio-economic environment as infrastructure and services are more developed than communities described above and there is better access with good dirt roads leading in and out. This is due to the fact that development occurred earlier in this area due to dam construction.

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[13] This community formed the center of the community research undertaken for this thesis.

[14] A relatively new village (Holger Pfingsten, 2002, pers comm.)

## 3.5    Conclusion

This chapter has provided the reader with essential background to the study. The idea of the transfrontier park was introduced by providing definitions; and the rationale for the development of the GLTP is also provided including a detailed account of the organizations's roles in it's establishment. Ramutsindela (2002) and Duffy (1997) highlight the state's differing perception and support of the GLTP. The physical and socio-economic characteristics of the study area are also provided in order to present a context for analysis. A detailed account of the development of the Kruger National Park is provided, also highlighting the resent Maluleke land claim settlement.

# Chapter 4

## Methodology

### 4.1    Introduction

This chapter sets out to explain the methodology adopted for this investigation of the different levels of the administrative hierarchy's and stakeholders' involvement in the environmental decision making process for the Great Limpopo Transfrontier Park (GLTP).  This is in order to achieve the aim of this research which is to assess the local impacts of a global conservation initiative and whether social and environmental justice principles have been included in the process.  This chapter explores the methods used in order to understand how the power relations work and interact within the hierarchy.  This will give an indication whether public participation principles have been incorporated into the environmental decision making process.

### 4.2    Philosophical Approach

This research is located within Human Geography and adopts a qualitative approach, which is reflexive and self-conscious in how others are represented.  The adoption of inductive and intensive research allows a bottom-up approach which classifies information and organises facts collected during interviews and questionnaires to find meaning and an explanation without imposing generalisations or assumptions.

Many human geographers pay particular attention to ethnographic and interpretative approaches in which the standard application of questionnaire surveys has been replaced by methods emphasising observation and participation, thus enabling the views of the human subject to be heard in their own language rather than through quasi-objective interpretation by a researcher.  This is applicable for community interviews conducted in this research as it allows for the alternative voices to express their opinions on, concerns for and involvement in the GLTP project.

Robinson (1998a) explains that interpretative methods recognise that reality is seen, conceived of and understood in different ways by different groups and individuals.  Special attention is given to the knowledge and understanding of individuals and groups.  Qualitative techniques are essentially descriptions of people's representation and constructions of what is occurring in their world. These descriptions may be used in conjunction with statistical surveys and quantitative analysis as complementary methods for seeking understanding of specific contexts.

A postmodern sensitivity to place and time when conducting research shows that people and places make a difference (Cloke et al, 1991). This postmodern emphasis on difference enables the recognition of the different inputs and experiences diverse populations have on socio-spatial processes. Cultural geographers are beginning to offer landscape interpretations, which are grounded in a concern for the multiple discourses through which culture and nature are imagined and experienced. This cultural philosophical approach was adopted when collecting data in order to determine the true power relations within the decision making hierarchy.

The adoption of a qualitative approach allows local knowledge, in this case gathered from interviews conducted within the bottom tier of the hierarchy (Figure 3), to be taken into account. Scott (1999) discusses the use of local knowledge in research. It is often represented in the form of metaphorical language as a means of expression, which provides a 'bridge' to understanding, in that it portrays phenomena and events within a familiar framework thereby creating meaning which can be understood. This leads to the development of a specific terminology as people express themselves using a common local knowledge. Scott (1999) further explains that local knowledges are the wisdoms of many role players and is therefore difficult to aggregate. Shared beliefs however do emerge in localities as a result of shared experiences.

## 4.3    Data Sources

Sources can either be primary or secondary. Generally, in human geography these data sources are often used together rather than exclusively, which is the case in this research. The inclusion of multiple data collection in this research project increases the reliability and comparability of data sources.

### 4.3.1    Secondary Data Sources

When using secondary data it is essential that it is credible. This relates to the accuracy of the source and the sincerity with which it was recorded (Kitchin and Tate, 2000a).

The main component of secondary data used in this research, like most social science research, is the literature reviewed in Chapter 3. This body of literature dictates the methodology to be used and provides a means to compare data collected in a research in order to generate meaningful results during analysis. Such data was collected from books, journals, research or conference papers and internet sources.

These sources provided, a means to review literature in order to familiarise the researcher with the context of the study and the academic debates surrounding the research topic. Chapter 2 firstly explores theoretical concepts that help the analysis of data collected to assess the environmental

decision making process in the GLTP to date. The main ideas identified that shape analysis in this research include: social and environmental justice, environmental decision making in conservation, and public participation. Definitions and different types of community conservation are also discussed in order to provide a reference point for consideration of the GLTP, providing case studies to illustrate issues where appropriate.

Second, the chapter reviews recent critical literature on conservation and society – in particular the changes in conservation ideology and practice that have occurred in the last decades, establishment and new forms of national parks and case studies highlighting associated problems and lessons learnt.

### 4.3.2    Primary Data Sources

The main source of primary data used in this research is from individual semi-structured interviews conducted with Massingir community members and field rangers, as well as questionnaires sent to representatives of the various organisations and institutions involved in the establishment and environmental decision making of the GLTP.

According to Kitchin and Tate (2000a), the interview is probably the most commonly used qualitative technique as it allows the researcher to produce a rich and varied data set in a less formal setting and allows a more thorough examination of experiences, feelings or opinions – elements that closed questions cannot capture. There is however, more to interviewing than simply asking a participant questions as it can be a "complex social encounter" (Kitchin and Tate, 2000a: 213). For the purpose of this research, semi-structured interviews were conducted to allow for flexibility.

Semi-structured interviews are referred to by Kitchin and Tate (2000a) as structured open-ended interviews. They explain that when using this technique, the conversation is highly controlled by the interviewer as questions are highly structured and standardised. The exact wording and sequence of the questions is determined before the interviews are conducted and the interviewees are asked the same basic questions in the same order. Robinson (1998b) notes that this method takes advantage of the element of replication as the questions and structure of the interview are repeated for each person so that any differences between answers can be identified. As Kitchin and Tate (2000a) explain, the structured strategy attempts to increase the comparability of responses and ensure responses to all questions for every interview. This structured approach therefore provides a basis for analysis.

The questions however, are open-ended which means that the interviewee's responses are not constrained to categories provided by the interviewer and respondents feel free to provide a variety of answers. Kitchin and Tate (2000: 213a) believe that open-ended questions are better as they "reflect a person's own thinking".

The other method employed to generate primary data for this research is the questionnaire. a (1998) explains that the use of questionnaires in geography was popularised when analyses of people's geographical perceptions became a major part of behavioural geography in the 1970s. They have since then, been used in a range of human geography research projects as "a key means of obtaining information from target groups within the population" (Robinson, 1998a: 378). This point and the fact that questionnaires are usually "custom-built to the specification of given research needs" (Robinson, 1998a:368) is the reason why I use this method. There is a large and diverse group of institutions and organisations involved in the GLTP project. I therefore designed the questionnaire with eleven standardised general questions and then a varying number of specific questions for differing institutions and organisations to suit their role and interests.

Questionnaires used in this research were sent to the relevant people via e-mail. Kitchin and Tate (2000b) explain that this method is usually used for sample populations with specialised interests and is beneficial if respondents are geographically dispersed. This is the case in this research as respondents range from representatives of international organisations to local NGOs which are based in many different places such as Germany, Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Swaziland and South Africa (Cape Town, Mpumalanga and Nelspruit). In addition most of the respondents travel regularly due to the nature of their work. The disadvantage of this method is that the response rate can be much lower and slower which was definitely evident in this research. The questionnaires were sent in August 2003 and by mid-November only two responses had been received despite follow-up e-mails and phone calls. This is perhaps due to the fact that a relationship is not established as is the case in interviews and that the questionnaires are sent for the respondent's self-completion in their own time.

Telephone questionnaires are said to be quicker to complete (Kitchin and Tate, 2000b) but are however expensive especially if respondents are so geographically dispersed. In addition, when requesting contact information, only e-mail addresses were provided for many of the sample population. A benefit of the e-mail questionnaire over the postal questionnaire is that it is instantaneous and it is easier to clear up any misunderstandings and provide further explanation if needed.

It is important that questions are clear and understandable to the people from whom the information is collected. Kitchin and Tate (2000b) emphasise the importance of question wording. Questions should be concise and clear, so that they cannot be misinterpreted or misunderstood. In general, questionnaires seek a mix of descriptive and analytical answers (Kitchin and Tate, 2000b). Descriptive questions ask 'what' and analytical questions ask 'why'. This aims to generate both factual and subjective data relating to people and their circumstances, attitudes, opinions and beliefs.

Open-ended questions were used in the questionnaire for this research, as the respondents were not given a set of possible answers. This type of question requires qualitative analysis, as it cannot be analysed quantitatively through categorisations and statistics.

Other primary sources used include local newspaper clippings and magazine and journal articles on the GLTP. Official documents[34] on the park projects are also used to assess whether there are any discrepancies between stated plans, objectives and achievements of the park (information collected with the questionnaire) and on-the-ground reality (information collected during community and field ranger interviews).

When reviewing these sources it was important to keep in mind the reason for them being written rather than simply studying the content as all documents are subjective and represent a particular viewpoint.

## 4.4    Data Sampling and Collection Techniques

### 4.4.1    Accessing the Fieldwork Location

The first step was to gain access to the research area. I was fortunate enough to meet Mr. Paul Rode at the Indaba Tourism Conference in Durban in July 2002 when conceptualising this project. Mr. Rode is a member of the Project Implementation Unit (PIU) - a branch of the Peace Parks Foundation (PPF). I explained my research and although skeptical of my intentions[35], he agreed to assist me. I arranged for a field visit in August 2002 in order to familiarise myself with the area and community, and contextualise my research. As I planned to work with communities located on the Mozambican side of the park, I had to receive special permission from the South African National Police based in the Kruger National Park (KNP) in order to enter the park and exit at a special gate in the North-eastern section of the park (Pumbe Gate) which was established specifically for PPF members (Appendix A). This gate is a political border guarded by the South African Defense Force (SADF) as it leads directly

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[34] These include: Minutes from the 7th Steering Committee in the Limpopo National Park held by the Ministry of Tourism in Mozambique in September 2002; Follow-Up to Maputo Planning Meeting prepared by PIU in September 2002; Minutes on the Technical Committee of the Great Limpopo Transfrontier Park held in Maputo in November 2001; The Tri-Nation Community Workshop held by AWF at the Southern African Wildlife College in South Africa in June 2001; the Great Limpopo Transfrontier Park Joint Management Plan prepared by the Joint Management Plan Working Group of the Technical Coordinating Committee and chaired by Prof. Willem van Riet in 2002; Paper presented on "Policy Options for People in Protected Areas in Mozambique: Notes toward a Proposal for an Extended Equity Option" compiled by Rod de Vletter, and lastly, a Draft Version on the "Development of the Communities of the Limpopo National Park, Mozambique" by KfW and DNAC in August 2002.

[35] He stated that he did not trust students as they are normally idealists who make accusations without knowing the reality of the situation. He was referring to a Draft Paper written by the Refugee Research Programme of the University of Witwatersrand in March 2002 entitled "A Park for the People? Greater Limpopo Transfrontier Park- Community Consultation in Coutada 16, Mozambique".

into Mozambique.  A 40 km dirt road leads[36] to the town of Massingir[37] where I was hosted by Mr. Rode for four nights (Plate 1).  A night was also spent camping in the animal release area.

Plate 1: Town in Massingir
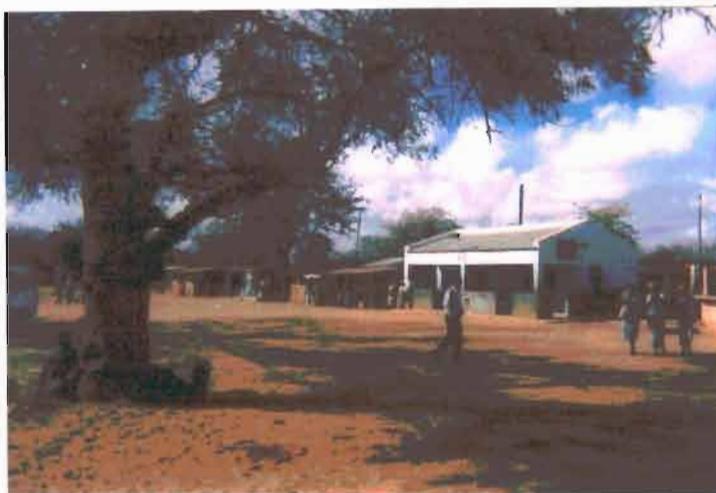


### 4.4.2    Observation

During this field trip the method of observation was utilised.  Wolcott (1995 in Kitchin and Tate, 2000: 219) suggests that the difference between interviewing and observation is that in observation one watches as events unfold whereas with interviews one attempts to "pry" into people's lives. Observation "entails the systematic noting and recording of events, behaviours, and artifacts in a social setting" (Marshall and Rossman, 1995 in Kitchin and Tate: 2000: 220).  Kitchin and Tate (2000b) explain that much research within cultural geography uses observation to study the cultural landscape. By observing human structures and practices up on the landscape, researchers try to understand the socio-cultural basis of society.

During this time period I was able to assess the initial progress of the park made by the PIU.  I witnessed trees being bulldozed in order to make way for a fence that was to enclose the released animals, and became aware of some of the problems experienced, for example, the relocated wildebeest had pushed over the fence due to poor construction (Plate 2).  I was also fortunate enough to witness the release of two giraffe that were captured in the KNP for translocation into the Limpopo National Park (LNP), and shown how the PIU systematically established watering holes in order to attract relocated animals into certain areas.  With a notebook and camera I was able to capture these events as well as gain an idea of the daily lives of community members.

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[36] 20km of this dirt road transects a farm owned by Mr. and Mrs. Du Pont who are in the process of setting up an eco-tourism private game reserve, called Xhongile Game Reserve.
[37] This town was initially built to accommodate people during the construction of the dam wall by the Portuguese in the 1970s but has never been put into full operation due to leaks.

Plate 2: Mr. Rode and Mr. Pfingsten assessing damage caused to wildlife sanctuary fence in LNP by Wildebeest (August 2002)
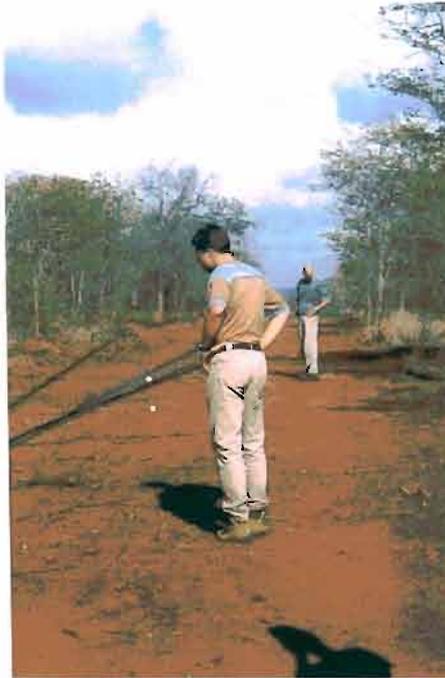


Robinson (1998b) believes that it is vital for a researcher to maintain a field diary during observation to record details and interpretations whilst they are still fresh in the researcher's mind. I observed that the community living in both the town of Massingir and Massingir Velho (village in Portuguese), which is approximately 43 km from the town and dam wall, made use of the Olifants Rivier for the collection of water and washing (Plate 3). The land near the waters edge was also heavily cultivated as the community takes advantage of the high water table. Cultivation elsewhere is difficult due to the dry climatic conditions this area experiences. An example of notes jotted down during my initial field trip into Massingir Velho includes "people hungry, very dry, red thin sand - poor agriculture" (Dyll, August 2002).

Plate 3: Local women washing and collecting water near the dam wall in Massingir

This field trip allowed me to enter into an informal conversational interview with Mr. Holger Pfingsten (who was based in Maputo, working a four-month contract as the Second Secretary for the German Embassy but also staying with Mr. Rode at the time). Kitchin and Tate (2000b) explain that during such an interaction, the questions the interviewer asks usually emerge from the immediate context of the conversation and are asked in the natural course of discussion. Mr. Pfingsten and I entered into conversation about animal relocation over dinner, and also discussed the collection of firewood by community members (Plate 4), erection of fences, and introduction of animals while driving into Massingir Velho and the animal sanctuary. Kitchin and Tate (2000b: 215) further explain that this unstructured format allows respondents "to talk about a topic within their own frame of reference and thus provides a greater understanding of the interviewees' point of view ... Furthermore, the interviewer is also given a great deal of freedom to probe various areas and to raise specific queries during the course of the interview".

Plate 4: Collection of firewood by local women in Massingir Velho (December 2002)



An informal conversational interview was also entered into with Mr. William Swanepoel when I returned to Massingir in December 2002. As he is part of the implementation and anti-poaching unit in the LNP, Mr. Swanepoel was able to discuss many aspects of the park such as the historical background, factors he believes will improve the community's acceptance of the park, the progress made regarding animal relocation, as well as human and animal conflicts and resulting actions. This will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter Five.

### 4.4.3    Semi-Structured Interviews

Semi-structured interviews was the method chosen to collect information in the study area. These interviews were conducted with households and field rangers. During my second fieldtrip I conducted

semi-structured interviews with community members living in Massingir Velho in Coutada 16[38] (an old government hunting district) and with a newly trained Limpopo National Park field ranger. Seventeen questions were prepared and interviews were conducted with fourteen community members (representing fourteen households). I had planned to complete at least twenty interviews but due to the layout of the village (households were commonly widely dispersed to allow for farming) and due to the fact that I was on foot, this could not be achieved. The sample was randomly selected in the sense that households were chosen within walking distance of the drop off point. My interpreter, Mr. Thomas Ngovene and I walked around the village and chose random households from the eastern to western side of the village.

Initially the intention was to interview the heads of households but due to the fact that many of the men work and live in South Africa, this was impossible. Alternatively, people who were home at the time were interviewed. This resulted in a very mixed group of respondents. This in fact provided a wider range of responses as, for example, more women were interviewed than had previously been intended (Appendix B).

It was necessary to have an interpreter as the community speaks Portuguese and Shangaan and I speak neither language. Thomas Ngovene, an administrative clerk or ("*secretario*" in Portuguese) for PPF who lives in Mavotsi, neighbouring Massingir Velho, was paid to help me in this regard as he speaks both languages[39]. Out of respect to the people being interviewed and their culture, I conducted interviews in sensible clothing - a t-shirt and sarong, which is what the women living in the study area wear. As is customary in human science research amongst rural communities, I intended to ask permission from the traditional chief, but was informed that while he knew the interviews were being conducted, he was not interested in talking to me.

The interview was conducted at the individual respondent's homes and their confidentiality was ensured. This was an attempt to enable the respondents to trust me and feel comfortable to express themselves. Permission was asked whether a photograph could be taken and six respondents agreed[40]. A tape recorder was used to record responses and Thomas's interpretation. This was less distracting than constantly having to capture responses in writing and allowed the conversation to flow as naturally as possible. Robinson (1998b) further states that a tape recorder is better than note taking as,

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[38] The reason for interviewing this Mozambican community is that they are living within the LNP boundaries in closest proximity to the wildlife sanctuary. It therefore allows for current themes in conservation related to this research to be explored. Historically, KNP have excluded communities (except for the recent Makuleke region) and access to Zimbabwean communities would have been too difficult.

[39] Special thanks and appreciation must be given to Thomas. Without him this part of data collection would have been impossible. He remained interested and patient throughout the interviews. The only limitation is that I did not understand the language. This may have resulted in a degree of bias if Thomas subconsciously "loaded" certain questions.

[40] Photos of these respondents are included in Chapter 5.

although factual information may be recorded in note form, a tape recorder allows for a record of the way respondents expressed themselves and described events and feelings. As a sign of appreciation for the respondent's time they received biscuits and their children either received a soccer ball or notebook and crayons. The community welcomed me into their homes and at every household interviewed, a plastic chair was brought out for me to sit on.

Only one semi-structured interview with a set of twelve questions was conducted. This was with Mr. Satoli, a field ranger based in Massingir. Plans had been made to formally interview other field rangers on the Mozambican side namely Sergio, Zinyo and Abel and Mr. Gilberto Vicente[41], the park warden - all of whom I had met during my first field visit. However on the last evening they were called into the bush to man stations. Fortunately, Mr. Satoli was available to be interviewed as he was working in the PPF office in the town of Massingir. Thomas did not interpret during this interview, as Mr. Satoli was able to speak English fairly well. At the time that this interview was conducted there was a total of twenty-seven newly trained field rangers. I received Mr. Gilberto Vicente's "bush mail" address[42] and e-mailed him the questions - requesting that he and a few of the field rangers respond. Despite follow-up e-mails and messages left on his cell phone I did not receive anything[43].

### 4.4.4   Questionnaire

A questionnaire using open-ended questions was used to obtain information from the organisations higher up in the hierarchy that are involved in the decision making process in the GLTP. As noted, it was not possible to physically visit the locations where theses organisations are based: the fieldwork element of the research was focused on the two visits to the area of Coutada 16 (now the LNP) in Mozambique to be incorporated into the superpark.

Eleven general questions were set for all respondents to answer and a varying numbers of questions were set for the differing organisations to answer. Questionnaires were conducted mainly via e-mail as respondents wished to answer the questionnaire in their own time. A list of individual respondents and the organisations they represent is provided in Appendix C.

### 4.5   Data Analysis

### 4.5.1   Interviews and Questionnaires

As mentioned earlier, conversations with interviewees were recorded with a tape recorder in this research. A Dictaphone was then used to create a transcript of each interview. Robinson (1998b)

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[41] It has been planned that he will manage the park in 5 years time (pers. comm. Mr. Rode, August 2002)

[42] An e-mail service which uses an HF radio and modem to connect to the internet via a bush mail server.

[43] Mr. Danie Pienaar and Mr Piet Theron of SANParks also urged me to try and get a response from Mr. Vicente as a representative of administration in the Limpopo National Park in Mozambique, but despite continued efforts he did not respond.

believes that tapes, notes and memories need to be transcribed so that the material can be interrogated in various ways at a later date. Transcription was time consuming as great care was taken in recording interviewee's words and the situation as precisely as possible. Kitchin and Tate (2000a) describe two main methods of transcribing data. For this research, I used their first method - all data gathered from individual interviews was transcribed into a single script instead of utilising the second method - transcribing data from each question together. The advantage of this is that the whole script can be read as one coherent text and it provided me with a means of reliving the conversation. While thinking carefully about what was being transcribed, I was able to identify certain lines of enquiry and potential themes for analysis.

Classification of themes is the stage at which one moves beyond data description, achieved during transcription, to trying to interpret and make sense of data. According to Kitchin and Tate (2000a: 235) the classic way to start to make sense of and interpret qualitative data is "to break up the data into constituent parts and then place them into similar categories or classes". This classification allows for more effective comparisons between cases as is evident in Figure 4. This process was adopted in this research to create meaning from data collected and allow for interpretative analysis.
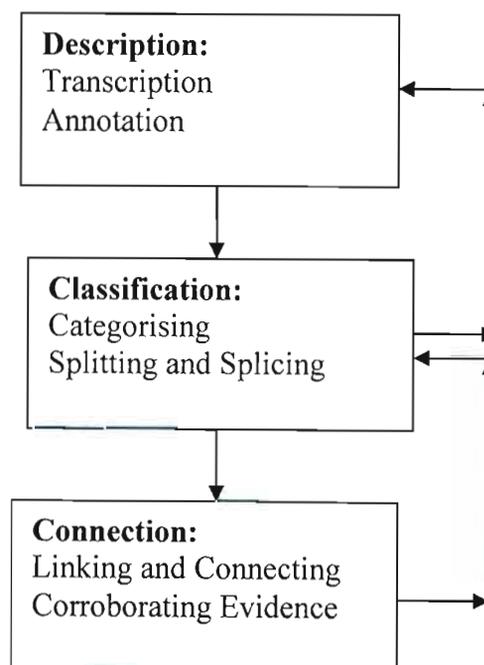


Figure 4: Description, Classification and Connection (Source: Kitchin and Tate, 2000a: 235)

The adoption of this inductive research allows for a bottom-up approach which classifies information and organises facts collected during interviews to find meaning and an explanation without imposing generalisations or assumptions. Robinson (1998b) explains that much interpretative work consciously

avoids the use of rigid hypotheses at the outset. Instead, the researcher begins with a more loosely defined hypothesis which guides data collection and the observation process. The theory is built up in this process by discovering and defining relationships between categories or themes and observation. As is the case in this research, Robinson (1998b) explains that the theory is generally supported by qualitative observations and the use of quotations from individuals being studied.

Papers written on the GLTP and official documents were also reviewed and compared to material collected through observation, semi-structured interviews and questionnaires so as to assess whether information provided by respondents correspond or whether discrepancies exist; and to meet the objectives of the study which are: first, to identify decision making procedures and approaches currently being utilised in the establishment of the GLTP; second, to determine the extent to which these approaches have incorporated concerns relating to social and environmental justice; and third, to assess public participation to date, particularly at the community level.

## 4.6     Limitations of Study

A relationship or good rapport with respondents is essential in providing a platform on which research is based, but many constraints exist. When collecting data through the questionnaire I felt that the relationship with respondents might have been constrained as we did not encounter each other 'face to face'. The respondents did not sense the urgency for data collection and many neglected to respond for a long period of time or not at all. This slow response rate may also be attributed to the nature of respondents' occupations (working for development and conservation organisations) as many traveled around Africa frequently and were not in offices able to communicate via e-mail or cell phones. Phone calls to potential respondents in Cape Town, Zimbabwe, Swaziland and Washington added to the financial pressure. However, these became necessary to 'encourage' people to answer the questionnaire sent to them. I was also unable to contact Mr. Vicente on his bush-mail due to poor communication infrastructure within the developing park. Many potential respondents were also skeptical of my intentions and I was required to state the aim and objectives of the research[44] before they contemplated responding to the questions. This may be due to the fact that organisations involved in the GLTP development have been unable to control what has been written about the park and are now attempting to filter any negative aspects which, may reach the public's attention.

A major limitation in this research was that the study area where fieldwork and interviews were conducted was a great distance away. This meant that travel was costly, time consuming and a lot of organisation was involved - such as applying for a Mozambican visa, borrowing a suitable car for the long journey and challenging African terrain. It also meant that it was financially impossible to return

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[44] As was the case with Mr Rode of PIU of PPF, Mr. Pienaar of SANParks and Mr. Myburgh of PPF.

to the study area if enough data was not collected during the first two field visits. While conducting interviews with the community in Massingir I was unsure of whether I would be welcome due to their different lifestyle. I did not want to impose or take away time from their necessary daily activities such as collecting water and firewood, cooking, and herding cattle. But despite this concern, I felt welcome at every household interviewed. An obvious challenge was the language barrier but this was solved with the aid of Thomas who helped me as an interpreter as he speaks both Portuguese and Shangaan. Although this was primarily a benefit as the people recognized him and responded well to him, I became aware that it too was a limitation as I was unable to understand and share in the rich conversation with expressive community members. As mentioned earlier, the aid of an interpreter also presented an opportunity for possible bias to enter into the response.

The fact that time was so limited created additional frustrations and small events gained huge importance. For example, when arriving at the KNP in December 2003 for data collection we were told by Insp. Oubaas Coetzer that the road leading from KNP to Massingir was in a bad condition, and that the Subaru which had been borrowed for the fieldwork was not suitable. A whole day was therefore lost, trying to find an alternative lift[45]. On the last day we were also cut short of time as Mr. Rode had been requested to transport a young girl into town to the clinic as a snake had bitten her. She had been waiting for a lift for two days and her arm had become severely swollen. This meant that less time was available for data collection.

It should be recognised that although Zimbabwe is a participating country in the GLTP, no fieldwork was conducted with community members in the country. This is due mainly to the political instability at present and the fact that they are not officially involved in implementation plans for the next ten years.

## 4.7    Conclusion

This chapter has outlined the methods adopted for this research. A qualitative approach to data collection and analysis was used, making use of inductive and interpretative methods to meet the objectives of the study. It describes both the primary and secondary sources used. Primary sources include information collected from fourteen semi-structured community interviews and one field ranger interview conducted in Massingir, and the nine responses to questionnaires representing the organisations involved in the environmental decision making in the GLTP. Observation was put to use in the first field visit which also enabled informal conversations with people involved in the project. Secondary data collected through the literature review and conceptual framework was also

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[45] Special thanks must be given to Inspector Oubaas Coetzer and the Du Ponts who assisted in this regard.

discussed. In addition, limitations experienced in this study associated with human geography research have been presented.

# Chapter 5

## Responses from the Local Community and from the Decision Makers

### 5.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the results from information collected through semi-structured interviews and questionnaires. The study interviewed community members on the ground in Mozambique as well as local and international organizations involved in decision making relating to the GLTP. The results illuminate the power relations within the proposed decision making hierarchy (Figure 3) and the objectives of this study: to identify decision making procedures and approaches currently being used in the setting up of the GLTP; to determine the extent to which these approaches have incorporated concerns relating to social and environmental justice; and to assess public participation to date.

The chapter is therefore divided into three main sections. Section 5.2 discusses the results relating to key questions from community interviews under the themes of: livelihood and survival strategies; relationship with the land; human-animal relationships in Massingir Velho; local perspectives on development and tourism; and public participation. Section 5.3 presents the results of a semi-structured interview with a Limpopo National Park (LNP) field ranger. The information collected is divided into the following themes: nature of employment; training and capacity building; and knowledge and perspective on local and global conservation.

The focus then moves to higher levels in the hierarchy and contrasts these responses with the local situation. Section 5.4 discusses the information gathered via questionnaires under the following main themes: roles and responsibilities of the organisations and institutions involved; theory behind the GLTP and on-the ground reality; changing image of conservation in KNP and other constituents of the GLTP; human-animal relations; and environmental decision making. These findings will be related to the key questions and literature discussed in Chapter 2 in order to meet the study objectives.

### 5.2 The Massingir Community: Current Livelihood Strategies and Attitudes to the Proposed Superpark

This section contains information collected in the field in Massingir Velho, Mozambique via semi-structured interviews with community members. In total, 14 semi-structured interviews were conducted. In order to ensure the confidentiality of respondents, each person was given a number from one to fourteen and their gender and approximate age was recorded. (see Appendix 2). Five themes are identified for analysis and discussed in this section. These are: livelihood and survival strategies, relationship with the land, human-animal relationships in Massingir Velho, local perspectives on development and tourism, and public participation. It should be noted by the reader

that direct quotations in section 5.2 represent community respondents' words interpreted into English by Mr. Thomas Ngovene.

5.2.1    "Waiting for the Rain": Livelihood and Survival Strategies

The majority of the respondents from different age groups were born in Massingir Velho. The interpreter explained that Respondent 9 stated: "this is her land of origin". The maximum time spent living in Massingir Velho was fifty years and the minimum is six years. Two of the fourteen respondents moved to Massingir Velho from other villages in order to survive. Respondent 10 explained: "We were living in Mavotsi in the next village there. I don't know exactly how long. My father left Mavotsi to come here because of hunger - to get the family better fields" (Respondent 10, pers comm., 12 December 2002). Respondent 12 and her family were also from another village: "We left the other village during the war and came here". Thomas explained that, "some of her family went to South Africa but since then she has been here" (Respondent 12, pers comm., 12 December 2002).

All respondents live in households with many family members. The number of people living in one household (normally a cluster of huts in close proximity) ranged from six to thirty-one. Male community members are polygamous as they are married to a number of wives. Respondent 11 for example has "three wives and twenty-two people living in his home" (Respondent 11, pers comm., 12 December 2002).

When asked how they generated an income to feed their families, seventy-one percent of the respondents displayed their dependency on the rain in order to plough and cultivate fields to grow crops. The primary crop grown is maize for subsistence purposes. It is evident therefore that there is little opportunity for formal income generation: "to earn money here…there are no means of earning money here. We sell when someone has a chicken, sell goat, sell cow but if we don't have these things we're just waiting for the rain" (Respondent 5, pers comm., 11 December 2002).

Plate 5: Respondent 5 with her own and her neighbour's children (December 2002)



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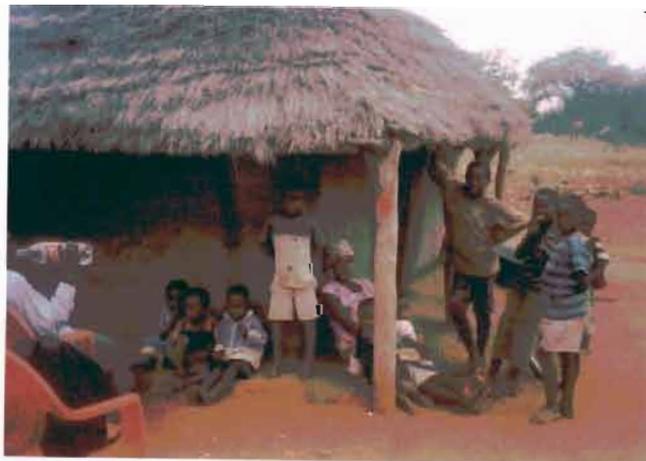
When asked about farming problems, the same community member voluntarily expressed concern about the presence of park boundaries: "What I'm saying is I don't earn the money, especially now I'm not working and there is no rain. Another thing, we were working down there on the field (pointing towards river) but some of the park has taken that land" (Respondent 5, pers comm., 11 December 2002).

The presence of international aid organizations in the area is evident as Respondent 12 explains: "I don't earn any money from somewhere else but what happens is we just work in the fields and we grow something. And it happens that some years for example is drought. This year is a drought, we couldn't get enough. We were helped with the World Food Program who provided us with some food" (Respondent 12, pers comm., 12 December 2002).

Migrant labour is one of the few options the Massingir community members have to find employment as they leave their families in Mozambique to seek work in neighbouring South Africa. Twenty-nine percent of the households interviewed had family members working in South Africa. Respondent 8 for example goes to South Africa if he cannot grow maize[47]. Interestingly, Respondent 10 stated that he "works for the park" (Respondent 10, pers comm., 12 December 2002). This indicates that the park is providing a degree of employment but he did not specify the nature of work.

When questioned about the problems they face living in Massingir, seventy-two percent of the sample population mentioned the shortage of water which inevitably contributes to a lack of food. Respondent 10 explains that "the water is up and down, we have a problem with water shortage. There is a water pump but it is not working and we drilled a borehole but still no water" (Respondent 10, pers comm., 12 December 2002). The shortage of water sources and supply seems to be exacerbated by poor transport in the area: "Another thing is we've got no transport and water - the water is far away. These are the main problems- just to walk a long distance to get a bit of water" (Respondent 5, pers comm., 11 December 2002). Respondent 8 expressed disappointment as they "were promised to get some water from the park" (Respondent 8, pers comm., 11 December 2002). This promise had not been carried out by the time of the interviews.

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[47] Maize is the most common crop grown as indicated in semi-structured interview with community members.

Plate 6: Local woman on path after collecting water in Massingir (August 2002)

Thirty-six percent made reference to the fence and living with wild animals when talking about their problems. These responses were not a result of prompting questions. Like Respondent 2, many community members question whether they will be able to survive if there is a "possibility of living with wild dangerous animals" (Respondent 2, pers comm., 11 December 2002). Respondent 4 explained that his second most important problem is that "the lions are used to escaping from the park and come here and attack livestock- it's very serious! The other morning we saw two lions together" (Respondent 4, pers comm., 11 December 2002). Problem animals such as lions seem to be associated with the erection of the park fence as is evident in the response of Respondent 8: "The main problem here is the fence, not mostly the fence but the animals in the fence that came along- especially the lions which just eat everything. They killed some animals here- some livestock. So mostly the animals in the enclosure and around here."

Twenty-nine percent of the community interviewees listed a lack of employment opportunities or "jobs to earn money" (Respondent 13, pers comm., 12 December 2002) as a problem threatening their survival. Respondent 7 noted "here in the area there is no jobs and the park erected the fence, and still there is not enough jobs" (Respondent 7, pers comm., 11 December 2002).

It is evident from this statement and the others in the above paragraphs that the emergence of the Limpopo National Park in the area has raised the expectations of the people such as the provision of water and employment. At the same time, the advent of the superpark has also created some uncertainty for the future:

"there are certain people coming here and saying that this land now belongs to the park- so this is a problem which is worrying us. There are some people saying that we will be moved from this area to somewhere else. This worries us a little because this land is ours and we've been here- we grew up here- we don't know where we can just go" (Respondent 1, pers comm., 11 December 2002).

Plate 7: Thomas, the interpreter with Respondent 1 (December 2002)



The issue of possible removals was in the background during the entire fieldwork experience, although a decision was taken by the researcher not to raise it directly.[48] Although the majority of the respondents are aware that they are living within a park, among the sample, twenty-one percent mentioned their concerns about removals. This is a low percentage and perhaps could be attributed to the fact that they are not aware of the possibility - the research had to be sensitive to this issue.

Interestingly, fourteen percent of the respondents were happy with the current situation. One statement was that there are "no problems" (Respondent 5, pers comm., 11 December 2002) or that they "are not facing too many problems" (Respondent 9, pers comm., 11 December 2002) in the area.

When asked what they thought could be done to improve living conditions, fifty-seven percent of the community members mentioned jobs as a solution. Respondent 1 believes that employment should be provided by the Limpopo National Park: "What we need mostly which can improve our living conditions is, if there is a park - to provide jobs for people inside here, that are living here so that they can start working to make money" (Respondent 1, pers comm., 11 December 2002). Work in other sectors other than agriculture is perceived by Respondent 2 as necessary to guard against the risk associated with seasonality of crop production. This respondent felt that the priority was "to provide employment and be able to work to make money, as ploughing fields depends on the season- if there is no rain we do not eat" (Respondent 2, pers comm., 11 December 2002). Three respondents recognise the need and importance of a sustainable income as "job opportunities" will allow them "just to work

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[48] Indeed, the removals are probable according to the comments made by park employees.

and sustain themselves" (Respondent 3, pers comm., 11 December 2002). Thomas explained that Respondent 10 "wants a permanent job where he can just work for a long time and be able to sustain his kids. His kids cannot look after themselves – he is the person in charge of them". At the time of the interview Respondent 10 was working for the park. When questioned as to whether it was contract or permanent work he responded: "We have been employed but we were not told how long we will work" (Respondent 10, pers comm., 12 December 2002). Respondent 8 believes that the community can be helped by outsiders from the business sector and that training and acquiring new skills is the solution: "there's a need of people who can come make business here and especially to train the people – maybe to let the people have business to earn a steady income".

Plate 8: Respondent 3 and his family (December 2002)
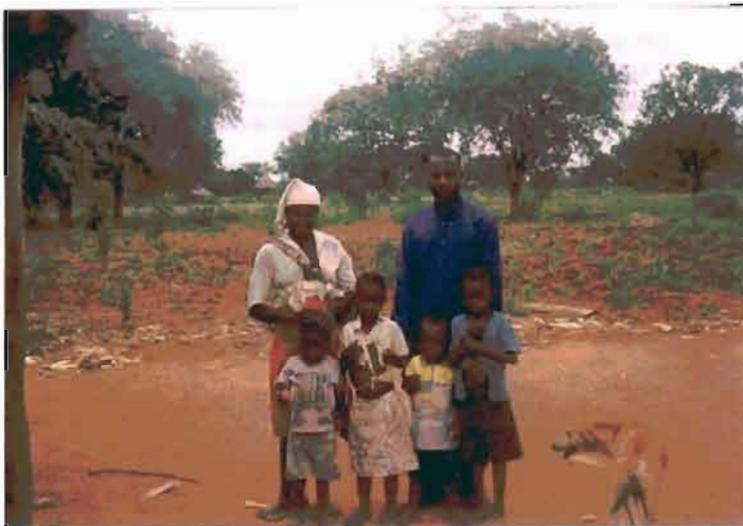


Twenty-nine percent of the community members interviewed believe that more rain and water would improve their living conditions. Rain, however cannot be controlled. Respondent 11 therefore believes that it is the government's responsibility "to provide water for the people" (Respondent 11, pers comm., 12 December 2002). When explaining what is needed to improve living conditions, Respondent 13 expressed concerns about the presence "of that fence[49] that cuts our food on the other side". He went on to say how people "need water and farms". When questioned further on this topic he explained that it was necessary for each individual to have their own farm but that "farms can be run by someone else who has knowledge of running the farm and can just employ people here to work on the farm" (Respondent 13, pers comm., 12 December 2002). It seems this respondent doubts the value of traditional farming methods and knowledge and views the presence of farms as a means to provide employment for labourers. And lastly, the simple need for food is a priority as is evident by Respondent 12's statement that they need "to get food - these are the first things we need. The other things can follow" (Respondent 12, pers comm., 12 December 2002).

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[49] Park boundary fence.

Plate 9: Respondent 13 (December 2002)



## 5.2.2 Relationship with the Land

When trying to determine the meaning of the land held by Massingir community members it is surprising to note that only twenty-two percent of the sample population stressed its importance for subsistence purposes, although the entire group relies on crop production to survive. Thirteen percent of the sample group do not place great importance on the land as they explain that it is not theirs but god's or the government's land. Similarly, people who are new in the area do not feel they have ties to the land: "The land doesn't mean a lot to me because we are from outside. We came to build a new home" (Respondent 14, pers comm., 12 December 2002). Yet although, in the case of Respondent 7: "the land doesn't mean a lot to [him]…the thing is that what [he] knows a little about the land is that [he] invests on it and then [he] grows things and lives on it" (Respondent 7, pers comm., 11 December 2002).

Another twenty-two percent do place importance on the land due to the fact that they live on it and that they "are used to living here, we grew up here" as Thomas put it, "although some people see [them] suffering, [they] are used to the life itself" (Respondent 1, pers comm., 11 December 2002). Respondent 12, who has not been living in Massingir Velho for long, emphasised her dependency on the land: "it means a lot to me … ja … because it is now my home and I work in the fields a lot. If we can just leave this area, we cannot live comfortably" (Respondent 12, pers comm., 12 December).

In trying to determine whether community members practiced any conservation ethic, they were asked how they looked after the land. Interestingly, forty-three percent of the respondents indicated that the

question had been wrongly phrased: they stated that they do not look after the land but that the land is looking after them as it allows them to produce crops on it. This in itself is an indication of a close relationship with the land that is difficult to capture in simple production terms. Respondent 5 added to this by stating that: "It's [the land is] looking after me. I grow things, I built my house on it, I plaster my house - so it's looking after me" (Respondent 5, pers comm., 11 December 2002).

One of the respondents in this category does not believe that land conservation is his responsibility: "I can't just be able to look after the land so there are some people that look after the land". When questioned further as to whom he thought looked after the land, Thomas explained on behalf of the respondent:

> "There's a problem of explaining exactly how to look after the land, especially here where he is. It's a serious problem looking after the land. What I was trying to explain to him is erosion or something like that or trees being cut down. He says he doesn't know anything about that" (Respondent 7, pers comm., 11 December 2002).

Another group believes that they are looking after the land through their use of it such as ploughing or that "the land looks after itself, [they] just put seeds in the land" (Respondent 9, pers comm., 11 December 2002).

Thirty-eight percent believe that it is necessary to look after the land. The primary reason for this is their dependency on the land and "because of the fields" (Respondent 12, pers comm., 12 December 2002). Respondent 10 explained: "I have to look after this land. What I'm trying to explain, you see this (pointing to his hut), I need the grass to make the roof". Two respondents in this category have actively tried to improve their living environment: "In terms of keeping the land, I look after this land- try to sweep sometimes and you see these big trees, I planted them. They are fig trees- moved from the dam in 1976 maybe" (Respondent 8, pers comm., 11 December 2002). Other trees planted by Respondent 11 include: "lemon, banana and cashew nuts. Also aloes".

Plate 10: Respondent 8 carving a stick (December 2002)
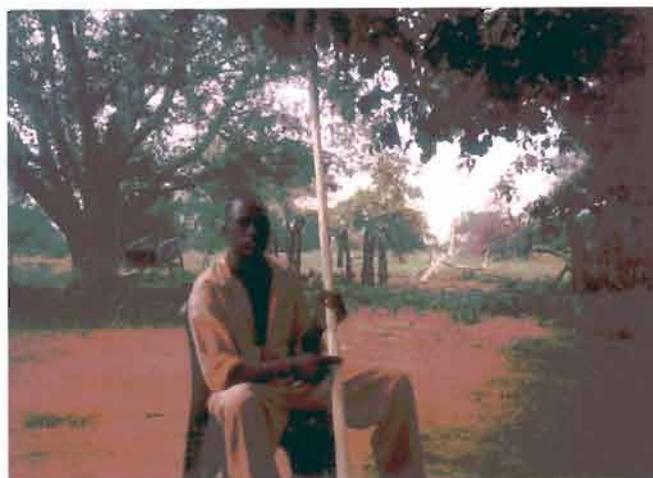


It is clear from the semi-structured interviews conducted in Massingir that there is no consensus on land ownership. Thirty-eight percent of the sample population stated that the land belonged to them, the community members living in the study area. Twenty-nine percent stated that the land belonged to the "traditional leader" (Respondent 8, pers comm., 11 December), "head ngubani" (Respondent 12, pers comm., 12 December 2002) or "chief" (Respondent 13, pers comm., 12 December 2002), and fourteen percent responded that the government owned the land. Respondent 1 however believes that all three 'owners' mentioned above have a stake in land ownership and management: "We own the land but there is a chief around here who is responsible for this land, and even government has control over the land" (Respondent 1, pers comm., 11 December 2002). One respondent seemed to indicate that the land is communally owned as he explains: "Well, the land, I own the land, but there are others around me who also own the land" (Respondent 5, pers comm., 11 December 2002). Only one respondent stated that he "doesn't know who owns the land, as long as [he is] living on it". There was also a response that the "Goven tribe owns this land" (Respondent 7, pers comm., 11 December 2002). This is confusing as there was no mention of this tribe name in other interviews or literature on the area.

## 5.2.3   Human-Animal Relationships in Massingir Velho

With people and animals living in such close proximity to one another it is essential to determine the importance and meaning of these wild animals in the daily lives of the community members.

Thirty-one percent did not believe that wild animals were important and another thirty-one percent believe that they were important "in the bush" (Respondent 9, pers comm., 11 December 2002) or "because they are eating them - using them for subsistence" (Respondent 10, pers comm., 12 December 2002). This respondent however stated that this was before they were not allowed to shoot them. When questioned how he felt about this new rule he stated that he was not angry but accepted

the new controls: "when your father puts a law inside your family, you must just obey" (Respondent 10, pers comm., 12 December 2002).

Twenty-three percent of the sample population indicated that they have a new understanding of or attitude towards wild animals, compared with views they had held in the past. Respondent 2 explains this changing perspective: "In the beginning I didn't see the importance of animals; I used to see them and kill them for meat. So the only importance was to eat; now people tell us they are important for the park" (Respondent 2, pers comm., 11 December 2002). It is clear that the community in Massingir have been made aware by 'outsiders' of the tourism potential the wild animals offer and that money generated will benefit the country: "animals can bring a big number of tourists who can just come to the country to analyse the animal and give in money to the country" (Respondent 4, pers comm., 11 December 2002). Respondent 11 explains that the PIU in South Africa helped him see the importance of animals. Thomas explained what he was saying:

> "he now understands the importance. Wild animals is very important as a cow, because animals stay here a long time and people, millions of people, are paying a lot of money to see them. One each animal can just make a lot of money for the whole country. By each animal you can buy a lot of supplies. That means that animals are very important as he went to see them in South Africa" (Respondent 11, pers comm., 12 December 2002).

At the time of community interviews, wild animals from the KNP were being introduced into the sanctuary. It was therefore essential to determine how the community thought this would affect their lives. Twenty-one percent of the people interviewed stated the introduction of wild animals into the area would not affect their lives as "many animals have been introduced here to the park but they haven't yet done any bad things to us" (Respondent 1, pers comm., 11 December 2002). Two respondents from this category however added that they would always fear the damage lions and elephants can cause: "The animals, except the lions and elephants, they won't affect our lives" (Respondent 8, pers comm., 11 December 2002). This fear was reiterated by Respondent 3 who stated that: "the animals which can affect our lives if introduced in big numbers is elephants and lions. For example, lion can be a problem with livestock and elephants can also trample on our fields" (Respondent 3, pers comm., 11 December 2002). Respondent 11 felt that the animals, with the exception of the lion, have had no effect:

> "… because since they've been introduced all those elephants and zebras and all the animals, the major part of the animals haven't gone to [their] fields. So, the problem with lions is that the animal is a hunting animal and it wanders to look for food. The other animals, [he'll] make a great effort with them" (Respondent 11, pers comm., 12 December 2002).

On the other end of the spectrum are the majority of community members who believe that more animals in the area will definitely affect their daily routines - fifty-two percent of the sample felt this. Respondent 2 even stated that if more animals were to be introduced, "[he] is happy to be removed and placed somewhere without animals" (Respondent 2, pers comm., 11 December 2002). It is

believed that "elephant, rhino, and lions can affect [their] lives. Maybe some other animals can get into [their] houses. These animals are very close" (Respondent 13, pers comm., 12 December 2002). It is clear that the three species mentioned in the above quotation are disliked because they are potentially dangerous. Another reason residents are unhappy is because "the animals come in a big number...Before [they] were told they will not introduce lions in the wild but there is a big number here" (Respondent 9, pers comm., 11 December 2002).

There is evidence that these wild animals do not only pose a threat to the safety of people but also to their livelihoods, and that villagers are aware of this: "animals can affect [their] lives mostly when [they] are going down to their fields and meet animals there" (Respondent 10, pers comm., 12 December 2002). This is reiterated by Respondent 14's statement that: "Even now there are few animals but sometimes when we go down to the fields the people are coming running because of the animals. Maybe if they introduce more there won't be a good relationship" (Respondent 14, pers comm., 12 December 2002). After mentioning that wild animals had killed oxen, Respondent 4 hoped that: "it would be possible to enforce or make the fence stronger to keep away the animals from where the people live" (Respondent 4, pers comm., 11 December 2002).

Twenty-one percent of the people interviewed did not know whether the introduction of wild animals would affect them or not. Respondent 12 explained that this is because she "hasn't seen animals in this part" (Respondent 12, pers comm., 12 December 2002).

5.2.4    Local Perspectives on Development and Tourism

In an under-developed and poverty–stricken area like Massingir it is important to gain an understanding of the community's view on development.

All respondents agreed that development is good and necessary in order "to have better things to live well" (Respondent 9, pers comm., 11 December 2002). Thirty-six percent of the respondents support the idea of development in the area as "it can provide jobs which gives money for whatever you need to buy" (Respondent 4, pers comm., 11 December 2002) as well as to "provide job opportunity[s] to earn money and build things" (Respondent 13, pers comm., 12 December 2002). Respondent 10 "is on his way to developing if [he] doesn't drop his job. If [he] can carry on, development can be very important" (Respondent 10, pers comm., 12 December 2002).

Twenty-two percent believe that development means that "better facilities" (Respondent 3, pers comm., 11 December 2002) will be available for their use such as "schools and clinics". Respondent 1 however expressed concern that in order to be provided with such necessities, they may have to move: "We want development- it can be a very good thing and another thing which we don't want is just to

be moved from this village to somewhere else. But we need development ... but staying here and having development in the same place" (Respondent 1, pers comm., 11 December 2002).

Another twenty-two percent indicated that change and development has already started to occur in Massingir due to the establishment of the Limpopo National Park as it has provided some employment: "The change- we have already experienced it because there is already a fence and there are some people who are working there" (Respondent 7, pers comm., 11 December 2002). Respondent 11 also made reference to the fact that the presence of the park has improved the transport problem[50] in the area: "...We have a park here now. It happens that those that are running the park, they come here most of the time but when they get here they give us lifts to town. This is development. It is helping us" (Respondent 11, pers comm., 12 December 2002).

Due to the fact that a large-scale tourism venture is occurring on their 'door step' it was also relevant to determine the community's views on tourism.

When trying to determine whether community members perceive tourism as a good or bad industry, seventy-nine percent responded that it was good. This is due to the fact that they see tourism as a means for providing "money to the country" (Respondent 2, pers comm., 11 December 2002) as "tourists when they come here, they will pay some amounts at the gate to get into the park and government [needs] the money" (Respondent 3, pers comm., 11 December 2002 ). They also believe that tourism will provide "job opportunities" and the increased number of visitors in the area will allow villagers to "sell their things" (Respondent 1, pers comm., 11 December 2002). Two of the respondents made the connection that tourism will aid development in the area: "Its good because when they (the tourists) get here they will pay money- maybe just to see us and shoot some pictures. This will pay money to help development" (Respondent 5, pers comm., 11 December 2002). Respondent 11 made this connection when he was taken to South Africa by the PIU[51]: "Tourism can just develop. It can give food because as I saw when I went to South Africa ... and I'm talking about 5 000 000 metica's a day just to stay and eat" (Respondent 11, pers comm., 12 December 2002).

Respondent 12 believes that tourism is good but cautions that "when a lot of tourists come ... tourists cannot change any law of the people - they must listen to the old laws of the family" (Respondent 12, pers comm., 12 December 2002). Some community members are skeptical whether tourism can provide long-term benefits: "Tourism - well, I can hate the visitor who can just help once and just

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[50] The problem with transport was illustrated by Respondent 11's response to question 7 when he explained that: "with the problems, is the clinic because one girl was bitten by a snake last week and we had a problem transporting her to the clinic far away to get treatment".

[51] He was more than likely chosen to go to South Africa, as he is a local representative and viewed as an important and influential man in the village.

move along" (Respondent 10, pers comm., 12 December 2002). Although some are unsure of the benefits or challenges associated with tourism they still state that they "will receive tourists"(Respondent 9, pers comm., 11 December 2002) and "not chase [them] away" (Respondent 6, pers comm., 11 December 2002).

Seventy-two percent of the community members interviewed believe that tourism has the potential to change their lives as "it will bring visitors to sell to" (Respondent 4, pers comm., 11 December 2002) and "if they come in big numbers they will need assistance from the people that know the area and maybe give something to [them]" (Respondent 14, pers comm., 12 December 2002). As mentioned above the fact that the park has provided limited jobs already is proof enough for Respondent 5 that tourism can bring change in the area. Like Respondent 11 above, Respondent 3 while working as a plasterer "saw the things changing in South Africa and they pay a lot and provide job opportunities" (Respondent 3, pers comm., 11 December 2002).

Although Respondent 13 believes tourism to be a beneficial industry as people are "interested in seeing [their] lives", he "thinks that the area for cultivation should be separate to the tourist area" (Respondent 13, pers comm., 12 December 2002). Mozambique's unpredictable weather conditions of floods and droughts causes uncertainty as to the survival of tourism and associated benefits in the area: "…if there is no flood it will be good and then working and earning well" (Respondent 7, pers comm., 11 December 2002). In addition, Respondent 9 is uncertain whether tourism will provide the people with more benefits than hardships: "…maybe its bad. Maybe they (the tourists) can come and make our lives harder" (Respondent 9, pers comm., 11 December 2002). When questioned further she could not provide an explanation for this response.

Plate 11: Respondent 9 with her mother (weaving a mat) and her younger sister (December 2002)

## 5.2.5   Public Participation

Public Participation is necessary in order to ensure social and environmental justice, which is supposedly one of the many objectives of transfrontier conservation schemes.

The obvious question when going into the field was whether the community members of Massingir had any knowledge of the GLTP and how the area is to change in the future.  Sixty-four percent of the community members interviewed claimed that they knew nothing on this topic.  Twenty-two percent believe that "something might change in a long time" (Respondent 1, pers comm., 11 December 2002) or that "over time maybe things can change" (Respondent 5, pers comm., 11 December 2002 ).  Only thirty-five percent were more specific, stating that "people from the park came to explain to [them] that the place here is a national park" (Respondent 7, pers comm., 11 December 2002) and that "the park will come and bring development" (Respondent 2, pers comm., 11 December 2002).  Another stated that he "[knows] that this area is part of the Transfrontier Park" (Respondent 13, pers comm., 12 December 2002).  Only one resident mentioned a crucial piece of information: "there will be a park around here and if possible some people can be moved somewhere else" (Respondent 1, pers comm., 11 December 2002).

It is evident from interviews conducted that the method of public participation used in Massingir Velho with residents was a community meeting or "barriers meeting" (Respondent 1, pers comm., 11 December 2002).  The term 'barriers meeting' may have been used due to the fact that they were discussing the potential placement of fences to separate animals from human settlements.  Respondent 4 expressed irritation at the fact that they "haven't come to speak at [his] home".  One respondent insisted that the people from the park "hadn't spoken to them".  Thirty-six percent were not at the meeting.  Twenty-one percent of the sample population knew that the park authorities had been to speak to the community, but personally were not present: "they [went there] to talk to the people but [the Respondent] was not present on the day of the meeting" (Respondent 9, pers comm., 11 December 2002).  This could be due to reasons such as men working as migrant labourers: "the park people came before I was back from South Africa" (Respondent 13, pers comm., 12 December 2002), transportation difficulties or perhaps the meeting was not adequately advertised throughout the vast area.  According to the statements of the respondents, it seems that only one meeting was held in Massingir Velho - if this is true it seems inadequate for informing population size of approximately 20 000 people.

Although it is evident from the statements above, that park representatives did conduct a meeting with community members, concern was expressed that they still do not know much as "people from the park ... didn't explain everything" (Respondent 2, pers comm., 11 December 2002).  They were however told that "... the trees, the animals must not be killed.  It is not allowed to just chop down the

trees" (Respondent 10, pers comm., 12 December 2002). Promises to the community were also made: "the people from the park came here to explain about the park and they promised to drill water for us and to protect our fields from the animals". When questioned further on the topic he explained: "they said that we can do muthi and the community can help build fences to protect our livestock" (Respondent 14, pers comm., 12 December 2002)

Although a public meeting with community members was conducted, it is necessary to determine whether it was simply a means to inform the people of the park's plans or whether the community members were given a real stake in environmental decision making in their area.

Of the respondents that were present at the meeting, only thirty percent stated that the people conducting the meeting listened to their concerns and suggestions. There is a high degree of uncertainty amongst the community members as expressed by Respondent 14: " I was there and there were suggestions but the suggestion of the people of this area - they didn't listen to - we don't want to leave" (Respondent 14, pers comm., 12 December 2002). Respondent 7 also stated that: "They didn't listen to all the suggestions because most of the party didn't want this area to be a national park but the park is here... so we will be 'masked' (tricked) maybe to leave this area"(Respondent 7, pers comm., 11 December 2002). Despite the fact that community members do not favour the park and fence, plans have continued regardless. This has made community members feel powerless in the ability to affect their own futures: "They listened but they did not listen to all our suggestions as you can understand, because most of us didn't want the fence to be erected where it is...we didn't want it but we have no power to change it" (Respondent 10, pers comm., 12 December 2002).

The fence seems to be an issue of contention as it implies restricted agriculture:

> "We were told that down there (pointing in the direction of the dam), there is a fence erected there. They listened to our suggestions but they told us that we can just work now. Only this year we can do our field work there but next year we must move ... next year we must not go down because it will be inside the park" (Respondent 1, pers comm., 11 December 2002).

Promises by the people from the park were also made which seem to contradict the concerns expressed above: "I did ask questions at the meeting like where we are going to go when the national park is here. The people from the park explained that there will be a national park but that they are not removing people" (Respondent 2, pers comm., 11 December 2002).

At the time interviews were conducted, twenty-seven newly trained field rangers were working in the field. It is relevant to determine the relationship between these field rangers and Massingir Velho community members.

Seventy-seven percent of the respondents stated that their relationship with the field rangers is good: "It is a good relationship because we have had no problems" (Respondent 3, pers comm., 11 December 2002). They have not "heard about anything bad" (Respondent 6, pers comm., 11 December 2002). The most common reason given for the 'good relationship' is that "there are some people working from the area" (Respondent 4, pers comm., 11 December 2002) and "if the rangers can continue working like this it will be good" (Respondent 11, pers comm., 12 December 2002). Although respondents are pleased with the rangers because employment has been provided, it is evident that the employment provided to the community members is not as field rangers but more menial work: "[There is a] good relationship because there are some that are employed already and working somewhere else. And when they come back they are saying they are working very well" (Respondent 1, pers comm., 11 December 2002). When questioned further whether people from Massingir Velho were working as field rangers she explained: "...not as rangers, but there are some people working from here inside the park - cleaning and making roads" (Respondent 1, pers comm., 11 December 2002). Respondent 5 also explained, through the interpreter that "even her husband works there ... as you see those things (pointing to tools), he's looking after the fence" (Respondent 5, pers comm., 11 December 2002). Perhaps they associate the presence of the field rangers from the LNP with an increased opportunity for employment. This may provide a reason for the community's support of the field rangers.

A direct benefit of the field rangers' presence is identified by Respondent 8: "...since they're here no person has gone down there (to the field) to do something bad ... we can see that they are a person who (in the past) went there to steal the animals and hunt" (Respondent 8, pers comm., 11 December 2002). Field rangers therefore provide some protection. Another example of protection is evident in Respondent 2's explanation that "The relationship is now ok. In the beginning it was not so good. Some people were coming from South Africa who were illegal immigrants and the rangers beat and arrested them" (Respondent 2, pers comm., 11 December 2002).

Respondent 9 expressed doubt as to how long this good relationship can be sustained: "I don't know exactly about their behaviour, maybe its good because they have been here a short time and they haven't yet stayed with us a long time" (Respondent 9, pers comm., 11 December 2002). This relationship could also be negatively affected if field rangers and park personnel continue to make promises which are not delivered in time: "There is a good relationship but the thing is they haven't yet come to accomplish their promise - to come get water for us" (Respondent 12, pers comm., 12 December 2002). This complaint about a lack of action is reiterated by Respondent 14 (pers comm., 12 December 2002): "there is no good relationship because most of the time the talk to each other and they don't get to the completion ... they talk, talk, talk and make no decisions".

## 5.3    On the Other Side of the Fence: Experiences of a Field Ranger

As discussed in Chapter 4, only one semi-structured interview was conducted with field rangers in Mozambique's Limpopo National Park. Mr. Satoli formally works for the Limpopo National Park (LNP). He is employed on a contract basis and has been employed since 1 January 2003. He is a Field Ranger but at the time of the interview, had recently been appointed a new role, working in the office. This is due to his ability to speak English. Only one ranger works in the office at one time. During the fieldwork period, the other twenty-six were stationed in the field. Although Mr.Satoli explained that "he [comes] from the Manjakara District in this province" (pers.com., Mr.Satoli, 12 December 2002), he has been a resident in the Massingir area since 1991. This indicates that the Peace Parks Foundation has employed local people to work in the LNP.

### 5.3.1    Training and Capacity-Building

Field rangers undergo approximately four months of diverse training. During pre-selection, the men are trained for 80 days in the field. Subsequent to that, they attend the Wildlife College in Nelspruit, South Africa. In addition, Mr. Satoli "had another course as a Section Leader for two weeks" (pers.com., Mr. Satoli, 12 December 2002). He was taught how to conserve natural resources and learnt "about biodiversity, and about how to protect the ecosystem web" (pers.com., Mr. Satoli, 12 December).

Plate 12: Passing Out Parade of newly trained LNP Field Rangers in Massingir (Source: Peace Parks Foundation, December 2001)



At first he found his job difficult but after one year's experience, he explained that he had "*adaptia*" (adapted in Portuguese). He enjoys working as a ranger but hopes to acquire further skills in Wildlife Management.

According to the Peace Parks Foundation Project News, it is "impossible for 27 field rangers to patrol an area of a million hectares effectively" (Van Wyk, 2003). Training of a second group of field rangers has started. Communities living in the LNP were requested to nominate suitable people to be

trained as field rangers. Using a process of individual interviews and physical analysis, fifty-five candidates were selected in mid December 2002. These trainees were deployed to ranger stations where they worked with the existing field rangers for a month in order to obtain an understanding of the work before their basic training commenced.

5.3.2 Knowledge and Perspective on Local and Global Conservation

It is believed by Mr. Satoli that many benefits will accrue from the establishment of the Limpopo National Park. These he felt are associated with the aim of the park: "... to have natural resource protected in this area and secondly to make jobs for women in the community ...". More specifically benefits include: "jobs, schools, communication, health, hospital...something to eat- they must have food" (pers.com., Mr. Satoli, 12 December 2002).

Mr. Satoli explained that he experiences problems while working because "at the moment the community don't understand what is the natural protection" (pers.com., Mr. Satoli, 12 December 2002). They are angered and question the right of 'outsiders' telling them they cannot eat wildlife meat. They have told Mr. Satoli that they have been eating 'this' meat since they were born and that God made this meat for them.

As a ranger spending "many days in a camp" he has realized that within the community "there are two groups - the enemy and the happy man" (pers.com., Mr. Satoli, 12 December 2002). The enemy being those who oppose the park and associated problems of living with animals while not being able to utilize 'their' resources; the happy man being a person who realizes "the benefit to protect natural resource" (pers.com., Mr. Satoli, 12 December 2002). Mr. Satoli believes that a solution can be found if the Mozambican government, the community and LNP have the "same aim to make the people understand what it (the park) is good for". He reiterates the need for good partnerships: "There must be a happy agreement with three parts - the community, Limpopo National Park and government" (pers.com., Mr. Satoli, 12 December 2002).

According to Mr. Satoli "the community, traditionally, they had seen and understood all things are belonging to them. They wanted to use unscheduled". He explains that restrictions on resource use should not be imposed too quickly, but "if they stop we must teach them slowly ... to understand the benefits". It is clear that he has an understanding of and belief in the concept of sustainability: "they (the community) must protect them (the wild animals) for food and for their children. Not just for community but the whole Mozambican and regional continent - the whole world" (pers.com., Mr. Satoli, 12 December 2002).

When questioned whether people will be moved and if a potential alternate site for re-settlement has been found he responded that according to his knowledge no land had been found as yet. He repeated the fact that the government, the community, and the Limpopo National Park must have a plan. He explained that "you cannot force someone to go to the area what he doesn't want" (pers.com., Mr. Satoli, 12 December 2002) but it is necessary for the community to have a choice and some say in the plan. He indicates that incentives will aid in decision making:

> "We can say to the community, I have this and that condition to move you to another site. What is your opinion? What do you want to do? What persuade you to choose firstly and secondly? So you can move him according to his choice. And if he chooses worse for you, you can make an arrangement" (pers.com., Mr. Satoli, 12 December 2002).

Mr. Satoli recognizes the necessity for fencing: "For me, its very necessary to fence here because at the moment we receive more [many] claims about wildlife conflict with people". He believes that animals and people should live separately due to associated dangers. As made evident in section 5.2.3, the lion is mentioned as the most feared animal as "they worry about women security" (pers.com., Mr. Satoli, 12 December 2002). Once again he reiterates, "we must not force them" (pers.com., Mr. Satoli, 12 December 2002)

## 5.4    Attitudes within the Superpark Hierarchy

As discussed in Chapter 4, questionnaires were sent via e-mail to a number of potential respondents representing institutions and organisations fitting into the decision making hierarchy as depicted in Chapter 3 for purposes of this research. Although the use of the word hierarchy seems to contradict the principles of co-management, it is used to display the relationship between varying organizations, as there still exists power differentials amongst certain decision makers. Out of nineteen questionnaires sent out, fourteen confirmed receipt. Out of this group of fourteen, only ten actually sent a response, three of which were not answered adequately. Instead the respondents either sent their organisation's brochures or their own conference papers to assist in 'filling in the gaps' or alternatively requested that reference be made to another respondent's response from the same institution - this latter was not recorded in the results.

### 5.4.1    Roles and Responsibilities of Organisations and Institutions Involved

The IUCN, the first (highest) level in Figure 3 is represented by Mr. Maxwell Gomera based in Zimbabwe. Mr. Gomera explains that his current role in IUCN is to manage "research, communication and policy analysis; and advocacy programme designed to support the GLTP process by outlining knowledge constraints that may be affecting further development of the GLTP" (Gomera, received 13 December 2003). Some progress has been made as eight research papers have been commissioned and assistance has been provided to "some countries in coming up with their own

policies on TBNRM[52] and have helped some to think through the reasons why they are engaging in TBNRMs, including the GLTP" (Gomera, 13 December 2003).

At the second level of the decision making hierarchy Mr. Arrie Van Wyk is a representative of the PPF in this research as he is the Project Manager of PIU- a branch of the PPF. He was appointed by the PPF and "has been seconded to Mozambique to work together with the Park Director to implement the development of the LNP" (Van Wyk, received 18 October 2003).

The AWF is situated on the same level as the PPF in Figure 3. Although Mr. Busani Selabe was meant to be the representative of AWF he requested that reference be made to Mr. Lamson Maluleke's response as he too is employed by AWF[53] and "knew more about the subject" (Selabe, received October 2003). AWF has been working in the Limpopo Heartland, since 2000. Their primary focus is on "the increasing land under effective conservation in areas surrounding the Great Limpopo Transfrontier Park, namely, Mhinga, Mthethomusha Reserve and Cubo; and conflict resolution on the newly established Limpopo National Park" (Maluleke, received 13 September 2003). In addition, AWF has been "facilitating the community participation of the three countries involved in the GLTP" (Maluleke, received 13 September 2003). The "Maluleke people" for example have "been part of the South African Communities assisted by AWF in South Africa in terms of their participation in the planning process of the GLTP, but not the land claim process which resulted in the partnerships with SANParks" (Maluleke, received 13 September 2003).

Other organisations situated on the second level of Figure 3 include those that provided direct financial assistance such as KfW, and those that funded feasibility studies such the GEF of the World Bank. No response was received from the latter. Instead a questionnaire was sent to Mr. Heiko Weissleder, the Administrative and Financial Director of GFA Terra Systems (GFA). This consultancy provided assistance with community consultation in the LNP. More specifically, "GFA Terra Systems was asked to conduct a pre-feasibility study concerning the feasibility of voluntary resettlement of the population living within the park. Furthermore the cost and impact of such a resettlement was analysed" (Weissleder, received 13 October 2003).

For the purposes of this research, Mr. Ralph Kadel was sent a questionnaire as the representative of KfW. He provided a brief description of the organisation's purpose as "the financing of projects in developing countries for [the German] ministry of economic co-operation and development" (Kadel, received 19 September 2003). More specifically, their role in the GLTP project is the "financing of

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[52] Transboundary Natural Resource Management.
[53] Mr Lamson Maluleke however is the community representative of Maluleke Tribe and also answered questions regarding this topic.

*parc* development and support zone development measures" such as "social infrastructure, *parc* infrastructure and ecological tourism" (Kadel, received 19 September 2003).

A response was not successfully received from Mr. Kahrika, the representative of the Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism (DEAT).

SANParks is situated on the third level of the decision making hierarchy (Figure 3). According to Dr. Piet Theron, the SANParks Programme Manager for TFCAs, "South African National Parks is the South African implementing agent for four transfrontier parks and renders all professional and logistical support to these projects" (Theron, received 14 October 2003). These projects mentioned include the GLTP, the Ai-Ais/Richtersveld Transfrontier Conservation Park, the Kgalagadi Transfrontier Park, and the proposed Limpopo/Shashe Transfrontier Conservation Area. One of Mr. Theron's key responsibilities is "to act as contact point in SANParks for all activities relating to the establishment, planning, development and implementation of TFCAs involving SANParks" (Theron, received 14 October 2003). His previous role was as International Coordinator for the GLTP but "in November 2002 South Africa's two-year term as Coordinating Country in the development and implementation of the GLTP process came to an end" (Theron, received 14 October 2003). According to an International Agreement between South Africa, Mozambique and Zimbabwe it was decided "at the Ministerial Committee meeting held on 12 July 2002 in Maputo that Mozambique will take over from South Africa as Coordinating Country in the GLTP process from December 2002" (Theron, received 14 October 2003). The new international Coordinator based in Maputo is Dr. Jorge Ferrao. A questionnaire was sent to Dr. Jorge Ferrao with his permission. He did not however respond to the questionnaire but e-mailed a paper of his, entitled "Great Limpopo Transfrontier Park Challenges and Opportunities".

Mr. Kobus Wentzel, the Shingwedzi District Ranger based in the KNP also responded to my questionnaire as an informal representative of SANParks for the purpose of this research. He explained that his former work in the area was with the communities surrounding the park. He explained that DEAT is responsible on a political level and SANParks has to report to them. In addition Mr. Kobus Wentzel is one of the representatives on the formal technical board responsible for the management of the area.

The Administrative Structures of the KNP, LNP and Gonarezhou National Park are also situated on the third level of the hierarchy (Figure 3). A questionnaire was sent to Inspector Oubaas Coetzer of the South African National Police based in Skukuza, KNP. Although he confirmed a response, none was received. As mentioned in Chapter 4, a response was not received from Mr. Gilberto Vicente, the Park Warden in Limpopo National Park. However, Mr. William Swanepoel involved in the

Implementation and Anti-Poaching Unit in the LNP, did respond. He explained that initially, he "was appointed to manage the fenced area that has been named the 'Sanctuary'. However, due to a total lack of Senior field staff; [he] has been involved in all management (field) activities" (Swanepoel, received 22 November 2003).

### 5.4.2    The Theory Behind the GLTP and On-the-Ground Reality

The questionnaire responses were analysed in order to investigate what decision-makers at different positions on the hierarchy regarded as the goals of the GLTP, and also to try to determine where the on-the-ground reality was falling short of these goals (and the hierarchy's willingness to concede this and act on it). It was interesting to note that those lower down on the hierarchy were more willing to acknowledge problems while those higher up were less willing to engage with problems. The 'silences' in the responses were as interesting as their actual content.

#### 5.4.2.1  Rationale for the Establishment of the GLTP and Potential Benefits

With regard to the main reason for the creation of the GLTP, there was a striking lack of consensus. Thirty-six percent of the respondents believe that economics played a dominant role in the creation of GLTP. Mr. Gomera (IUCN) indicated that it is a good economic opportunity for the communities as it promises to: "increase household income" for "rural communities on common pool land" (Gomera, 13 received December 2003). Mozambique is perceived to be the main economic beneficiary; the only reason presented by Mr. Weissleder (GFA) was the: "creation of income for Mozambique" (Weissleder, received 13 October 2003). The "economic charme of the concept" is recognised by Ralph Kadel (KfW) but he also emphasized that this was to be aided by "political willingness for peacekeeping" (Kadel, received 19 September 2003).

Another thirty-six percent believe the creation of the park was due to concern for and promotion of the sustainable use of resources and associated improvement of quality of life for community members: "the provision of sustainable benefits to improve community's lives" (Wentzel, received 13 December 2003). This is turn will aid in reducing "livelihood vulnerability" (Gomera, received 13 December 2003). Mr Van Wyk (PPF) provides a more detailed explanation: "I think the main reason for the creation of the park was to change the land use of the area from unsustainable subsistence agriculture in a very low rainfall area to wildlife management and tourism which will hold far more sustainable income for the communities in the area" (Van Wyk, received 18 October 2003).

Twenty-five percent attributed "the expansion of the conservation areas" (Maluleke, received 13 September 2003) as the main reason for the creation of the GLTP. Mr. Wentzel agrees with this statement, noting that there was a "proposal ten years ago to enlarge conservation areas in southern Africa" (Wentzel, received 13 December 2003). Mr. Swanepoel (implementation and Anti-Poaching

in LNP) believes that TFCAs have been a dream amongst "people in the nature game" and that "Uncle Anton Rupert just made it happen in the GLTP situation" (Swanepoel, received 22 November 2003).

Mr. Theron (SANParks) made reference to the formal long-term objectives as the reasons for the creation of the GLTP (see Chapter Two). These include: "to foster transfrontier collaboration and cooperation to facilitate biodiversity conservation and effective ecosystem management; to promote alliances in the management of natural resources by encouraging socio-economic partnerships (eg. local communities, private sector, NGOs and government); to enhance ecosystem integrity and processes by harmonizing resource management processes; to facilitate sub-regional economic growth, to develop trans-border tourism; and to facilitate the exchange of technical, scientific and legal information" (Theron, received October 2003). The first objective of "regional collaboration, cooperation and coordination" was reiterated by Dr. Ferrao (received 10 December 2003).

Dr. Ferrao (International Coordinator for the GLTP) repeated the statement that, the vision of TFCA's is "to improve the quality of life of the peoples of participating countries by means of inter-state collaboration in promoting sustainable use of natural resources, whilst at the same time managing for the conservation of transboundary ecosystems and their associated biodiversity" (Ferrao, received 10 December 2003).

The above is an example of perceived benefits. Whether to the community, wildlife conservation or to peacekeeping, benefits are overwhelmingly emphasized. For example: "Improvement of cooperation between Mozambique and South Africa (and Zimbabwe), income source for the population, recreation area for tourists, protected area for the survival of different species" (Weissleder, received 13 October 2003). Mr. Van Wyk (PPF) believes that there are benefits on the "conservation side... and socio-economic side" (Van Wyk, received 18 October 2003). Conservation benefits identified are due to the fact that the park "protects vast areas of habitat that up to now did not form part of formal conserved areas and it creates a bigger system within which wildlife can move more freely and probably re-establish old migratory routes" (Van Wyk, received 18 October 2003). These conservation benefits are reiterated by Mr. Kadel (KfW): "free roaming of animals and herewith less pressure on the KNP vegetation; better chance to handle the various wildlife diseases within KNP" (Kadel, received 19 September 2003). An associated joint opportunity is recognised by Dr. Ferrao (International Coordinator of the GLTP). The stresses caused by "the overpopulation of elephants in Kruger national Park" can be relieved by "translocating elephants and other wildlife from the Kruger national Park to Limpopo National Park" (Ferrao, received 10 December 2003). This joint benefit will aid the Limpopo National Park which is "under-populated with almost all species of wildlife due to its former status as a hunting concession as well as the disruptive effects of the long civil war" (Ferrao, received 10 December 2003).

Mr. Swanepoel (Implementation and Anti-Poaching Unit in the LNP) is a little more cynical about this proposed 'joint opportunity'. He thinks that the "KNP will be the biggest beneficiary of this initiative, in that it will alleviate a very little bit of the current elephant crisis, but will move the poaching threat a hundred kilometers east into Mozambique" (Swanepoel, received 22 November 2003). He adds that "this has already happened. Since we have started our anti-poaching efforts, the KNP has not had a single poaching incident on our common boundary[54]" (Swanepoel, received 22 November 2003).

On the socio-economic side, Mr. Van Wyk (PPF) believes the GLTP "creates the opportunity for tourism development, especially with the link to the Kruger National Park which already has a visitor stream of more than a million visitors per year. Local communities will benefit through job creation" (Van Wyk, received 18 October 2003). Again, Mr. Kadel (KfW) reiterates these benefits: "job creation (focused on local people) through tourism development [and], improved infrastructure for tourism as well as for social purposes (schools, field hospitals)" (Kadel, received 19 September 2003). Mr. Swanepoel (Implementation and Anti-Poaching Unit in the KNP) however, realises that "social benefits will take much longer to show". He adds: "people must realize that the LNP is not going to solve the unemployment problem in the area but will bring tourists to the area, who will spend money in the surrounding areas, if the locals gear themselves for it". He provides an example of "a local Mozambican [who] has already built a guest house in anticipation of the increased interest that the area is already enjoying" (Swanepoel, received 22 November 2003).

Joint ventures such as eco-tourism ventures across borders is another example given by Dr. Ferrao (International Coordinator for GLTP) as a means "to develop meaningful partnerships between and among public sector, private sector and local communities" He views this as "the most feasible mechanism for generating tangible social and economic benefits" (Ferrao, received 10 December 2003). Mr. Gomera (IUCN) however questions the "economic rationale through the development of tourism opportunities". This is due to the fact that "few have established a visible and credible link between community tourism, conservation and the generation of revenues" (Gomera, received 13 December 2003). An example is the commercialization of natural resources (including wildlife) being proposed as a means of generating income for communities. There is however, "a lack of up to date information in Zimbabwe and Mozambique on what species are available, their distribution and numbers. Without this information it is impossible to make reliable predictions on what the returns to communities would be...and whether these would be adequate incentives for them to participate meaningfully" (Gomera, received 13 December 2003).

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[54] Despite the problems created by a more open structure of the GLTP such as the cars being more easily smuggled, Mr. Swanepoel (November 2003) also stated that the "'closed' structure of the park does absolutely nothing to control or inhibit pedestrian movement between the two countries".

5.4.2.2 Perceived Obstacles to the Development of the GLTP and Mechanisms to Resolve Problems

Sixty-three percent of the respondents are aware that changing land use patterns and resource tenure in the area has, and will continue to create challenges to the implementation of the GLTP. This issue has been exacerbated by the fact that park representatives "dragged their feet to involve communities in plans for the Limpopo National Park. Rumors are rife in the communities about how they are being threatened" and subsequently, "hunting concessions have been met with opposition" (Wentzel, received 13 December 2003). Mr. Wentzel (SANParks) believes communities should have been "provided with the 'full picture' as well as incentives from the start" as it is necessary for local people to "buy in, in order to guarantee long-term success". In addition he provides three potential options: "to move the people without their consent, to make community 'buy in' by providing incentives, or to fence people in park leading to conflict over the core and dry areas" (Wentzel, received 13 December 2003).

Similarly, Mr. Kadel (KfW) believes that fears within the community are due to local people not being "well informed ... [this] may hamper their willingness to cooperate in the implementation process". In addition, he questions the acceptance and viability of "various rules and regulations to be adopted [to allow]for the free movement of people and animals" (Kadel, received 19 September 2003). These uncertainties are reiterated by Mr. Maluleke (AWF and Makuleke Community Representative) as he lists one of the obstacles as: "the uncertainties with regard to the future of those 20 000 or so people living inside the newly proclaimed Limpopo National Park". Mr. Swanepoel (Implementation and Anti-Poaching Unit in LNP) also believes that "the biggest obstacle is the large population still resident within the park" (Swanepoel, received 22 November 2003). He explained that a mechanism has been put in place but could not give details, saying this would be best explained by the PIU[55]. Surprisingly, Mr. Maluleke is the only respondent who mentions the "human-animal conflict, especially in Mozambique" (Maluleke, received 13 September 2003) as a problem.

Dr. Ferrao (International Coordinator for the GLTP) also discusses socio-economic challenges:

> "The biggest challenge which still needs to be addressed is the achievement of socio-economic development objective. In other words the question of how to spread economic developments to communities in and around the Transfrontier Park, so that they do have an incentive to actively participate in the ecosystem conservation efforts" (Ferrao, received 10 December 2003).

He expresses concern about "social and economic disruption that can occur when people do not have viable livelihood options, particularly in Mozambique and Zimbabwe. The prevailing high level of poverty in some interstitial areas and inside the GLTP, forced communities to engage in illegal

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[55] "The PIU manages eight programs, each with its own challenges and milestones, ranging from community issues, demining, infrastructure development and game relocation" (Van Wyk, October 2003).

behaviour such as poaching, uncontrolled fire and illegal migration which undermines the legitimate policy and judicial procedures for addressing their grievances" (Ferrao, received 10 December 2003). Connected to this could be the "expected problem between the locals and field rangers" presented by Mr. Swanepoel (Implementation and Anti-Poaching Unit in LNP): "the locals perceive the field rangers as having taken away part of their lifestyle, diet and income". To mediate the situation, the "LNP reacted by setting up a series of workshops with the affected communities and the field rangers, as well as other interested parties. Apparently, this was quite successful" (Swanepoel, received 22 November 2003)[56].

Eighty-three percent of the respondents mentioned the establishment of community committees or "community representative structures formed on a village, district and park level" (Van Wyk, received 18 October 2003) as a means with dealing with issues affecting the communities "especially on the issue of possible resettlement" (Maluleke, received 13 September 2003). This is viewed by Mr. Kadel (KfW) as a "participatory process to adapt resource use and *parc* boundaries to the needs of the Limpopo communities". In addition, "the zoning process at the Shingwedzi basin will be based on the decisions of villages to stay, to be fenced in, or to leave the *parc* (assisted by the project following the very strict rules of the World Bank for such activities)" (Kadel, received 19 September 2003). There is also "a community department that deals specifically with the questions surrounding communities" but "the question of moving the people is being dealt with by a consultant" (Swanepoel, received 22 November 2003). Mr. Maluleke (AWF and Makuleke Community Representative) pointed out that NGOs are also playing a role in trying "to empower the community and ensuring that their rights are not further infringed" (Maluleke, received 13 September 2003).

A number of constraints clearly inhibit the likelihood of poor rural communities realising potential benefits, and this is recognized throughout the hierarchy. Mr. Gomera gave a fascinating and candid insight into IUCN thinking about transborder conservation initiatives, which is worth quoting in full:

> "the absence of agreed best practices provides a major obstacle to the development of TBNRMs. The development of TBNRMS has been so rapid that there has been little time to learn and adapt lessons from CBNRM...One challenge is that prevailing models of protected area management do not permit direct participation by communities in Park management. Surprisingly, this problem does not seem to arise in interactions with private landowners. The private sector is regarded as best suited to add value to natural resources on communal land and to be the driver of economic benefits in GLTP. But the expectations on them have been unrealistic. In some cases state authorities have relegated development responsibilities to the private sector. In others, the private sector is expected to make economic space for communities. Naturally communities have felt relegated to the fringe...The main problem in the communal sector appears to be that rights to land and resources are ill defined...The Makuleke community has demonstrated that where a community has clear and unambiguous rights to land, they are able to leverage greater

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[56] The researcher was not made aware of this issue while conducting semi-structured in Massingir.

equity on the resource and engage more meaningfully" (Gomera, received 13 December 2003).

It is evident from this quotation that in failing to achieve a consensus in the early stages of decision making can affect stakeholders and their support of conservation schemes. Rights and responsibilities of differing stakeholders need to be clearly defined from the outset of the project.

These problems are compounded by the fact that the three countries involved in the GLTP process are at very different levels of development. This is widely recognized throughout the administrative hierarchy: "Infrastructure in the Limpopo National Park as well as in Gonarezhou", for example "are still under developed". In addition to this, "all three countries are still facing the paradox of high unemployment combined with a shortage of skill in some key areas of expertise as well as insufficient technical capacity for basic communication in some areas of the park" (Ferrao, received 10 December 2003). This problem is also recognized by Mr. Swanepoel (Implementation and Anti-Poaching Unit in LNP) but he fears that it is not recognised by the Mozambicans, who need to ackowledge "the lack of field management experience and knowledge". He adds that "this will have to be addressed if the park is to function smoothly. A Mozambican was sent to the African Wildlife College this year on a certificate course, and more are going to attend. This however, does not address the experience side of the problem" (Mr. Swanepoel, received 22 November 2003).

Mr. Theron (SANParks) made the point that on a higher administrative level than the local, problems are handled by the: "Tri-lateral Management Committees" put in place "to deal with joint issues relating to the planning, development and management of the park". As Mr. Theron explained:

> "The Joint Management Board (JMB) is responsible for the management of joint issues relating to the development of the GLTP. Management Committees dealing with specific issues such as conservation, safety and security, tourism development, finance, human resources and legislation have also been established to advice the JMB. The JMB will also, on a regular basis, recommend certain actions for approval to the Ministerial Committee who is ultimately the decision-making authority" (Theron, received 14 October 2003).

In this situation of joint decision making, trust and transparency is a crucial element for successful environmental decision making.

### 5.4.2.3 Theory and Reality

In concluding this section, it is necessary to indicate that all respondents believe that the objectives behind the GLTP are possible to achieve in reality. The possibility of peace and the generation of income for local residents are key to Mr. Weissleder (GFA). In his opinion, "economic development is a pre-condition for peace" (Weissleder, received 13 October 2003). The evidence of Mr. Kadel's (KfW) belief in the future success of the theoretical principles and objectives is in the fact that "KfW financed the project" (Kadel, received 19 September 2003). Mr. Wentzel (SANParks) believes that the concept must be "embraced now otherwise we will miss the boat and the opportunity will not

come around again". He does however realise that it will "take time" (Wentzel, received 13 December 2003). This is also the thought of by Van Wyk (PPF) as he states that the PIU regard the park as a long term process and time frames, especially where they affect communities, will be very flexible. For example, the whole elephant introduction program has been changed for example when it was realized that it was met with opposition from the communities. The same applies to the removal of the fence between the KNP and LNP. The whole program has been slowed down and focused on areas where no communities will be affected. It is realised that the future success of the park "depends on how we managed the community issues, and it will therefore be dealt with utmost caution" (Van Wyk, received 18 October 2003). But this is clearly not recognised by all as Mr. Kadel (KfW) mentions that problems have arisen due to the "different visions of different players about the speed of the implementation process" (Kadel, received 19 September 2003).

The various countries involved have different attitudes towards the superpark. In South Africa the notion of TBCAs has been met with much support, but plans which concentrate on privately owned land has been criticised for not focusing on local community needs[57]. Duffy (1997) however states that these proposals have subsequently been linked to the South African Reconstruction and Development Plan. Problems existing in Mozambique are mainly the result of previous political instability. This includes the existence of land mines and the lack of infrastructure and tourism development. Duffy (1997: 446) explains that this has "hampered Mozambican efforts to join the superpark as an equal partner, able to take advantage of the benefits it could offer". As Duffy described it in 1997, the situation in Zimbabwe was the most complex. First, the Chief Conservator in the Lowveld Conservancies of Zimbabwe was skeptical and argued that "there has to be a certain level of tourism development before the area can actually attract visitors in significant numbers" (Duffy, 1997: 446). Second, Zimbabwe indicated that they were still not convinced about the benefits of the park in 1996 and used the argument of a loss of sovereignty to delay the scheme. In addition, the dominance of international donors in the project proposals frustrated the government which stated that it "would not bow to such imperialist tendencies, even though it [the superpark] is following a national plan of World Bank-inspired reforms" (Duffy, 1997: 446).

Mr. Swanepoel (Implementation and Anti-Poaching Unit) explains: "at present we are not moving towards any theoretical objectives in as far as field management is concerned. The only area that is being managed intensively is the Sanctuary, and here we only have a problem along the dam, where elephants are eating crops planted by the locals following the receding water" (Swanepoel, received 22 November 2003). He is thus saying that the actual achievements on the ground are quite minimal,

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[57] This is in contrast to the Zimbabwean government's position on conservation as being entirely compatible with social and economic development. The Parks Department has a clear commitment to sustainable utilization of resources by local communities. This is to overcome the competing the competing interests of environment and development without jeopardizing the survival of any species (Duffy, 1997).

especially in light of the grand objectives of transfrontier parks. Mr. Theron (SANParks) believes that theoretical objectives are possible in reality but urges the public to realise that: "the development and formalized establishment of TFCAs is unique and relatively new and therefore there are very few guidelines that can be used to work from and no benchmark to measure successes or failures. The problems encountered are therefore rather perceived as challenges for which innovative solutions should be found" (Theron, received 14 October 2003).

### 5.4.3 Perceived Impact of Past Conservation Theory (especially of the Kruger National Park) on New Conservation Initiatives

Sixty percent of the respondents who answered the question relating to this topic do not believe that the history of the Kruger National Park and its associated 'fortress conservation' with the history of exclusion of local communities will create problems when shifting to a new conservation approach underpinning the GLTP. Mr. Arrie Van Wyk (PPF) even took offence to the question. His response was: "Do you think it is proper to comment on a sister organisation? It is in any case ten years since the democratic change took place, so all 'old' ideas have since been replaced" (Van Wyk, received 18 October 2003). When Mr. Weissleder (GFA) noted that he worked in the Limpopo National Park, and was under the impression "the Mozambican Ministry together with the donor KfW assures that they pursue their own approach and not that of Kruger" (Weissleder, received 13 October 2003).

In addition to this independent thought in Mozambique, there is evidence that the KNP has carried out deliberate plans and actions to replace the historical emphasis of the park and attempt to compensate those that were not given a fair opportunity: Mr Swanepoel stated that "The management of the KNP have gone through an exercise called 'Operation Prevail' whereby many of the old staff members lost their jobs, and the KNP can be seen as to be under new management" (Swanepoel, received 22 November 2003). 'Operation Prevail' is described in a media release as "the code name for the restructuring plan sweeping through South African National Parks... a turnaround strategy whose objective is to balance the high human resources costs of the park while repositioning it as an efficient and cost-effective organisation" (South African National Parks, July 2003: 1). Associated with this program is the removal of apartheid-era statues in the KNP: "two apartheid statues in the Kruger national Park have been identified for removal by South African National Parks management in line with the government's policy on the removal of Apartheid monuments in the country" ( South African National Parks, July 2003:1). These statues, erected in 1976, include a figure of Paul Kruger at the Kruger Gate and the busts of Lt. Col. Stevenson Hamilton and Piet Grobler at Skukuza Rest Camp. The Chief executive of SANParks said recently that, despite the removal of the statues: "We appreciate the role played by these gentlemen in the establishment and early days of the park" adding that the creation of the KNP was steeped in controversy (South African National Parks, July 2003: 1).

Mr. Maluleke (AWF and Makuleke Community Representative) encapsulates this shift:

> "SANParks has been in the transformation process for the past five years or so and part of it was the paradigm shift from fortress kind of approach towards community conservation. Their National Parks Act is under the process of being changed to accommodate the interests of communities and at the same time maintaining biodiversity management".

He "strongly believes with this, KNP will contribute towards the shift to a new conservation approach" (Maluleke, received 13 September 2003). Although Kadel (KfW) is not so convinced and thinks that problems may arise, he believes that "KNP has a lot of experience ... and human capacity with the willingness to learn and adapt". In addition he does not think the "fences and fines approach will... be transferred from west to east" (Kadel, received 19 September 2003).

All respondents believe that this 'new park' contributes to the African Renaissance as it "promotes peace and cooperation in the region" (Maluleke, received 13 September 2003) and "symbolizes the openness and collaboration between countries which form the cornerstone of the African Renaissance" (Van Wyk,, received 18 October 2003). Mr. Kadel (KfW) believes that this "cooperation will be advantageous for everybody as it helps nations- which were not best friends in the past- to work together" (Kadel, received 19 September 2003). Mr. Weissleder (GFA) adds that despite new and strong partnerships in the 're-birth' of Africa, individual states will still hold onto their own identities: "cooperation between Mozambique and South Africa will not lead to a new (joint) self-comprehension of the two states" (Weissleder, received 13 October 2003).

### 5.4.4    View on Human-Animal Relations in GLTP

When members of the decision-making hierarchy were asked whether animals and people can successfully live together within a confined area, sixty-six percent of the respondents that answered believe that it is possible. Two different explanations were provided. First, it was thought that this is possible because of other existing examples: the fact that there are already "national parks in Africa and also in Mozambique where people are living with animals[58]" (Maluleke, received 13 September 2003). An example of this situation provided by Van Wyk (PPF) is "[the] Masai". Van Wyk does note however that there are significant differences between the Maasai situation and that in the GLTP, especially on the Mozambican side:

> The difference is that it is a way of life for them. In the Limpopo National Park both people and wildlife disappeared from the area during the war, and both are returning after the war. The people have already indicated that they do not mind the return of the animals but they want agricultural fields and grazing areas to be fenced. It was agreed that we will wait and see how things develop over time without acting prematurely" (Van Wyk, received 18 October 2003).

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[58] A case study of this situation in Mozambique is the coastal Nacional das Quirimbas proclaimed in June 2002 where there are an estimated 55 000 people living within the park boundaries and depending directly on natural resources for their livelihoods (Turnbull, Africa Geographic, January 2003).

Second, Mr. Weissleder (GFA) believes that direct economic benefits will allow for the co-existence of people and animals in one area. He answered the question of whether human-animal co-existence would be possible as follows: "Yes, if people have enough possibilities for economic development and have a relatively direct profit from the presence of the animals and if the animals do have a habitat that allows them to live according to their needs" (Weissleder, received 13 October 2003). According to Kadel (KfW), "people in the Shingwedzi region who were asking for this possibility are asking as well for good fences around their villages. Specialists are telling me that this will be possible" (Kadel, received 19 September 2003).

However, the other thirty-four percent of the respondents are not so convinced of the possibility of people and animals living together. For example, Mr. Wentzel (SANParks) notes that "animals such as elephants have already been eating their crops. This affects their livelihood. Also, to prevent conflict with animals a solution to limited water resources will have to be found as people and animals do not have different water sources" (Wentzel, received 13 December 2003). Similarly, Mr. Gomera (IUCN) believes that "the issue of the location of people in relation to access to water is very important as it is likely to be a source of conflict with wildlife" (Gomera, received 13 December 2003). Mr. Swanepoel (Implementation and Anti-Poaching Unit) explains that this possibility "totally depends on the size of the area, the density of people and of the game, the type of habitat, the land use of the people and, the availability of water" (Swanepoel, received 22 November 2003). In the case of the Limpopo National Park, he does not "believe that the two can co-exist due to the clash of interests that exist between the envisaged tourism industry and the pastoral and subsistence farming lifestyle of the Shangaan residents in the LNP. Tourism needs lots of wild animals, specifically predators and elephant, and the locals need the opposite" (Swanepoel, received 22 November 2002).

According to Mr. Gomera (IUCN), substantial thought has already gone into this issue, and the need for more research has been acknowledged within the decision-making hierarchy:

> "Researchers have reported that there is need for improved knowledge on human wildlife conflicts and their mitigation as well as for managing conflict areas that are likely to arise at present or in the future depending on possible agricultural developments on the periphery or within the GLTP. The location of people's settlements in relation to the location of resources important to wildlife populations (eg. key dry season watering and grazing points) is not well understood. Settlements in some areas of the GLTP are well entrenched and people are unlikely to wish to be moved even where practical considerations demand such movement. In addition, many of the settlements may actually have captured the same resources that are targeted for development i.e. the resources are already 'owned'".

An important issue therefore is the zoning of these areas in relation to the distribution of wildlife and people.

Dr. Ferrao (International Coordinator for the GLTP) suggests that the harmonization of land use could lead to another conflict between people and wild animals: "Communities have made clear that they would like to continue their livestock production activities in some areas surrounding the GLTP. However the current presence of bovine tuberculosis among buffalo could be seen as a potential threat to those livestock producers" (Ferrao, received 10 December 2003). Mr. Gomera (IUCN) also discusses this issue: "disease control as it relates to wildlife or domestic animals has been a subject of debate among veterinary authorities in the three countries". He explains further:

> "buffalo and lion populations in Kruger National Park are infected with bovine TB. But there is no agreement on the level of threat posed by bovine TB to the entire GLTP and to cattle populations on the periphery. In addition, the GLTP is also an endemic foot and mouth disease area. The practical concerns are on what the implications of disease and veterinary controls would be and how these might affect other sectors of the economy such as beef production and export markets. Veterinary authorities have often responded to disease threats by erecting fences. If this is to be considered, the issue of where the fences will be and how they will be funded need to be understood" (Gomera, received 13 December 2003).

## 5.5 Environmental Decision Making in the GLTP

This section focuses on the insights of the organizations within the hierarchy, on the environmental decision making process in the GLTP. Related issues are discussed under sub-headings. These include: policy development for public participation and partnerships, questions of resource ownership, control and management, and the influence of funders. Although communities within the GLTP are presented on the hierarchy, their insights are not included in this section as they were discussed earlier in Section 5.2.

### 5.5.1 Policy Development for Public Participation and Partnerships

In order for public participation processes to effect any change, all stakeholders should engage as true partners. In the questionnaire it was therefore relevant to ask members at various levels of the decision-making hierarchy about policies or plans which may have been put in place to give communities an opportunity to act as partners in the decision making process. Two respondents provided information on the participatory process in general. Mr. Kadel (KfW) noted, for example that the PIU is responsible for "participatory development processes in the support zone". According to The Maputo Planning Meeting (September 2002), the PIU is to guide and supervise two issues which emerged and need to be addressed immediately. These include: "the need for boundary re-alignment of the LNP along the Limpopo River and to the south-east of the Massingir dam, and to address the complex issue related to the future of the communities currently located in the Shingwedzi

watershed"[59]. In addition he explains that there are plans to "create a management board of the *parc* with community members" (Kadel, received 19 September 2003). Mr. Theron (SANParks) provided a more general response: "community issues are viewed as national issues (impact of sovereign rights of countries) and are therefore the responsibility of each of the countries involved in the project" (Theron, received 14 October 2003).

These rather vague responses could be due to the fact that policies to create true partnerships with the community are poorly developed. This is suggested by some of the other responses to the questionnaire received by the researcher:

> "I was in the park to determine whether the local population can be integrated effectively into the decision process. At the time it was clear that there was only partial integration of the communities into the decision making process but it was as well very clear that a successful implementation will need a better integration of the population. To my knowledge this has already taken place" (Weissleder, received 13 October 2003).

Mr. Maluleke (AWF and Makuleke Community Representative) believes that such "plans are very ambitious because the community are coming as underdogs without any bargaining powers". In addition he explains that "the government of Mozambique in particular are busy working on the resettlement plans". However, he was reluctant "to talk about it because they are still in the infancy stage". These concerns regarding the policy development and plans for participation or lack thereof is reiterated by Mr. Gomera (IUCN):

> "One weakness of the GLTP process has been the development of policy. On one hand, the policy development process has been largely a preserve of state authorities. The pronouncement of the park, through release of elephants into LNP and more recently the upgrading of Coutada 16 to LNP are examples of policies that were generated with little public participation and, some argue, inordinate private sector participation. On the other hand the policies are not clear and appear inconsistent with other public priorities".

Mr. Wentzel (SANParks) simply stated that "community consultation is occurring now" (Wentzel, received 13 December 2003) and provided the Makuleke case study as a successful example of a community acting as an active partner. On the South African side, Mr. Maluleke (AWF and Makuleke Community Representative) feels that the community and SANParks are in a true partnership, although there is need for more trust, he added that it "will take time to see the real partnerships". The greatest source of remaining conflict is "the joint conservation management of the area" which Mr. Maluleke feels is still "wanting" (Maluleke, received 13 September 2003). Despite this however, he feels that justice has been achieved after past environmental discrimination because the land of his people has been returned.

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[59] According to this meeting, the approach to be taken regarding the Shingwedzi communities would be consultation with each of the approximately 1 000 families in order to customize incentive packages for resettlement opportunities or to address a life inside the LNP as enclave communities. There was concensus at the meeting that no forced resettlement will take place (Maputo Planning Meeting, 17 September 2002).

Mr. Van Wyk (PPF) provides a detailed account of how these new plans and policies for participation are intended to work in the LNP in Mozambique:

> "Representative community structures have been created to allow for more structured participation in the process. A Project Liaison Board is being created where the communities will be represented. The Project Liaison Board will meet on a quarterly basis where they will receive information with regard to development and management plans and they will also be consulted on their thoughts on these issues. The Project Liaison Board will provide the Steering Committee with their input before the Steering Committee meet. In three years time the existing Steering Committee will be replaced by a Management Board and then local communities will be represented on this board" (Van Wyk, received 18 October 2003).

The above are clearly long-term plans to ensure a more equitable role in the environmental decision making process for community members. When conducting interviews in Massingir Velho however, there was evidence that these public participation plans were being implemented as two out of the fourteen community members interviewed, were on the Community Representative Structures.

In addition, Van Wyk (PPF) identifies two main areas where participation of communities is being actively pursued and explains why. The first is the Shingwedzi catchment area within the LNP in Mozambique: "The one focus point is to consult with people living within the Shingwedzi catchment with regard to either making use of a voluntary resettlement option or if they would prefer to stay as an enclave community[60]". When asked whether land for resettlement has been identified in this region, he explained that "certain areas have been identified, these areas will still have to be finalised with district administrators and host communities[61]". Associated with this are incentives offered to people who decide to move voluntarily: "KfW has made some funding available to compensate those people who decide to move voluntary, the details whereof will be finalized with the leadership and community" (Van Wyk, October 2003).

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[60] Community members that wish to remain in the park and be fenced–in in order to protect them, their livestock and crops against the wild animals are referred to as enclave communities. According to the Draft Version on "The Development of the Communities of Limpopo National Park, Mozambique" (GFA Terra Systems, August 2002), living in an enclave would hinder the socio-economic development of the communities. Infrastructure would remain poor, as -- except for the purpose of tourism development – new constructions are usually not allowed inside the park boundaries. Land available for farming and grazing would be limited and access to the outside world would become even more difficult as villagers would not be able to leave the enclave on foot, but be dependent on arranged transport.

[61] The communities into which the Massingir communities will move into and live with.

The second focus area within the LNP in Mozambique - the 20 000 people living next to the river on the western side.

> "This area is called a support zone[62] and does not form part of the park. At the moment we are busy with a resource mapping exercise to determine what area of land is being used by the community at present. The idea is to then adjust the boundary of the park to accommodate community land needs. The community will then be in a position to continue with their activities as normal as well as utilize game within this area on a sustainable basis in consultation with the park authorities".

The issues raised here are discussed further in the next section.

Mr. Van Wyk (PPF) was also asked how the objectives of the park are related to the objectives of local livelihoods. He explained that

> "the communities in the park are living a subsistence lifestyle and most years are dependent on feeding schemes (food aid) to survive. The communities are therefore both cautious and optimistic about the development of the park as they would like the development and opportunities it would bring, but they do not know at this stage how the park will affect them individually. That is why it is important to communicate openly on how objectives and expectations can be synchronised" (Van Wyk, received 18 October 2003).

This explanation seems to present a balanced view of the situation within the GLTP. Mr. Van Wyk recognizes that open communication with community members is crucial for the successful establishment of the GLTP and portrays the ambivalence that was also expressed in the results of the community interviews conducted in Massingir Velho (Section 5.2).

5.5.2   Questions on Resource Ownership, Control, and Management

The establishment of protected areas exemplifies common disputes surrounding land and resource tenure. As explained in Chapter Two the examples discussed in this thesis have their roots in colonialism and have more recently been shaped by the (sometimes racially-based) struggle for environmental justice. The process of conservation, and the establishment of National Parks in southern Africa, was historically based on the expropriation of land. One of the principles behind the GLTP is to learn from, and correct these past injustices. This section tries to determine the current status of debates about resource ownership, management and control in the new superpark, and whether or not processes have been set in motion to resolve these very difficult issues – particularly the existence of conflicting statutory and customary tenure rights and land use. A crucial part of

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[62] Families who choose to be resettled could be moved to the 'Support Zone' and would most likely be attached to the park area. According to the Draft Version on "The Development of the Communities of Limpopo National Park, Mozambique (GFA Terra Systems, August 2002), these communities would probably resettle into a familiar environment, integreating them into host communities would be possible in a relatively short time. Infrastructure development projects would benefit both newcomers and host communities. Although it would not be possible to resettle all Shingwedzi communities into the support zone, it currently offers enough space and agricultural land to accommodate parts of them without putting too much pressure on the area.

environmental decision making is conflict resolution. It is noted that when questioned whether any structures for conflict resolution have been put in place, reference to the participatory process (discussed above in Section 5.5.1) being established was made. It is doubtful therefore that a specific conflict resolution strategy has been put in place.

According to Mr. Theron (SANParks), "IEM[63] is one of the guiding principles for the conservation and management of natural resources as contained in the GLTP Joint Management Plan document". In addition, he states:

> "a key objective of the GLTP is to develop frameworks and strategies whereby local communities can participate in and tangibly benefit from the management and sustainable use of natural resources- therefore community participation is critical to the success of the GLTP. In this regard, a South African Community Resource Committee was established to deal with community issues in respective countries" (Theron, received 14 October 2003)[64].

Despite the establishment of this committee neither respondents from the SANParks could provide a response on whether mechanisms have been provided for the co-existence of conflicting statutory and customary tenure rights and land use. This could be to the fact that it is a complicated and sensitive issue that has often led to conflict. The problem remains that customary tenure is largely unwritten and may not coincide with the state's development process[65].

When asked how resource use will be allocated and controlled, Mr. Kadel (KfW) explained that it is "controlled through a well trained ranger corps and allocation is based on the rules and regulations in the IUCN Category 2 National *Parcs*" (Kadel, received 19 September 2003). When asked for further details, he suggested consulting the management plan for the park. The document was obtained. Relevant information relating to this issue included:

> "Community access to harvesting of natural resources in the GLTP must happen within a framework of the relevant park policy and at levels that do not exceed sustainability. It is also essential that the relevant research and monitoring accompany such utilization...Preferential access should be given to affected communities with reduced rates for school excursions and organized community groupings...Communities who previously lived within the borders of the GLTP must be allowed free access to sites of cultural or traditional significance...The JMB[66] must facilitate alternative land use options for affected communities such as the rehabilitation of abandoned irrigation schemes" (Joint Management Plan Working Group, 2002)

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[63] Integrated Environmental Management

[64] This response was given to a question regarding community readiness and whether a specific public participation approach was taken due to the fact that people living within LNP are not a homogenous group. There seems to be a lack of knowledge on the subject.

[65] According to the Draft Version on "The Development of the Communities of Limpopo National Park GFA Terra Systems (August 2002), under the Mozambican law a person or any legal entity cannot own land, as all land belongs to the state. Communal land is generally not titled (*de juro*), although community members do have customary (*de facto*) land use rights. If an outsider wants to acquire a title for land s/he has to first negotiate with the relevant community whether the land is available or not.

[66] Joint Management Board

The issue was explained in greater detail by Mr. Theron (SANParks):

> "Resource is allocated in terms of the Management Plans of each of the National Parks involved in the GLTP process. The respective conservation agencies (such as SANParks) are still responsible for the day-to-day management of the respective national parks, while the Joint Management Board, guided by the Joint Management Plan, is responsible for the management of joint issues" (Theron, received 14 October 2003).

An explanation of how this will be carried out among the two different community groups in LNP – those that wish to remain in the park as enclave communities or those that wish to be resettled in the support zone - was provided by Mr.Van Wyk: "Resource use in the Support Zone (periphery) will be determined by the resource mapping exercise and will be allocated by the communal use system. The resource use in the enclave communities will have to be negotiated with the communities" (Van Wyk, received 18 October 2003).

Despite the fact that respondents noted that structures have been put in place to allocate and control resource use, Mr. Swanepoel (Implementation and Anti-Poaching Unit) does not "think that specific regulations have been formulated yet" and further thinks that "it would be wise to wait until the communities have been sorted out before specific resource regulations are put in place". "Law enforcement" however "is being carried out and future development areas will have to be protected from slash and burn agriculture" (Swanepoel, received 22 November 2003). It is evident from this response that the communities' attitudes and views on wildlife may be unchanged and that 'illegal' use of resources and hunting still continues as "law enforcement" is still necessary.

Mr. Gomera (IUCN) was the respondent who spoke most about co-management. According to Mr. Gomera:

> "the GLTP has placed importance on co-management programs involving surrounding communities and those living inside protected areas such as Gonarezhou and Limpopo National Park. The cooperation will include joint resource planning, and business development opportunities" (Gomera, received 13 December 2003).

It does not seem however that respondents from the SANParks are aware of the form that this co-management will take. Neither could indicate whether community conservation based on ownership in the LNP would fall under Protected Area Outreach (like in the KNP), Community Based Natural Resource Management (such as CAMPFIRE in Zimbabwe), Collaborative Management or a combination of the above. Mr. Wentzel (SANParks) however explained that "Protected Area Outreach in the KNP entails environmental education" and that "the Maluleke region is a contractual park". He also indicated that SANParks are unsure of the efficacy of Community Based Management due to "conflicting reports on CAMPFIRE in Zimbabwe" (Wentzel, received 13 December 2003).

Responses in section seem to indicate that the GLTP decision makers have underestimated the complexity of the issues of land and tenure rights and management as there seems to be a definite lack of formal structures and mechanism to guide these issues as well as conflict resolution. These should have been established earlier on in the decision making process.

### 5.5.3    The Influence of Funders

Transfrontier schemes attract a lot of international attention and foreign funding due to a recent rise in the marketing of tourism on the African Continent. Wells (2003) however warns against the potential difficulties that can emerge due to conservations' relationship with capitalism and associated economic trends.

The only funding institution questioned for the purposes of this research was KfW. Because KfW is a development bank, funds have an "investment character" (Weissleder, received 13 October 2003) and are intended for "activities which help to implement a "balanced *parc* structure" (Kadel, received 19 September 2003). This includes: "infrastructure in and around the parc, support zone development, tourism development and coverage of the running costs for the first years" (Kadel, received 19 September 2003). Mr. Weissleder (GFA) reiterates KfW's holistic development approach as he explains that "funds are used and reallocated in order to meet the most pressing needs of the project. To [his] knowledge the original funding was provided to pay for the basic infrastructure measures and additional funding will be available to meet the needs of the local population" (Weisslder, received 13 October 2003).

On the issue of donor dependency, Mr. Weissleder (GFA) believes that it "is near to impossible to avoid donor dependency in a large project like this" as "a park like this can only be set up with large public funds whether they are provided by the state itself or by a foreign state through it's development cooperation". According to him "Germany and Mozambique have committed themselves for quite some time and for a definite amount of money to be invested into this park in order to achieve results. Neither Mozambique nor Germany have reserved themselves possibilities to pull out of this contract without good reason" (Weisslder, received 13 October 2003).

In order to avoid the shortcomings of donor dependency, Mr. Kadel (KfW) explains that they "are thinking about a mixed model such as entrance fees, concession fees and a Trust Fund. The preparation of the trust fund is part of the KfW budget".

Other organisations that have financially contributed to the establishment of the GLTP include: the World Bank, WWF, IUCN and USAID as discussed in Chapter 3.

Two other projects in Mozambique, associated with the GLTP, have also been established with the help of donors. The Massingir Dam Rehabilitation Project is funded by the African Development Bank. The dam was originally built for irrigation and energy generation purposes by the Portuguese in the 1970s, but has for a long time been prone to leaks and therefore has never been put into full operation. According to the GFA Terra Systems (2002) this project intends to raise the water level of the reservoir, necessitating resettlement of people around the Massingir Dam and Olifants Rivier. Some of the families who have to resettle are living inside the LNP. Cooperation between this project and those involved with the GLTP is important in order not to counteract each other's community strategies, but to combine efforts in finding a sustainable solution.

A project called "The Sustainable Management of Indigenous Forests" is funded by the Southern African Development Community (SADC) and works with communities east of the Limpopo River. According to GFA Terra Systems (2002) this area is widely covered with forest and forms a 40 km wide corridor between LNP and Banhine National Park. The project aims at "moderating the pressure on the forests by reducing traditional charcoal production" (GFA Terra Systems, 2002: 6). This region is sparsely populated and would provide space for people willing to move from communities within the park. It could also function as a broader support zone to both parks (GFA Terra Sytems, 2002).

Communities need to be made aware of these associated projects and local activities in order to benefit from the funds being 'poured' into the area. According to GFA Terra Systems (2002), the PIU has established an NGO forum to integrate local communities into theses processes.

## 5.6    Conclusion

In this chapter, the results were presented according to the following structure. First, the Massingir community's livelihood strategies and perceptions of tourism development, particularly of the GLTP were presented. Second, an alternate attitude and experience of a field ranger working within the LNP is discussed. The third section presented the views of organizations higher up in the decision making hierarchy on the GLTP, and their role and the policies in the decision making process.

The next chapter draws together these findings and the theoretical tools of the study - social and environmental justice, environmental decision making and public participation, and different community conservation frameworks based on ownership - discussed in Chapter 2 to meet the objectives of this study.

## Chapter 6

## Analysis and Discussion

6.1    Introduction

This chapter provides an analysis and discussion of the results of this research in light of the study's conceptual framework.    In the first section, an attempt is made to assess the ideology behind the establishment of the GLTP and to compare this to related on-the-ground achievements:  to compare "rhetoric" and "reality".  The issues are divided into two sections. First, "conservation with a human face" discusses the extent of change in conservation practiced in the GLTP.  Secondly, the use of popular images and ideas such as "pulling down the fences" and the "African Renaissance" in marketing the park is considered, together with the actual effects these have had on the local community to date.

The discussion then turns to the extent to which social and environmental justice concerns and principles have been incorporated into the GLTP planning and implementation process.  This is divided into four themes namely: civic environmentalism, politics and unequal power relations, disruption of community structures and user rights, and human-animal conflict.

The last section of the chapter assesses public participation at the community level in the GLTP. To what extent can this be thought of as a community-based conservation initiative? Khan's (1998) elements of Integrated Environmental Management (IEM) principles are used as a means for comparison.  An attempt is made to identify the approach adopted by the GLTP by using Barrow and Murphree's (1997) definitions as a tool for analysis.

6.2    The Ideology and Practice of Transnational Conservation at the GLTP

This section relates to the study's first objective, which was to identify decision making procedures and approaches currently being used in the setting up of the GLTP. An assessment is made as to whether the GLTP is, in reality practicing community conservation principles and priorities by comparing popular rhetoric with on-the-ground actions.

The concepts underpinning transnational conservation were discussed in Chapter 3.   The transnational park concept claims to be a rejection of the previous "fences-and-fines approach", described by Adams (2003: 43) as the "suppression of resource use by local people and the forced

abandonment of established rights and resource patterns". In addition this approach is "rooted in separationist ideology" (Carruthers, 1994: 270) characterized by the exclusion and restriction of local people and their livelihood strategies, enabled by the erection of fences to protect the wildlife and keep it separated from people outside. Transnational conservation however claims to embrace the concept of "community conservation" where local people play an active role in the management of the protected areas, thereby receiving benefits. Beinart and Coates (1995) argue that this aim incorporates more ethical goals as it creates an opportunity for both the protection of natural environments while permitting reasonable human use of resources.

A key aim of the study was to compare the rhetoric and ideology of transnational parks regarding community-based conservation, with on-the-ground reality. The findings suggest that not much seems to have changed as results indicate that environmental rationales for conservation still supersede anthropocentric rationales. Related to this is the fact that resettlement is planned to take place, to allow the GLTP to reach its full tourist attraction potential. In addition, the romantic idea of removing fences to allow wildlife to follow ancient migration routes and return the area to an imagined pristine environment, has given rise to new disputes. Temporary fences and bomas that have been placed in the LNP have disrupted the community's access to arable land and their main water source. The study also suggests that the GLTP does not in fact cater a great extent to the African Renaissance, as there is a high degree of involvement of foreign organisations and donors.

### 6.2.1   Conservation with a Human Face?

There were conflicting views at different levels within the decision-making hierarchy about the goals of the transfrontier park in regard to human development. According to Dr. Ferrao, the International Coordinator for the GLTP, the vision of transfrontier conservation areas (TFCA's) is "to improve the quality of life of the peoples of participating countries by means of inter-state collaboration in promoting sustainable use of natural resources, whilst at the same time managing for the conservation of transboundary ecosystems and their associated biodiversity" (Ferrao, received 10 December 2003). This view seems to prioritise the anthropocentric principles behind TFCAs. At the lower end of the hierarchy, views were a bit different. Mr. Satoli (pers.com, 12 December 2002), the trained field ranger working in Massingir, believes that the main aim of the park is "… to have natural resource protection in this area and secondly to make jobs for women in the community".

Responses from representatives of organisations higher up in the decision making hierarchy indicated that the rationale behind the GLTP was: first economics, to improve the lives of rural communities; second, the promotion of sustainable use of resources and provision of sustainable benefits to rural communities; and third, the expansion of conservation areas. Yet, Mr Theron (received 14 October 2003) of SANParks and former coordinator for the GLTP presented a rationale focusing primarily on conservation biodiversity.

It is clear that both anthropocentric and environmental rationales exist for the establishment of TBNRM schemes such as the GLTP. Spierenburg and Wels (2003: 10) however make an interesting observation about a change in the ideology behind the establishment of the GLTP, indicating perhaps that community issues are not in reality, the priority of the project:

> "This TFCA[1] was meant as a multiple use area, especially to help impoverished communities in communal land areas in Mozambique. If one looks at the map accompanying the objectives one can see that communal areas enclosed in the TFCA-plan are much larger than the included Coutada 16 Wildlife Utilization Area (directly opposite South African Kruger National Park) Zinave National Park and Banhine National Park combined. Just as in other TFCAs, funders and park planners hoped that through the use of participatory approaches local people would feel that they have a real stake in protecting wildlife. The idea since 1995 has always been that the Limpopo TFCA would become a TFCA with multiple land use. But what came out of it is a road to the creation of a game park, which does not allow for communities living inside its boundaries. What started as a process to establish a Transfrontier Conservation *Area* ended in agreements about a Transfrontier *Park*".

The rhetoric behind this 'new form of conservation' begins to look increasingly empty especially when comparing the meaning of a transfrontier *park* and the more broadly conceived transfrontier *conservation area* discussed in Chapter 3.

It seems possible that transnational conservation may resort to the same "draconian measures to control the natural human existence" within protected areas, characteristic of the establishment of parks during the colonial and post-colonial eras, described by MacKenzie (1988). The perception that locals are "wasteful and inefficient in their resource use" has not necessarily changed and it seems most efforts during the implementation of the GLTP have been to "return the area to an imagined pristine environment" as described by Steinhart (1994) in the establishment of Kenya's national parks. Valli Moosa, South African Minister of Environmental Affairs and Tourism before the 2004 elections stated that "People will come for the nurturing touch of Mother Nature, for a taste of Eden, for the pristine bush and wide–open spaces, to satisfy a primordial longing"

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[1] Transfrontier Conservation Area (defined in Chapter 3)

(Moosa, *Sunday Times*, 30 September 2001: 27). This catering for the "primordial longing" of tourists may result in disrupting the primordial survival of local people within Massingir Velho.

> Duffy (1997: 443) too criticises the superpark concept for following a "traditional pattern of national park development which has clearly failed across the continent. The exclusion of local people from wildlife conservation areas has led to incursions beyond park boundaries by local people". This "exclusion" may refer to both the physical exclusion of local people from within the park boundaries, as well as the exclusion from the decision making process and receiving of benefits. As noted in Chapter 5, the possibility of resettlement out of the Limpopo National Park (LNP) was expressed in a number of the community responses.

This possibility has resulted in the local community of Massingir Velho feeling more vulnerable as they depend on 'their land' for subsistence purposes and survival. This works against the one of the aims of the GLTP, which is to "aid in reducing 'livelihood vulnerability'" (Gomera, received 13 December 2003).

The results of this study indicate that all respondents believe that development is good and they believe it can "provide job opportunities" (pers.com., Respondent 13, 12 December 2002) and "better facilities" (pers.com., Respondent 3, 12 December 2002). However, most people are not willing to move from their village in order to receive promised development opportunities. Mr. Swanepoel of the Anti-Poaching and Implementation Unit, believes that "the biggest obstacle is the large population still resident within the park" (Swanepoel, received 22 November 2003). It has been made clear that KfW and the World Bank, the two central funders for the transfrontier park, are completely opposed to *forced removals*. They believe that even a hint of this would destroy the philosophy of the entire project and destroy its viability. As indicated in Chapter 3, Ramutsindela (2002) believes that the real test of the GLTP's commitment to a more humane plan for the future of Massingir's inhabitants lies in their decision regarding the future location of these local people.

The Draft Version of a document on the "Development of Communities of Limpopo National Park, Mozambique: Shingwedzi River Basin" prepared by KFW and DNAC (August 2002) discusses the proposed development approaches for the Mozambican population living within and around the LNP. It provides an interesting insight into the true motivation for the possible *resettlement* of the local population living within and around the LNP: "the attractiveness of the park as a tourist destination correlates inversely with the number of people living inside". This is due to the fact that more people living within the park, will result in less wildlife moving into the park and fewer tourists being attracted. In the case of the LNP, "the areas within the park suitable

for tourism development and important for the survival of wildlife overlap with the populated areas along the Shingwedzi River" (KfW & DNAC, 2002: 13). This focus on tourism does not indicate any true change in the ideology behind the establishment of transnational parks. Like national parks designed to promote African nationalism and more recently the African Renaissance, parks claimed to be designed for the recreation and glorification of the people of Africa, national parks have proved more significant in the recreation and glorification of international tourists. Transnational parks seem little different.

Although the superpark concept is intended to empower rural communities, Duffy (1997) is also skeptical whether local communities will benefit from anything other than employment in tourism facilities. It is clear from the semi-structured interviews conducted in Massingir Velho, that the local people are expecting direct benefits from tourism. As in the case of the proposed St. Katherine National Park in Egypt (Hobbs, 1996), many of the sample population believe that tourism is a good industry. At the time interviews were conducted for this research, it was clear that limited employment had been provided for community members. Two respondents indicated that they or their husbands had been employed to help bulldoze trees and erect a fence in the same area for the wildlife sanctuary.

However, this seems dangerously similar to Carruthers's (1994: 271) explanation of the colonial government's approach to conservation where sanctuaries were established "in which game could recover from the depredations of the nineteenth century" and Africans were not included as partners but were used for labour as they could not continue their traditional subsistence lifestyle in conserved areas. The fact that "people from communities in Limpopo National Park were employed to construct the boma used in the release of animals from Kruger" (Peace Parks Foundation, October 2002) was also mentioned in the *Africa Geographic* (October 2002). It was evident however that people working in this way are unsure of the length of time that they will benefit from employment

On the other hand, some men have found employment as field rangers. Twenty-seven men were already trained and working as field rangers for the LNP at the time of fieldwork for this research. An additional fifty-five candidates, nominated by communities living in the LNP, were selected in mid December 2002 to be trained and employed as field rangers. This is evidence that employment has in fact already been made available to locals, even in the early stages of the implementation of the LNP.

A possibility seems to exist that, like the Bedouin in St. Katherine National Park in Egypt (Hobbs, 1996: 10), the people within the LNP may "only adhere to restrictions if provided with direct benefits". Mr. Kadel (received 19 September 2003) provides a list of these direct benefits: "job creation (focused on local people) through tourism development [and] improved infrastructure for tourism as well as for social purposes, such as schools and field hospitals". These benefits are similar to those provided to the Maasai in the Amboseli National Park, described by Lindsay as: "additional direct benefits in the form of services such as a school, dispensary, and community centre which would be included in a new Park headquarters at the edge of the park..." (Lindsay, 1987: 157). Failure to provide the local people with continuous benefits in return for compromises in their use of the land may result in failure of the park's objective for wildlife conservation, as well as lead to new conflicts. This was evident amongst the Maasai community in the Amboseli National Park.

Boonzaier (1996), this time drawing on the case of the Richtersveld National Park in South Africa, makes a cynical statement on the success of "conservation with a human face", suggesting that "conservationists simply win converts by ensuring conservation efforts translate into material advantage for local populations. In short we *'buy'* local support with the money obtained from tourism". This strategy of encouraging locals to *buy into* the scheme is expressed by Mr. Wentzel (received 13 December 2003) when he states that communities should have been "provided with the 'full picture' as well as incentives from the start" as it is necessary for local people to "buy in, in order to guarantee long-term success". We will return to the issue of benefits and incentives below.

Drawing on the comment made by Duffy (1997) in the previous paragraph, it is important to note that community members interviewed also expressed concern regarding the long-term benefits of tourism in the area. Although some respondents made reference to the positive change that tourism has brought to South Africa, some seemed threatened by the change that tourists may bring into the area. The environmental decision makers are also nervous about this. Gomera (received 13 December 2003) believes that believes that there are a number of constraints that inhibit the likelihood of poor rural communities realizing potential benefits:

> "The development of TBNRMS has been so rapid that there has been little time to learn and adapt lessons from CBNRM ... One challenge is that prevailing models of protected area management do not permit direct participation by communities ... The

main problem in the communal sector appears to be that rights to land and resources are ill defined".

Thus insecure rights and land tenure may restrict equitable use of resources as well as the community's ability to participate meaningfully in plans regarding their future. A lack of knowledge over resource and land rights was indicated in the responses of the sample population interviewed in Massingir Velho as there was a lack of consensus over land ownership. Thirty-eight percent of the sample stated that the land belonged to them; twenty-nine percent stated that the land belonged to the traditional leader, and fourteen percent responded that the government owned the land. In addition, Mr. Gomera questions the economic rationale of the joint eco-tourism ventures presented by Dr. Ferrao as these doubts come into play when one considers that "few (public-private partnerships) have established a visible and credible link between community tourism, conservation, and the generation of revenues". (Gomera, received 13 December 2002). This suggests that many benefits have been proposed for the communities, but without any real plans or agreements.

6.2.2    Popular Images: Pulling down the Fences and the African Renaissance
The primary purpose of transfrontier co-operation according to Shine (2001) is improvement in the ecological management of migratory species. Although Shine (2001: 37) emphasises that "benefits are inter-related and that peaceful cooperation is most likely to be strengthened if natural resources are sustainably used and the interests of local populations are taken fully into account", it is clear that the most attractive aspect of the GLTP to the middle-class public, is the focus on the preservation of bioregions, allowing animals to follow ancient migration routes, disrupted by barriers such as political borders and transport routes in the past, as well as increasing the genetic diversity within species. The plan to achieve this in the GLTP involves taking down the fence between the three participating countries. According to Steinhart (1994), this preservation of habitats as self-contained ecological systems is modelled on the experiences of the United States preservationist movement. Even when there was evidence of long-established human occupation, efforts were made to return the area to an imagined pristine environment.

From questionnaires conducted with organisations within the decision making hierarchy, it is evident that one of the primary benefits of the GLTP is associated with removing the fences separating the component protected areas of the GLTP, in order to create a larger protected area

within which wildlife can move more freely and probably re-establish old migratory routes (Van Wyk, received October 2003). This will also mean less pressure on vegetation in the KNP and a better chance to handle wildlife diseases (Kadel, received 19 September 2003).

The removal of fences has become the symbol for a new conservation ideology, turning away from the former ideology of focusing mainly on the welfare of wildlife inside the fence and far less with the well being of the people outside the fence. Much of the official rhetoric towards community conservation nowadays refers to the current wish of conservationists to go "beyond fences". It is questionable however whether this romantic idea behind the TFCAs is possible in reality and whether the "dream of an Africa without fences" will ever be viable.

Numerous newspaper articles draw on the public rhetoric and popular issue of removing the fences or boundaries separating the KNP and LNP. In 2001 the *Sunday Times* trumpeted: "Truly the greatest animal kingdom: Boundaries fall as neighbours embrace the world's most ambitious conservation project, writes Valli Moosa"; the new park would "open natural migratory routes which were artificially blocked by political boundaries constructed by colonial masters of Southern Africa" (*Sunday Times*, 30 September 2001: 27). Another example is "Miracle in Africa: SA and its neighbours tear down the borders to create the world's largest - and most ambitious – game reserve" (*Sunday Times*, 30 September 2001: 1). This article continues:

> "in a major symbolic act, the electric fence between the southern Kruger National Park in South African and Mozambique will be taken down...The park will eventually radically change the way the borders between South Africa, Mozambique and Zimbabwe are defined. Visitors will be able to move freely in the reserve between countries without passing through border controls[2]" (*Sunday Times*, 30 September 2001: 27).

This goal is surely similar to those held by conservationists during the colonial and immediate post-colonial eras. At that time, the fascination with the wild and untouched landscapes led to the implementation of draconian measures, put in place to control the natural human existence within these areas. As a result, "whole peoples were denied opportunities as wilderness was converted from social space to the domain of the beasts, a tourists pleasuring ground" (Burnett & wa Katg'ethe, 1994: 155). The question is whether similar social and environmental controls will be imposed, decades later, to achieve the same goal of catering to the tourists' needs.

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[2] Literature reviewed suggests differently as Ramutsindela (2002: 14) lists one of the problems Zimbabwe has presented in the establishment of the GLTP as "a lack of conveniently-located border crossings".

While the creation of the transboundary parks aims to promote more friendly interactions between countries, reduce military presence and perhaps even lead to solving boundary disputes (Hamilton, 2001), as well as provide tourists with access to the largest wildlife conservation area in Africa with the aim to generate income in economically depressed areas, the experience in the GLTP to date seems to have given rise to new disputes. For example, the local communities expressed opposition after the LNP was proclaimed. This was due to the fact that community members were concerned that the presence of park boundaries may add to their farming problems. Respondents' statements regarding the fact that new fences have blocked easy access to their fields indicate that a somewhat misleading impression was created by the *Africa Geographic* article which stated that the "Limpopo National Park is being developed in close consultation with the communities living in the area and the fencing of the wildlife enclosure was a case in point. A number of meetings were held with community leaders and the communities themselves determined the exact positioning of the fence" (Peace Parks Foundation, *Africa Geographic,* October 2002: 77).

An area of about 30 000 hectares in the south-western section of the park, bordering the Massingir Dam has been fenced in order to create a wildlife enclosure for the newly translocated animals. As claimed above, this fence cuts off the locals in Massingir from the most convenient water source and arable land within the vicinity. This is justified by the PPF as a means to "[increasing] the wildlife numbers without affecting the communities in the park, and as the animals are confined to a small area, they will be easily managed from an anti-poaching point of view" (Peace Parks Foundation, October 2002). Although an effort was made to curb human-wildlife conflict, no thought seems to have been given to how this structure would disrupt the Massingir communities' present subsistence farming activities. This however makes sense in the light of one of the GLTP objectives which is to "change the land use of the area from unsustainable subsistence agriculture in a very low rainfall area to wildlife management and tourism" which will, according to Mr. Van Wyk (received 18 October 2003), "hold far more sustainable income for communities in the area". This area, used intensely by Massingir subsistence farmers, has also been identified as a potential major draw card for tourism activities for the Mozambique sector of the GLTP, due to its "abundant bird life" and the location of the dam only "about 45 kilometres from the Olifants Camp in Kruger National Park" (Peace Parks Foundation, October 2002). It seems inevitable therefore that conflict over land use will occur as

some community members believe that the "area for cultivation should be separate to the tourist area" (pers.com, Respondent 13, 12 December 2002).

It is thus not surprising that the symbolic translocation of 25 elephants on 4 October 2001 from the KNP to the LNP was met with opposition. There was a reported "problem along the dam, where elephants are eating crops planted by the locals following the receding water" (Swanepoel, received 22 November 2002). Swanepoel suggests that this indicates that the actual achievements on the ground are quite minimal, especially when viewed in light of the grand objectives of the GLTP. Van Wyk (received 18 October 2003) states that those higher up in the decision making hierarchy of the GLTP have become aware that the implementation of the park is a long-term process, and time frames, especially where they affect communities, will be flexible. The elephant introduction program has in fact been halted when it was realised that it was met with opposition from the communities. The same applies to the removal of the fence between the KNP and LNP. The program has therefore been slowed down and focused on areas where no communities will be affected as it has been realized that "the future success of the park" ... "depends on how [they manage] community issues".

When referring to Van Wyk's statement it seems that community concerns are being taken into account in the LNP, but only after conflict has occurred. The problem of park authorities failing to speak with local people in the early stages of the project is a common one, identified by Hobbs (1996) as a reason why many projects fail. Hobbs (1996: 2) believes that "local people should participate in decisions concerning the objectives and management strategies of protected areas" before designing park management plans. In the present case, solutions to the problems mentioned above are going to be difficult to find as the community of Massingir Velho feel that farming has been made more difficult by the new fences as well as the presence of animals in the area. As discussed in Chapter 5, Mr. Satoli (pers.com, 12 December 2002), recognizes the necessity for fencing due to "many claims about wildlife conflict with people". He believes that people should live separately due to associated dangers but cautions that the local people must not be forced to be fenced in.

The poaching issue is closely associated with the issue of fencing and the translocation of elephants and other wild animals[3]. An associated joint opportunity is recognised by Dr. Ferrao (received 10 December 2003) who feels that the situation in the Kruger National Park will be alleviated by translocating elephants to the LNP. This will also aid the Limpopo National Park which is "underpopulated with almost all species of wildlife due to its former status as a hunting concession as well as the disruptive effects of the long civil war". Mr. Swanepoel however, is a little more cynical as he believes that the KNP will be the biggest beneficiary of this initiative, through the concentration of poaching activities in Mozambique.

> Another popular rhetorical aspect associated with the GLTP is the support of political leaders like Dr. Nelson Mandela who epitomise a belief in the success of peace and cooperation created through the Peace Park and African renaissance concept.

Representatives of the PPF and AWF reiterate the belief that the park symbolizes the openness and collaboration between countries which form the cornerstone of the African Renaissance. The use of political leaders like Dr. Nelson Mandela is part of a marketing scheme "to gain credibility and to publicise the schemes as a local initiative" with an anti-colonial approach (Ramutsindela, 2002: 5) thereby contributing to the African Renaissance.

It is clear however, when referring to literature reviewed that this is not solely a 'local initiative', independent of global politics and trends, but has been deeply influenced by international interests. These transfrontier schemes for example were locally proposed much earlier in the 1940s as discussed in Chapter 3 but were never successfully adopted. The primary difference perhaps between then and now is the degree of international support and the attractiveness of the concept to global donors. Ramutsindela (2002) believes that this scheme in the 1990s, promoted by the IUCN, is part of a drive towards global ecological governance. This allows international bodies to play a leading role in the decision making of the new transfrontier parks and has caused local African countries formally participating in the GLTP to doubt the potential benefits associated with the establishment of the park. Zimbabwe for example expressed frustration in 1996 at the dominance of international donors in the project proposals and stated, "it would not

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[3] When conducting interviews in Massingir Velho, the number of wildlife having been translocated to LNP was provided by Mr. Swanepoel (August 2002): two rhino in the sanctuary and four rumoured north; more than 100 wildebees and 264 blue wildebees with only two mortalities; 588 impala with twenty-three mortalities, 158 Zebra; 15 waterbuck; eight giraffe with one mortality; and 52 elephant in the animal sanctuary. The translocation process can therefore be viewed as successful. But as mentioned in Chapter 4, there was an occurrence where blue wildebees pushed down the fence in an attempt to return to KNP. This could indicate that encouraging wildlife to follow ancient migration routes instead of returning to their habitat they were removed from could be a more difficult process than anticipated.

bow to such imperialist tendencies" (Duffy, 1997: 446). Zimbabwe also opposed the World Bank's controversial plans for commercialisation of the Parks Department. The idea of an anti-colonial approach associated with the African Renaissance seems somewhat romantic when viewed in this light.

It is difficult for countries not to buy into the global trend of the privatisation of conservation, when faced with decreasing allocations of funds for protected areas from the state. The South African government and park authorities for example see the transfrontier schemes as "a solution to the funding and management problems of national parks in the country" (Ramutsindela, 2002: 11). According to Fakir (2001), the major principle of commercialisation being driven by the South African National Parks is "to enter into public-private partnership schemes, where areas that are not core competences of the National Parks are outsourced to the private sector. These would include running of restaurants, marketing of tourism destinations and building and operating tourism facilities". There was evidence of this occurring within the LNP when Mr. Rode explained that no development of tourist facilities and services would be undertaken until the most appropriate tender from private companies had been selected. This illustrates the risk mentioned by Fakir (2001: 14) when he states, "studies show that, in general protected areas provide greater economic benefits to national and global economies than they do for the local economy and communities".

The idea of the African Renaissance can be viewed as the "new history, perhaps even a new myth" which Carruthers (1994: 283) predicted would be necessary for the "continued existence" of the Kruger National Park. So, instead of creating a national park for the "benefit of the *nation*" (Carruthers, 1994: 277), transfrontier parks are being created for the benefit of *neighbouring nations*, thereby contributing to the African Renaissance through cooperation and boosting eco-tourism in the Southern African region. It has been made evident that the KNP is willing to contribute to a new conservation approach (Maluleke, received 13 September 2003) and has "a lot of experience [and] human capacity with the willingness to learn and adapt" (Kadel, received 19 September 2003). Operation Prevail and the removal within the park of apartheid-era statues mentioned by Mr. Swanepoel is evidence that actions have been taken by KNP to replace the historical emphasis of the park. It has been ten years since democratic change has taken place and "old ideas have been replaced" (Van Wyk, received 18 October, 2003).

While it is clear that the language of conservation is changing according to the emergence of a new political order since 1994, Fakir (2001: 14) questions whether this will amount in practice "to a revolution or paradigm shift" as its success is "dependent on the way in which cross-sectoral national policies begin to govern conservation practices". The practice of conservation in South Africa has to a small extent been influenced by land reform, rural development and spatial development initiatives which have forced conservation to adopt a new image.[4] Perhaps they will contribute to the African Renaissance and the associated community-conservation ideology – but the points made above should be kept in mind.

### 6.3    Social and Environmental Justice

A further objective of this research was to determine the extent to which decision making approaches have incorporated concerns relating to social and environmental justice. In order to determine this, this section looks as past injustices and whether attempts have been made to rectify these. Concepts of social and environmental justice discussed in Chapter 2, are also employed in the analysis.

Environmental racism has been an outcome of top-down decision making in conservation for decades as indigenous economic activity and traditional forms of wildlife use has been suppressed in favour of conservation land uses. Langton (2003) attributes conservation organisations' privileging of global commercialisation of the natural world over ancient economic systems in part to an inaccurate understanding of indigenous societies. This form of racism has led to an awareness of the need for environmental justice to correct unfair past environmental practices, policies and decisions. The problem of different knowledge systems, in particular traditional and western knowledge, can be viewed as an issue leading to a lack of understanding and subsequent injustice.

The lack of recognition for traditional or indigenous knowledge in the past led to the perception of Africans as intruders and destroyers of the environment which deserved European custodianship (Carruthers, 1994). In southern Africa, the state made local livelihoods difficult to pursue as Acts were passed which made the people's behaviour and relationship with nature

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[4] It is possible for example, that the role of TFCAs in the overall economic development of the region would have been questionable if it had not been for the Spatial Development Initiatives (SDIs). The SDIs have shaped the discourse on the development approach of TFCAs by forcing them to change from being "islands of seclusion", meeting aspirations of privileged or international communities, to being integrated into the broader economy and becoming more development-orientated.

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illegal through prosecution. The Makuleke community, discussed in detail in Chapter 3 experienced this unfair treatment when they were displaced from their land of origin and relocated to a 'homeland' while their real homeland was declared the Pafuri Game Reserve and placed under the control of the National Parks Board.

It is questionable whether perceptions of locals by outsiders as either "police boys" or "poachers" (Carruthers, 1994) have in fact changed with the 'new approach' adopted by the GLTP. Mr. Ferrao (received 10 December 2003) for example is concerned about the effect that the locals' 'bad behaviour' will have on the system and judicial process put in place to address their grievances. Once again, it seems that global biodiversity preservation goals takes precedence over the needs of local people as traditional activities of hunting and the collection of raw materials have been outlawed, resulting in the local community members who continue these activities becoming illegal "poachers". The "expected problem between the locals and field rangers" presented by Mr. Swanepoel (received 22 November 2003) suggests that the Massingir community may view the rangers as "police boys" of the GLTP or government as "[they] perceive the field rangers as having taken away part of their lifestyle, diet and income".

Ian Player, a globally celebrated conservationist discusses his eventual distaste of strategies that excluded people from a chance of having a sustainable livelihood:

> "There were unpleasant tasks too, and the main one was to arrest people who lived in the reserve when they committed even a trivial offence. It was the policy of the Department to try and have the reserve cleared of human beings ... In retrospect I believe it was a mistake not to have left at least half of the people there. After all, they were part of the ecology.... Their situation would come to haunt us. They had been part of the landscape, and although it was true that they killed most of the antelope, it was their slash and burn practices that later enabled the game to increase dramatically when the last person left" (Player, 1997 in Draper & Wels, 2003: 22-23).

This kind of situation has resulted in the poor having to live with a disproportionate burden of poor environments referred to by Sexton and Zimmerman (1999) as "environmental injustice". This has haunted the more compassionate conservationists and human rights activists, resulting in the awareness for the need of social justice and the rise of civic environmentalism. This has placed importance on the initiation of projects from the grassroots level.

### 6.3.1   The GLTP and Civic Environmentalism

When referring to John and Mlay's (1991) elements of civic environmentalism and comparing these to the conditions that underpin community based conservation (which is the approach

claimed to have been adopted by the GLTP), it is clear that its conception and implementation does fit into some of the stages of civic environmentalism. Although the drive for the establishment of the park was not driven from the local or grassroots level, implementing agencies have attempted a different approach to conservation compared to those favoured prior to democracy in South Africa. Another identifying feature is the "sponsors" or "sparkplugs" whose role is to push for collaborative agreement. These do exist for the LNP, (the AWF for example) to ensure that the local communities are capacitated to participate in the process. In addition GFA has attempted a form of community analysis to enable better understanding between stakeholders.

State agencies such as SANParks have tried to take on a new role or identity, evident in their 'Operation Prevail' strategy. Although they seem to be making the same mistakes that other state agencies are commonly known for, which is to push ahead with narrow statutory programmes, and stir up resentment or opposition, they have had the power to assist greatly in forwarding the process by lending expertise and finance. This is a characteristic of successful civic environmentalism (John and Mlay, 1991). SANParks and the PPF have admitted that in an attempt to fast track achievements in the GLTP, community concerns have been neglected and as a result, opposition regarding particularly, hunting concessions, the placing of fences and introduction of wild animals has occurred. John and Mlay (1991) believe that for civic environmentalism to succeed, "moral authority" is essential to build faith. Up to now, faith and trust between communities and conservation authorities do not appear to be strong and not all conditions conducive to successful civic environmentalism are evident in the GLTP.

### 6.3.2   Politics and Unequal Power Relations

Zerner (2000) believes that conservation cannot be separated from power, and requests that when analysing conservation practices, one should be aware as to what type of *power* is allocated to *whom*. As he states, (Zerner 2000: 16), "all nature conservation and environmental management efforts are inevitably projects in politics" and asking questions about justice and the environment in the late twentieth century will involve a vigorous engagement with politics, governance and power. This seems to be true for the GLTP as the new political order of democracy in South Africa has definitely influenced this change in conservation and environmentalism. Established conservation organisations and societies such as SANParks can be seen as having "been obliged to respond to this more people-centred orientation by the rapidity of political change" and the need "to accommodate the interests of communities" (Maluleke, received 13 September 2003) in

order to survive. This is evident in their reluctant partnership with the Makuleke. Mr. Maluleke feels that justice has been achieved after past environmental discrimination because the land of his people has been returned, but despite this, an equal partnership and the joint management of the area is still "wanting" (Maluleke, received 13 September 2003).

Progress has been made in attempting to consider and include local communities in conservation initiatives. Beinart and Coates (1995) however are still critical, as they believe that the new environmentalism has become as dependent on an interventionist state as the old conservation due to a lack of popularly inspired legislation in South Africa. In addition, there is a problem of representation as " 'indigenous' or 'local' do not necessarily mean representative or fair" (Zerner, 2000: 12). Zerner (2001) argues that when it comes to "justice – both distributive and procedural – in the context of participatory natural resource management is about *what* is devolved to *whom*". With this in mind, one could argue that the quality of justice being delivered in the GLTP is not the type needed by communities who still have unclear land tenure and user rights. Community ownership and stability is therefore compromised.

This issue of *what type* of justice and power is being devolved to communities is evident in the historical case study of conservation in Tanzania, presented by Neumann (2000). As with the IUCN and the GLTP, the strongest push for the establishment of parks in Tanzania originated outside the colony by the SPFE. Also, as in the Tanzanian case, local communities within the LNP have disputed park and wildlife sanctuary boundaries. Crosby (1999) explains that public meetings can be an effective method of decision making, depending on how well certain groups are empowered to present their views and how open those conducting the meeting are to opinions being expressed. Although a 'barriers meeting' was conducted with community members, seventy percent of the sample felt that park representatives did not truly listen to their concerns or suggestions.

In this case community members appear to feel powerless in their ability to affect their own futures. As Respondent 10 (12 December 2002) explains: "they listened but they did not listen to all our suggestions as you can understand, because most of us didn't want the fence to be erected where it is … we didn't want it there but we have no power to change it". Mr. Maluleke of the AWF reiterates this belief, as he states that plans to integrate the community effectively into the decision making process are "very ambitious because the community are coming as underdogs without any bargaining powers". This seems to imply that social equity has not been achieved, as

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community members have not been empowered to represent themselves. Community consultation is only occurring now due to the fact that policies generated with little public participation were met with opposition from the local community. This situation of communities feeling estranged from the decision making process can lead to conflict as discussed by Finnegan and Sexton (1999).

As in the Tanzanian case, then, community representation was only attempted as a responsive measure. In Neumann's (2000) analysis, this was problematic because there was no guarantee that the representation and participation was the *type* that the communities desired and needed. As a result, there was no great change as "many of the boundaries [were] unchanged, forced relocations continued, African personnel are trained in practices developed in the West[5], and international conservation NGOs continue to play a critical role" (Neumann, 2000: 126). Significantly, outsiders ignored the issue of securing community land tenure which is regarded in community conservation literature as necessary for any feeling of true ownership, power and participation. It seems they consider benefit sharing resulting from tourism schemes as sufficient participation. However, this is clearly insufficient.


### 6.3.3    The Disruption of Community Structures and User Rights

The LNP is classified as a national park under IUCN category II. The park therefore represents a "protected area managed mainly for ecosystem protection and recreation" (KFW & DNAC, 2002: 8). The first issue here is the future of people in the park. It remains to be clarified whether and to what extent the Mozambican law regulates the legal implications of a national park, such as settlements and user rights in various park zones (wilderness zone, tourism zone, buffer zone). Securing land tenure is essential, especially if displaced people from Massingir are expected to live confidently in new host areas or tribes. This is what is suggested in the Draft Version of the "Development of Communities of Limpopo National Park, Mozambique: Shingwedzi River Basin" prepared by KFW and DNAC (August 2002).


According to this document, people who choose to move could relocate to the support zone where they will then be in a position to continue with their land use activities as normal on a sustainable basis in consultation with the park authorities. Entire communities could opt to resettle, thereby creating a new village, as well as single families or individuals who would move to already existing community structures. Another option would be to be outside the park but remain close to it. In this case, settlement would be in adjacent districts such as Chicualacuala, Mabalane or

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[5] This also seems to be the case in the GLTP, for example when reviewing Mr. Satoli's responses.

the *town* of Massingir. In this case, the question arises to what extent people would have user rights within the park. This option would have similar implications for the park development as the resettlement into the support zone.

The last option, according to KfW and DNAC (2002), for community members having to resettle would be to move to distant areas. This could include districts other than the above-mentioned districts of Gaza Province (which would have the advantage of still being Shangaan speaking areas) as well as the rest of Mozambique. If people currently living within the park move far away it would be less likely that they would retain a stake inside the park. They would continue their lives mostly as farmers elsewhere "without much attachment to LNP" (KfW and DNAC, 2002: 12).

The greatest challenge would be to successfully integrate newcomers into the existing structures of host communities, which would form an integral part of the resettlement and development strategy. The document notes that care must be taken to ensure that the displaced minority living within the host majority community retains their traditional practices and dignity; and are safeguarded against discrimination, which could adversely affect their ability to continue subsistence livelihoods.[6]

Regardless of whether communities opt to move or to stay, the LNP affects people's rights on the areas currently populated or used by Massingir and Shingwedzi communities. Traditional uses identified by Massingir community members interviewed in December 2002 include, land use for crop production and cattle grazing, wood for fuel, water for consumption and cleaning, as well as soil and plant use for housing. Of special importance to the communities are the following user rights: hunting and hunting concession rights; lease of land, construction of lodges and campsites, tourism activities; firewood collection and woodcutting; collection of plants; and cultural activities. All of these user rights would be relevant for people staying within the park, moving into support zones or moving outside but adjacent to the park. For communities deciding to resettle further away the only valuable rights would probably be the second and last listed above (KfW and DNAC, 2000). A risk that needs to be highlighted and avoided is the future neglect of

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[6] In Tanzania for example, a land activist group called the Korongoro Indigenous Peoples Orientated to Conservation (KIPOC) - comprised of community members affected by conservation - mobilized themselves by establishing links with NGOs to defend the culture and rights of indigenous minority groups, restore legal and political respect to community ancestral lands, as well as ensure the integration of community development with nature conservation (Neumann, 2000).

those community members resettled further away from the GLTP. As the old cliché states - out of sight, out of mind.

The land use rights and user rights of the LNP communities have already been altered and in some cases taken away as subsistence activities (such as the hunting of wildlife) have been proclaimed illegal. The two flagship projects (discussed above) of the GLTP have made access to resources more difficult. There seems to be a lack of regard for existing communal land tenure. According to the DCA and KfW (2000: 9) "communal land is generally not titled, although community members do have *de facto* land use right. If an outsider wants to acquire a title for land, s/he has first to negotiate with the relevant community whether the land is available or not". Despite this recognition in the official document, interviews conducted for this research indicate that no negotiations were entered into with community members. The LNP was simply proclaimed and communities were told that they could not continue to hunt wildlife, collect firewood and even farm to meet subsistence purposes, as certain areas have been earmarked for tourism development. This indicates a socially unjust decision making process.

### 6.3.4 Human-Animal Conflict

The issue of introducing wild animals into areas where poor rural farmers are attempting to sustain their livelihoods through subsistence agriculture epitomizes the lack of social and environmental justice concerns in conservation. Local farmers have lost crops and livestock to wild animals for centuries (Naughton-Treves, 1997). A broader perspective shows that the introduction of wild animals into newly proclaimed national parks has caused many rural communities to lose their land and homes. As a result, outsiders have chosen to move local people in order to ensure the survival and growth in numbers of wild animals.

According to the Peace Parks Foundation (2003), in July 2003 85 delegates from the African Union Summit in Maputo paid an on-site visit to the LNP to witness the release of seven elephants, captured in the KNP. This is part of a three-year translocation programme whereby 6 000 wild animals and a large number of elephants will be translocated to LNP to restock the park. Recognising the need for a 'give-and-take relationship' between community and conservation, the PPF at the same time donated and unveiled a borehole to the inhabitants of Massingir Velho. The linking of elephant introduction and water provision is an interesting development, described in more detail below.

The decision makers see a key challenge facing the GLTP with regard to the potential co-existence of humans and wild animals as the "limited water resources" (Wentzel, received 13 December 2003) which the people and animals share. The physical position of the GLTP relative to the hydrology of the eastern seaboard of southern Africa makes this aspect extremely significant. Poor land use management of the catchments upstream of the GLTP may contribute to this issue becoming the single largest threat to its biological integrity. Mr. Gomera (received 13 December 2003) believes that "the issue of the location of people in relation to access to water is very important as it is likely to be a source of conflict with wildlife … as [s]ettlements in some areas of the GLTP are well entrenched and people are unlikely to wish to be moved even where practical considerations demand such movement" These practical considerations include the location of people's settlements in relation to resources important to wildlife populations (such as key dry season watering and grazing points); and the fact that many of the settlements actually have captured the same resources that are targeted for development (which means that the resources are already 'owned').

The provision of water supplies has been an issue for decision makers trying to determine where to resettle local people, as potential sites must ensure the continuation or even improvement of conditions conducive to farming. Progress on this issue has been made in the GLTP as the PPF and other decision makers have realised the community's reliance on water for survival and the need for compensation. (The community's water pump was reported to be broken, and this is exacerbated by the fact that the new fence has cut off their main access to water). Respondent 11 (pers. com., 12 December 2002) therefore believes that it is the government's responsibility "to provide water for the people". Mr. Satoli (pers. com., 12 December 2002) explains that "you cannot force someone to go to an area what he doesn't want" but it is necessary for the community to have a choice and some say in the plan. At least this recognition marks a progression since the nineteenth century when "forced removal of African villages to often waterless sites without any compensation" (Beinart and Coates, 1995: 84) was common practice.

At the risk of seeming cynical, it does not however seem that the underlying issue of placing conservation over human priorities has changed. The new borehole donated by the PPF could be viewed in a similar light to what occurred in the Amboseli National Reserve in the late 1950s when "government attempted to shift [Maasai] livestock concentrations away from the center of the Amboseli basin by constructing watering points in peripheral areas and controlling livestock grazing patterns" (Lindsay, 1987: 154). This borehole could be viewed simply as a measure to

pacify anger created by the park boundary fence cutting off easy access to the community's main source of water.

Even Mr. Van Wyk (received 18 October 2003) sees the connection between what happened to the Masaai in the past and what is happening to local inhabitants within the LNP at present. He uses the example of the Masaai as evidence of the possibility that humans and wild animals can live together within a confined area. Van Wyk however cites the difference between the two societies to justify the actions with the GLTP, stating that living with animals was a way of life for the Maasai.

> "The difference is that it is a way of life for [the Maasai]. In the Limpopo National Park both people and wildlife disappeared from the area during the war, and both are returning after the war. The people have already indicated that they do not mind the return of the animals but they want agricultural fields and grazing areas to be fenced. It was agreed that we will wait and see how things develop over time without acting prematurely".

During an informal conversation with Mr. Swanepoel during the field trip in December 2002, he explained that locals are to report to authorities if they are experiencing continued problems with a particular animal. Prior to the fieldwork conducted for this research, for example "people were jumping up and down" because a hippo was "wandering around and threatening their survival". The head of Border Control and the head of Security were therefore delegated by the Mozambican Ministry of Agriculture to shoot the hippo. The serious action taken towards the poaching of wild animals by local people is evident in a story heard during observation regarding the fact that the level of poaching in the LNP has decreased since the Head of Security started punishing offenders by burning their feet.

The outlawing of traditional coping strategies necessary to protect oneself when living with wild animals practiced by agriculturalists in Uganda (Naughton-Treves, 1997) has also occurred within the LNP as locals are "not allowed to shoot them" (pers. com., Respondent 10, 12 December 2002) for subsistence or safety purposes. In the Ugandan case, the only legal defensive strategy reportedly used by the Toro tribe and immigrant Kigas is guarding (Naughton-Treves, 1997) since fencing, trenches, trapping and poisoning of wildlife is illegal. This guarding of crops against wild animals, namely hippos in the LNP case, was also observed in Massingir. A makeshift tent was observed next to the waters edge (which was the most arable land available to

the locals at the time). It was reported that an elderly woman stayed there (day and night) in order to chase the hippos away, from the crops and grazing cattle, by banging pots and pans together. This strategy is necessary as the reported presence of wild animals in the field affects their subsistence livelihoods and is also directly life threatening.

This fear of a potentially bad relationship with wild animals is shared by fifty-two percent of the sample population. Instead of the local farmers being allowed to use fencing as a coping strategy, the symbolism of a fence has become a negative one as respondents seem to associate the arrival of the fence with an increased number of dangerous wild animals in their farming area.

The way in which communities are living within the LNP appears to go against the principles of environmental justice, as they seem to have no choice but to live in an unsafe and potentially detrimental environment. Although the community hope that "it would be possible to enforce or make the fence stronger to keep away the animals from where the people live" (pers. com., Respondent 4, 11 December 2002), this does not seem likely when viewing the statement made by Van Wyk (received 18 October 2003) that the "people ... want agricultural fields and grazing areas to be fenced" however, "it was agreed that we will wait and see how things develop over time without acting prematurely". Perhaps the price of fencing to protect people from animals in the interim is too costly[7], especially in light of the fact that these people will most likely move or be moved out of the LNP. Draper and Wels (2003) make reference to the fact that it was recognised in the 1980s (during the fences-and-fines phase of conservation practice) that fencing was far too expensive as a sustainable way to manage and protect wildlife.

The two animals identified in community interviews as presenting the biggest threat include elephant, which "trample on [their] fields" and lion, which can be a "problem with livestock" (pers.com., Respondent 3, 11 December 2002). The problem lies in the nature of the beast. The lion is feared by locals as it "is a hunting animal and it wanders to look for food" (pers.com., Respondent 3, 11 December 2002). In addition, despite being "told they will not introduce lions in the wild", the community feels vulnerable as "there is a big number [there]" (pers.com., Respondent 9, 11 December 2002). In an informal discussion with Mr. Swanepoel during the fieldtrip in December 2002, the difficulty with lions was discussed. Although the community

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[7] Although no hesitation is shown by Mr. Gomera (received 13 December 2003) in Section 5.4.4 when discussing the potential need of fencing to control diseases such as bovine TB and foot and mouth, thereby protecting wildlife.

blames the new park for the increased number of lions in the area, Mr. Swanepoel argues that the establishment of the LNP is not directly responsible as the lions have not been formally reintroduced, but rather move naturally between the KNP and LNP.

When looking at the case study in Uganda there seems to be a further potential risk for those community members who choose to be resettled in new host communities surrounding the LNP. According to Naughton-Treves (1997), the less powerful Kiga immigrants are disproportionately represented on the forest edge. If this settlement pattern occurs in Mozambique, with minority newcomers in host communities acting as a buffer of protection against wandering animals, this increases their vulnerability.

In this case of uncertainty amongst Massingir community members, the only real coping strategy available to them is to trust the organisations involved in decision making for the GLTP. Draper and Wels (2003) explain that people who have a lack of knowledge about a subject can only trust others to do the correct thing. This is a potentially dangerous situation because it may provoke easy exploitation by others. It is proposed that trust has more to do with ignorance than knowledge. Already there are signs of community members trusting the reasoning and plan of conservation authorities. (For example, Respondent 11 explained that the PIU have helped him view wild animals as being just as important as cattle due to the fact that tourists will pay to see them in the wild).

Although the GLTP has attempted to create a new identity and approach to conservation (*sans* racism and prejudice, characteristic of past practices), the discussion presented in the chapter so far indicates that the perceptions of rural communities and their ability to be stewards of their environment have really not changed with this 'new' conservation approach. The analysis finds that the principles of community conservation do not really underpin the development of the GLTP, as it is not top-down support for a bottom-up initiative. Rather, it is an initiative driven by outsiders, relying on the support of locals for its long-term survival. This means that social justice is not sufficiently prioritised within the GLTP, as shown by ongoing power differentials, prioritising of wildlife over people in terms of water rights, ongoing harsh treatment of "poachers", the disruption of traditional land use activities, and resettlement of villages into new and potentially different communities.

The GLTP top decision makers claim that local livelihood concerns are aligned with conservation concerns. However, when referring to on-the-ground actions discussed in this chapter, it is evident that conservation and the maintenance of biodiversity are prioritised. As explained in the next section, the environmental decision-making process is flawed. Findings displayed in the questionnaire results, indicate that policies and action plans for the GLTP were developed by the state with little public participation. Drawing the community into community consultation processes to ensure social and environmental justice was only as a responsive measure when opposition was met, and not a decision-making priority from the outset.

6.4 Environmental Decision Making

This section revisits the third objective of this study, which is to assess public participation in the GLTP to date – particularly at the community level. Information collected via semi-structured interviews, questionnaires, and official documents is analysed using tools provided specifically by Khan (1998), Barrow and Murphree (1997), Finnegan and Sexton (1999) and Jeffery and Sundar (1999) reviewed in Chapter 2.

The notion that local communities and beneficiaries should be involved in interventions to promote development and reduce poverty has enjoyed strong support within the environmental decision making arena over recent years. The rationale for community participation is not only that there is an inherent value in ensuring that people are able to influence activities that will affect them, but also that participation helps to build capacity and contributes to empowerment. Through participation, people increase their control over their lives and livelihoods. This is especially important in the GLTP context as it has been marketed as a community development project, implying that the communities within, and affected by the GLTP are effectively involved in the decision making and empowered by development.

This new focus on community participation seems promising in the light of Khan's (1998) belief that the history of South Africa has until recently lacked a tradition of democracy and public involvement. Khan states that the procedures adopted by state agencies increasingly reflect the principles of Integrated Environmental Management (IEM). According to Mr. Theron of SANParks (received 14 October 2003), "IEM is one of the guiding principles for the conservation and management of natural resources as contained in the GLTP Joint Management Plan document". When asked about the community participatory process within the GLTP, Mr. Theron (received 14 October 2003) explained that within the GLTP "community issues are

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viewed as national issues". This suggests that these principles discussed above pertain to all communities affected by the GLTP. These broad based community involvement principles will be referred to when assessing public participation in the GLTP.

### 6.4.1    GLTP's Adherence to Community Participation Principles

In addition to highlighting the IEM public participation principles, Khan (1998) discusses a number of obstacles, which may face this above-mentioned objective of effective community involvement and empowerment. These obstacles pertain particularly to the involvement of poor, mainly black communities. Outsiders involved in community facilitation may become frustrated with the differing mindset and priorities of these communities. With a tradition of a lack of "basic needs such as housing, water, and sanitation" (Khan, 1998: 73), it is inevitable that the poor will focus on issues of survival, with conservation often being conceived as a peripheral issue.

This was certainly characteristic of the community interviewed in Massingir Velho. Mr. Satoli is aware of this situation as he explains, "at the moment the community don't understand what is the natural protection" and that "the community, traditionally, they had seen and understood all things are belonging to them. They want to use unscheduled" (pers.com., Satoli, 12 December 2002). The Massingir community's focus on survival off the land, is evident in the fact that forty-three percent of the respondents stated that they do not look after the land but the land is looking after them as it allows them to produce crops.

The second obstacle to involving poor black communities is the application of first world public participation techniques. These are often inappropriate amongst communities like those found in the LNP. These techniques are listed by Khan (1998) as: lengthy questionnaires, public documents written in academic or scientific jargon; public meetings held in inaccessible venues or inconvenient times; public meetings conducted in a language not commonly understood by local communities. When referring to the results of this research it is evident that two of these have taken place – public documents and meetings. Public documents written for the GLTP up to the time this research was conducted have not been intended for the communities. Rather, they are policy documents circulated amongst English-speaking decision makers. A public meeting however was held with the community in Massingir Velho. This meeting was held within the village with community members having been timeously alerted about it. The main cause of a thirty-six percent absence amongst community members was the fact that they were not within the LNP on the day of the meeting due to migrant labour work in South Africa. One could argue

that the timing and venue of the public meeting in the LNP was not inappropriate as it is difficult to cater for migrant workers who are away for long periods of time. The main question is the extent to which the community was engaged during the meeting.

Public participation advocates the use of horizontal rather than vertical decision making. This implies that genuine participation constitutes more than just consultation. The decision making process needs to incorporate the public as an *equal partner* and should involve at least some key decisions and plans being formulated on the local level. It is clear that the communities in the LNP have not been regarded as equal partners as they have had no say in the decisions regarding the GLTP and their futures. Instead of formulating plans with other decision makers they have only been given a few choices regarding their future settlement. This is encapsulated in Mr. Van Wyk's (received 18 October 2003) comment about the importance of *"consulting* with people living within the Shingwedzi catchment with regard to either making use of a voluntary resettlement option or if they would prefer to stay as an enclave community. The evidence is in the term *consult* used by Mr. Van Wyk. According to Table 1 (presented in Chapter 2) which describes the continuum of passive participation to self-mobilisation, "participation by consultation" in development programmes is considered passive participation where top-down decisions are made. This is therefore not true participation. It implies that decision makers in the GLTP merely listen to the views of the community members in the context of externally defined problems and solutions without truly engaging and empowering the people.

Mr. Van Wyk (received 18 October 2003) provides a detailed account of the new plans and policies for participation which were introduced subsequent to community members opposing development which took place without their knowledge or input.

> "... The Project Liaison Board[8] will meet on a quarterly basis where they will *receive information* with regard to development and management plans and they will also be *consulted* on their thoughts on these issues. The Project Liaison Board will provide the Steering Committee with their input before the Steering Committee meet. In three years time the existing Steering Committee will be replaced by a Management Board and then local communities will be represented on this board[9]".

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[8] Where community members will be represented.

[9] According to the 7th Steering Committee Meeting, which took place in the LNP by the Mozambican Ministry of Tourism on 31 July 2002, a support group of 90 people were nominated from villages located in the LNP. A follow-up meeting took place from which three representative district committees consisting of seven people each were elected. A group of six people were elected from these district committees and will in future be the representative community committee for the LNP inhabitants.

Although it appears that the top decision makers have long-term plans for the participation of community member in the LNP through the formation of a project liaison and management board, and steering committee, it is necessary for them to strengthen public participation beyond communities simply "receiving information" and "being consulted". To date, it does not seem that participation within the GLTP has helped strengthen the capacities of rural people to exercise responsibility for their natural resources. Oakley (1991) warns that adopting participatory approaches is a powerful tool in planning and implementation but does not itself guarantee equity and cannot be merely wished upon rural people.

Referring back to the IEM principles presented by Khan (1998), an assessment can be made of public participation in the GLTP by determining adherence to the differing elements. Although consultation of interested and affected parties has taken place, open and participatory planning has not been practiced. This is evident from the discussion in Section 6.2 above and in the fact that the community was not even aware of the introduction of wild animals from the KNP and the new placement of fences, let alone being part of the planning process. These events have resulted in the community's agricultural practices being restricted:

> "We were down there (pointing in the direction of the dam), there is a fence erected there. They listened to (our) suggestions[10] but they told us that we can just work now. Only this year we can do our field work there, but next year we must move ... next year we must not go down there because it will be inside the park" (pers.com, Respondent 1, 11 December 2002).

If the community of Massingir Velho had been part of the planning process, the decision makers would have been aware of how placing the fence in that location would increase the difficulties of survival. Many of the children do not have time to attend school due to the long walking distance to collect water.

After open and participatory planning, and consultation of interested and affected parties, the third element listed by Khan (1998) is informed decision making. According to the Draft Version of the "Development of Communities of Limpopo National Park, Mozambique: Singwedzi River Basin" document prepared by KFW and DNAC (August 2002), the "Great Limpopo Transfrontier Park aims at improving the living conditions of these people". Field trips and surveys investigating the socio-economic status of communities were conducted by GFA Terra Systems from 24 July to 3 August 2002 along the Shingwedzi, Olifants and Limpopo River". Prior to this, socio-economic, demographic, land-use and attitudinal surveys of the communities

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[10] During the Barriers Meeting.

residing in the Shingwedzi river basin were conducted between October 2001 and February 2002 were conducted.

While findings in these two surveys seem to correspond, it has been recognised that an additional and urgent baseline study needs to be undertaken for full consensus. Through this process, terms of reference were produced regarding the future development of the park population (KfW and DNAC, 2002). Although a form of community analysis was conducted by two consultants from GFA Terra Systems, this was conducted for, and focused on options for the resettlement of communities. It was not concerned with understanding and incorporating community traditions and structures into the decision making process.

Similarly, there was a lack of information provided to the community, rather information provided seemed to be focussed on the new restrictions on resource use. In addition, at the time interviews were conducted with community members, sixty-four percent of the sample claimed not to have any knowledge of the GLTP and how the area was going to change in the future. It is questionable whether the decision makers of the GLTP have included any mechanisms into the decision making and implementation process that actually hold them accountable for delivering the associated benefits and empowerment promised to the communities through this development project.

The last element of the IEM approach is a democratic regard for individual rights and obligations. Section 6.3.3 above, which discuses how community structures and rights have been disrupted with the development of the GLTP, seems to indicate that this element is missing in the GLTP approach. There is evidence of an attempt to allow for a communal resource use system within the Support Zone. It is however a concern that neither the respondent from SANParks nor the South African Community Resource Committee are aware of the existence of any mechanisms to provide for the co-existence of conflicting statutory and customary tenure rights and land use. If the purported principle of the GLTP is really to learn from, and correct past injustices associated with conservation, this issue needs to be resolved as soon as possible.

The GLTP should be aware that the most important lesson learned in development over the last twenty years is that failure to equitably involve stakeholders as partners in all phases of project implementation (from design through to evaluation) has consistently led to disappointing project results. Caution must be taken to ensure that project beneficiaries be involved as active partners,

and not merely as passive recipients or implementers of others' plans (Spierenburg and Wels, 2003).

The above analysis and discussion is summarised in Table 2 below.

Table 2: Summary Analysis of 5 IEM Elements in the GLTP Decision Making Process

| | IEM Element | Present in GLTP | Implementation |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Open and Participatory Planning | X | Communities were not even aware of the two flagship programmes associated with the proclamation of the GLTP. |
| 2. | Consultation of Interested & Affected Parties | ✓ | Barriers Meeting. Simply received information. |
| 3. | Informed Decision Making | ✓ | Decision makers have been informed to a certain degree through socio-economic, demographic, land use and attitudinal surveys. However information was not used to ensure social justice. |
| 4. | Accountability for Delivery | X | Lack of structures or agreements. |
| 5. | Democratic Regard for Rights and Obligations | ✓ | Not a high degree as community structures and user rights have been disrupted. But plans for this element have been attempted in the Support Zone. |

(Adapted from Khan, 1998)

6.4.2    Public Participation within the Community Conservation Framework

Scholars and community facilitators have become increasingly aware of the fact that all communities are different in terms of spatial, socio-cultural and economic terms. As is the case in the GLTP, local participants are usually not a homogenous group of community members; rather they differ in terms of their "access to resources, their use of resources, and their place within the community" (Brown & Wyckoff-Baird, 1992: 1). It is therefore essential that project planners and decision makers take into account this diversity to ensure that those individuals and groups expected to adopt new behaviours are in fact targeted and participate in the project.

This has been done to a certain extent by GFA Terra Systems. The communities of the LNP are divided into two categories as described in the Draft Version of the "Development of the Communities of Limpopo National Park, Mozambique" in August 2002. The Shingwedzi Communities comprise of approximately 65 000 people and live in the Shingwedzi river basin in an area of approximately 3 700 square kilometers. The people are clustered in nine villages. The biggest contains about 2 000 people and the smallest, about 150 people. Although mainly subsistence farmers, a good harvest occasionally produces a surplus which is sold in markets in nearby villages, from Massingir to Maputo. The Limpopo Communities comprise approximately 20 000 people who have settled (and are still settling) on the western bank of the Limpopo River. This is the side falling within the LNP boundaries. About 40 communities on this side of the Limpopo have seasonal access to better infrastructure and services on the eastern bank, as they are able to cross the river during dry periods.

A form of community analysis also seems to have been conducted in the support zone: it is noted that the "community consultation process will involve basic 'social mapping' (current water use, grazing, agricultural lands) to be demarcated on available topographic maps[11]". This analysis however, was not conducted in order to learn about communities in an attempt to bring them into the decision making process, but rather to aid the demarcation of a boundary fence by the PIU.

It is doubtful whether intensive research on the subject of community readiness has been used to its full potential in the GLTP. If it had been, perhaps the major strategy mistake of introducing wild animals into the area without taking into account the Massingir Velho community's

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[11] According to the Minutes from the 7th Steering Committee in the Limpopo National Park held by the Ministry of Tourism in Mozambique in September 2002, page 4.

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concerns and traditions could have been avoided. The benefit of trust building to provide a platform for constructive dialogue and debate presented by Finnegan and Sexton (1999) was also overlooked. If an understanding of communities' realities and needs is lacking, the potential for conflict is great, especially if important stakeholders involved in environmental decisions feel estranged from the decision making process. The formation of community representative committees should not be overlooked as an attempt to involve communities into the GLTP initiative.

Consultation with communities and presentation of information to them alone will not however achieve the third benefit mentioned by Finnegan and Sexton (1999) - the mobilisation of community power and influence to "empower" communities so that they develop the capacity for coalition building, public participation and consensus-based environmental decision making. Table 3 below depicts the extent to which the GLTP has benefited from rigorous community analysis as suggested by Finnegan and Sexton (1999)

Table 3: Formative Benefits of Community Analysis in the GLTP

|   | Benefits | Present in the GLTP |
|---|----------|---------------------|
| 1. | Avoiding major strategy mistakes. | X |
| 2. | Mobilisation of community empowerment. | X |
| 3. | Criteria for Evaluating Outcomes. | X |
| 4. | Trust Building. | X |

(Adapted from Finnegan and Sexton, 1990)

Undertaking these two types of community analyses (stakeholder and community analysis) would automatically solve the problem of indigenous knowledge being underestimated or ignored. The Makhandezula community for example is part of a cross-border family spanning the borders of Mozambique, South Africa and Zimbabwe for centuries. This community would be able to provide decision makers with information regarding the culture and society of resource users,

socio-economic aspects that impact management, trends in natural resources, and the causes behind the trends. Brown and Wyckoff-Baird (1992) believe that if the above is undertaken, projects like the GLTP will have more chance of meeting their conservation and development goals, than if decision makers try to impose externally developed approaches.

### 6.4.3   Elements of Community Conservation within the GLTP

A number of definitions for community conservation are provided in Chapter 2 of this thesis. The most fitting to describe the type of community based conservation involving communities within the LNP is that provided by the World Bank (1998)[12], as national and regional governments both in South Africa and Mozambique have taken a supportive role in creating a policy for the GLTP to increase local capacity and management skills. In addition, investment is facilitated from government as well as international donors such as KfW for appropriate responses to natural resource degradation and to meet basic rural needs.

Looking at the definition provided by WWF-SA (1997: 4), it is clear that the GLTP is not facilitating a true community conservation approach where conservation and development issues are to merge equally. Although the communities within the LNP could be viewed as beneficiaries of donor funded projects associated with the development of the GLTP, decision makers are not "enabling local people to be the principal actors, 'owners' or beneficiaries of resource use". Instead they have had no say on the management of resources, and restrictions on resource use (such as the cutting of trees for firewood and hunting animals) have been introduced.

With regard to the identified support zone of the LNP, it could be argued that the community participation approach taken with families who will move move there would be more closely aligned with Integrated Conservation and Development Projects (ICDPs). Brown and Wyckoff-Baird (1992) explain that ICDPs target human populations as primary beneficiaries so that biodiversity can survive and flourish. It is therefore crucial that ICDPs address both poverty and environmental degradation. This appears to be taking place in the support zone, which was described by Mr. Van Wyk (received 18 October) as the second focus area for community participation – the first area being the Shingwedzi Catchment where communities were

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[12] Where community based conservation 'encourages a supportive national and regional policy and legislative base, increases local capacity and management skills and facilitates investment in appropriate responses to natural resource degradation and to meeting basic rural needs.

"consulted" on either making use of voluntary resettlement or forming enclave communities, as discussed above.

Evidence for this contention is found in the Minutes of the 7th Steering Committee Meeting (September 2002: 2), which state that the PIU has:

> "recognised that a holistic approach to support zone issues and the support zone development is needed in order to secure future cooperation by support zone communities to safeguard a harmonic and sustainable support zone development that is compatible with the overall conservation objectives of the LNP. It is further recognised that this can only be achieved in a truly participatory manner and through improving the living conditions of the support zone communities".

Also, focal areas of intervention and assistance associated with the support zone have been identified by the PIU. These include:

> "boundary adjustment of the LNP that addresses community land use needs; clearly defined support zone; the future of communities located in the Shingwedzi watershed (resettlement issue); improvement of current land and resource use in the support zone (agriculture, livestock, conservancies, charcoal production); micro-economic planning (creation of cottage industry such as apiculture, handicrafts, tourism industry; cooperatives, regional development bank); corridor development (to connect the LNP with Banhine NP); cooperation in the design of irrigation and land-use schemes for the benefit of support zone communities, in particular with respect to the families from the Shingwedzi watershed that want to relocate; awareness building; capacity development, interagency cooperation and cooperation with NGOs"(Minutes of the 7th Steering Committee Meeting).

Yet the Draft Version of the "Development of the Communities of Limpopo National Park, Mozambique" document (KfW & DNAC, 2002: 11) indicates that despite the above stated aim and incentives for a participatory process, the main focus of the GLTP is tourism and preservation:

> "Since tourism development focuses on Shingwedzi River and Massingir Dam, this option[13] would have far less detrimental effects on the future potential of the park compared to the options in 3.1[14]. Although it would not be possible to resettle all Shingwedzi communities into the support zone, it currently offers enough space and agricultural land to accommodate parts of them without putting too much pressure on the area. In the long run however, the growth of the support zone population could endanger the park, unless the people benefit from the park and the project manages thereby to gain their full support".

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[13] Resettlement to the support zone.

[14] To remain within the LNP and be fenced in for protection as 'enclave communities".

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The forms of intervention and projects for poverty alleviation provided by the PIU above, could be viewed simply as incentives to communities who choose to live in the support zone in order to ensure enough space and support for conservation and tourism activities.

Barrow and Murphree (1997) discuss a number of other elements or variables that can be used to analyse community conservation. In all approaches, recognition and reconciliation of differing community, and conservationist goals and values is necessary, however this does not seem to have taken place amongst Massingir Velho community members.

An element essential for successful community conservation projects noted by Murphree (1993) is political will on the part of both government and its supporting citizens. The South African and Mozambican government have both demonstrated political will and provided financial support for the GLTP. As mentioned above, the Mandela icon has been used to represent unity and peaceful cooperation between states. This however is not a characteristic of all countries involved. Although Zimbabwe was the third state to sign the official Trilateral Treaty, it has subsequently been left out of the GLTP development plans due to political and strategic disagreements and mistrust. As discussed by Duffy (1997), this lack of trust and lack of cooperation between different stakeholders and representatives may be influenced by Zimbabwe's previous attempt at Community Based Natural Resource Management (CBNRM) through CAMPFIRE (see Chapter 2).

In Zimbabwe, residents drew on the "historical arguments which often likened the current initiative to the most hated of colonial interventions [and] CAMPFIRE was regularly portrayed as a betrayal of the promise of independence" (Alexander & McGregor, 2000: 619). Considering the introduction of animals into the LNP and the subsequent need for local people to resettle elsewhere, there is a risk that community members could view the GLTP in the same light.

At the level of the state, Shine (2001) additionally questions whether consultation and management arrangements are equipped to deal with cross-border problems and negotiate solutions. It is evident that political, socio-economic or financial problems may result in failure but Shine (2001: 38) argues that this can be exacerbated by weaknesses in the legal and institutional framework for protected area management at the national and international level, in particular "...the absence of an appropriate management regime for the whole unit may increase

the risk of conflict over resource use of the shared resources". In addition, the ideal of the GLTP to be administered as a single unit by one institutional body may not be politically possible, as countries may not favour the apparent relinquishment of sovereign rights. This concern was expressed during the very early stages by Zimbabwe (Duffy, 1997). .

The GLTP claims to reject the approach of colonial conservation characterized by a reductionist, bureaucratic and directive approach. It aims to change this more preservationist military-type state conservation to the incrementalist, personalized and consensual approach in order to empower local communities and resource users. One could question however, whether this has really taken place in the GLTP as the resources are "controlled through a well-trained ranger corps and allocation is based on the rules and regulations in the IUCN Category 2 National *Parcs*" (Kadel, received 19 September 2003). In addition, Mr. Swanepoel's (received 22 November 2003) response that "law enforcement is being carried out and future development areas will have to [be] protected from slash and burn agriculture," suggests that western legal control has been placed over traditional methods.

As highlighted by Harrison (1987), development projects that rely heavily on external funding can cause long-term problems as donors do not usually accept responsibility for on-going costs after the implementation phase. This places pressure on government resources to deal on-going costs. Efforts need to be made to avoid this. This is a difficult task as programmes inspired by donors and their commitment to programmes often follows "popular" policy shifts based on events outside the region. Jentoft (1997) however states that donors and projects can help facilitate a change to a more consensual approach through being more innovative and less tied to rigidities of the project cycle which will allow for real institutional learning, and allow for a new focus on experimental adaptation of roles and norms in new and changing circumstances. There is evidence of this in the GLTP when animal translocation was put on hold due to community complaints and it was recognized that community members need to be increasingly incorporated into the decision making process.

There is also an awareness amongst some respondents like Mr Swanepoel that it is important not to set goals and regulations too far in advance without being able to consider the situation on the ground. . In addition, adaptability is evident in the fact that KfW has taken a holistic approach to funding as Mr. Weissleder (received 13 October 2003) explains, "funds are used and reallocated in order to meet the most pressing needs of a project".

Associated with the new conservation approach is the use of mechanisms such as dialogue and conflict resolution, benefit flows, enterprise development, and a memorandum of understanding to harmonise activities and create partnerships (Jentoft, 1997). To date, only two of these mechanisms are evident in the GLTP: benefit flows, and enterprise development, which will take place in the support zone. Despite plans catering for a degree of flexibility in implementation, the issue is whether communities are receiving tangible benefits, which they desire. Dixon and Sherman (1990) present eight categories of benefits which may accrue from protected area management[15]. Barrow et al. (1995 in Barrow and Murphree, 1997: 7) point out however that the problem with these benefits is that they are not divided among people in a manner proportional to costs. These eight categories seem to be more suited for the benefit of the GLTP and its aim of biodiversity preservation and tourism development rather than directly benefiting communities and their struggle for survival. Instead of benefiting, the communities have to absorb the cost of losing their land to wildlife and being resettled.

From a policy perspective, a serious shortcoming of past and existing community conservation efforts in general, has been that the initiative has been undertaken by donor-funded projects within a tradition of preservation and law enforcement. This problem of policy development largely being the preserve of state authorities is recognised by Mr. Gomera, who presents the argument that participation has catered more for private sector involvement rather than that of the local public resulting in state and private role players benefiting more than the affected community.

It seems that the GLTP decision makers have not realised that ownership is a critical factor in achieving success. Although numerous benefits such as the provision of jobs and basic services to communities have been brought into the policy of the GLTP, one way to increase incentives for community conservation is to grant communities multiple use rights to wildlife with appropriate structures and institutions to implement checks and balances on these rights. This is not evident in any of the decision makers' responses. As is highlighted in the literature collected for this research; ownership, control, and secure land tenure is what is desired by most rural communities, not the handout of outsiders' benefits.

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[15] These include: recreation, tourism, watershed protection, ecological processes, biodiversity, education and research, non-consumptive benefits (for example historical and cultural), and future values.

### 6.4.3.1 Community Based Conservation as Defined by Tenurial Rights

Generally, community conservation involves local resource users and a conservation resource, and occurs under some form of conservation policy or authority. Within this there are varying institutional arrangements and levels of participation. Barrow and Murphree (1997) discuss three major forms of community conservation, each with different tenurial and access regimes. One could view them as a continuum from a low to high level of community involvement in decision making and ownership. These include Protected Area Outreach (PAO), Collaborative Management, and Co-management or Community Based Natural Resource Management (CBNRM) respectively.

As discussed above, CBNRM has proved to be successful, only in terms of local people "in small homogenous communities with access to expansive wilderness demanding and gaining more secure rights to the wildlife resources from local authorities". Considering these conditions, it is highly unlikely that this approach is the best suited for implementation in the GLTP where there is a great diversity within and between community groups as well as limited wildlife at present. At present, where wildlife costs are greater than the benefits, management of wildlife will continue to be top down and coercive. In addition, Mr. Wentzel (received 13 December 2003) indicated that the decision makers within the top levels of the hierarchy are unsure of the efficacy of CBNRM due to "conflicting reports on CAMPFIRE in Zimbabwe".

There appears to be a lack of knowledge on the different types and forms of community conservation. Neither SANPark representative could indicate whether community conservation (based on ownership) in the LNP would fall under PAO, CBNRM, Collaborative Management, or a combination of the above. Mr. Gomera of the IUCN was the respondent who spoke the most about co-management. According to Mr. Gomera (received 13 December 2003):

> "the GLTP has placed importance on co-management programs involving surrounding communities and those living inside protected areas such as Gonarezhou and Limpopo National Park. The cooperation will include joint resource planning, and business development opportunities".

Barrow and Murphree (1997) explain that the co-management approach evolved out of joint forest management, particularly in India (see Chapter 2). This approach is termed Collaborative Management and normally refers to arrangements where the resource or land is owned by the state and local resource users have negotiated and agreed rights of access. This joint protected area planning and management is formalised through "documented agreements, management

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contracts or memoranda of understanding" (Borrini-Feyerabend, 1996: 23). The statement made above by Mr. Gomera explaining that "cooperation will include joint resource planning" seems to suggest that community participation in the management of resources is formalised into the GLTP in a similar manner; yet at the time of this research, contracts or memoranda of understanding did not exist.

Collaborative Management does not accurately describe the approach taken to community conservation in the GLTP. The latter is usually implemented in areas where "the conservation resource [is] less critical; or because government capacity to manage the resource is lower; or because government accepts that greater tenure rights exist for local communities and users, whether legally or morally; or a combination of these three factors" (Barrow & Murphree, 1997: 16). This is not the case in the GLTP where biodiversity preservation and tourism development seem to be prioritised in policy and official documents. In addition, government is not lacking capacity to manage resources due to large amounts of funding and support. There is no need therefore to devolve this to the local level.

Jeffery and Sundar (1999) provide a tool for analysing whether community conservation and management is possible in the GLTP. For the purpose of this research, on-the-ground conditions are compared with a list of conditions that are conducive to local-level management of resources provided by them. These conditions are listed in Table 4 below.

Table 4: List of Conditions Necessary for Local-Level Resource Management

| 1. | Perceived benefits from co-operating |
|---|---|
| 2. | Clearly defined rights and boundaries for the resource |
| 3. | Knowledge about the state of the resource |
| 4. | Small size of user group |
| 5. | Low degree of heterogeneity of the user group |
| 6. | Long-term, multi-layered interaction among the community |
| 7. | Simple rules and adaptable management regimes |
| 8. | Graduated sanctions as punishment |
| 9. | Ease of monitoring and accountability |
| 10. | Conflict resolution mechanisms and the role of leadership |
| 11. | Influences from the wider political economy |

(Jeffery and Sundar, 1999: 260)

Reviewing the list, it does not seem that the GLTP is currently succeeding in achieving local-level management of resources. This is due to several facts: rights and boundaries are not yet clearly defined in all areas of the LNP and this remains the biggest source of conflict; also the potential user group is large with a high degree of heterogeneity (for example the Limpopo, Shingwedzi and Makhandezula communities all living within the LNP speaking differing languages such as Shangaan and Portuguese). This high degree of mixed communities is a result of the Mozambican Civil War. In addition, there is a lack of conflict resolution mechanisms as well as monitoring systems and accountability, and a lack of understanding of conservation priorities amongst community members interviewed.

It appears that the GLTP does not have a Collaborative Management relationship with local communities, as it has not implemented an important aspect of this approach, which is to alter the balance of tenure rights and ownership and to redress the historic shift from customary to state control. Although there is a degree of access to benefits, there is a lack of a genuine local role in decision making. To date there has been no attempt by conservation authorities to create a negotiated framework through "some form of formal agreement with agreed rights and responsibilities by all involved stakeholders to use resources or a conservation area sustainably" (Barrow and Muphree, 1997: 15).

Instead, financial incentives (an element more common in CBNRM) have been created and offered to communities to encourage them to voluntarily move out of the protected area to allow for biodiversity preservation so the GLTP can achieve its full tourism potential. This is evident in Mr Van Wyk's explanation of the two options offered to people currently living within the Shingwedzi Catchment – namely, to resettle elsewhere or remain as an enclave community.

Mr. Satoli (pers.com., 12 December 2002), also indicates his awareness of the importance of incentives as an aid to decision making.

> "We can say to the community, I have this and that condition to move you to another site. What is your opinion? What do you want to do? What persuade you to choose firstly and secondly? So you can move him according to his choice. And if he chooses worse for you, you can make an arrangement".

Although it is evident that there is funding for incentives to be offered, at the time of this research, a formal list of incentives for communities was not available for viewing.

Considering the type of public participation having taken place in the GLTP to date – essentially, the handout of benefits and services - it could be argued that the community conservation approach adopted is best described as Protected Area Outreach (PAO). This is the lowest level of participation and ownership along the continuum discussed above. PAO attempts "to introduce the idea of broadening the tenure arrangements, therefore assuming some level of tenure rights for local communities, converted into benefits, while government retains legal ownership" (Barrow & Murphree, 1997: 14). Both the LNP and KNP are nationally gazetted legal entities managed by a state conservation authority such as SANParks and forbid the use of conservation resources - placing the GLTP under the ownership of the government.

The important point to note here is that *tenure rights* are effectively being converted into *rights for benefits* to improve local livelihoods. This is not true participation and does not empower local communities to play a role in decision making. Looking at the major components of PAO, it seems to be the best description of the approach taken in the GLTP where conservation objectives are the key management priority and rural livelihoods are of secondary importance.

A number of initiatives suggest the POA approach is dominant. For example, Mr. Wentzel (received 13 December 2003) notes that "Protected Area Outreach in the KNP entails environmental education[16]" which aims to enhance the community's recognition of the need for biological integrity". Business development opportunities for communities have also been established in the Makuleke region, which has been managed as a "contractual park" (Wentzel, received, 13 December 2003). For example, the Makuleke community has negotiated with the private sector for the development of game lodges within its territory in the Kruger National Park. Mr. Maluleke (received 13 September 2003) however explains that, "after several years, benefits from this are still to be gained. In the meantime, the hunting activities have provided shorter term benefits". In addition it is important to note that Mr. Maluleke feels that community and SANParks *are* in true partnership, although there is a need for more trust to be built. The greatest source of remaining conflict is "the joint conservation management area" which Mr. Maluleke feels is still "wanting" (Maluleke, received 13 September 2003).

Table 5 summarises the three types of community-based conservation discussed above.

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[16] There is no evidence however that Environmental Education is taking place in the LNP except through the training of field rangers such as Mr. Satoli.

Table 5: Three Types of Community Conservation Analysed in order to Define the Approach Adopted by the GLTP.

| | Community Conservation Approach | Ownership/Control | Approach's Priority |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Community Based Natural Resource Management (CBNRM) | Community control and responsibility for resources. | Communities live with wildlife and benefit from wildlife utilization. |
| 2. | Collaborative Management | Government owns resource or land but community has negotiated tenure and user rights. | Conservation resource less critical. |
| 3. | Protected Area Outreach (PAO) | State control over resources or land. Resource rights converted from rights to benefits. | Community livelihoods of secondary importance. Focus on conservation and biodiversity preservation. |

(Based on Barrow and Murphree, 1997)

## 6.5    Conclusion

To date, true public participation in the GLTP has not been implemented. Although IEM principles are said to influence GLTP policy, mechanisms such as environmental education or capacity building as tools to overcome the differing priorities and conflicts of the community and conservation authorities have not been fully utilized. These mechanisms could have been used to overcome the many obstacles and anti-participatory forces that face the implementation of IEM Principles, such as the community's focus on survival resulting in the long-term importance of conservation being overlooked.

A public participation technique that took the form of a community barriers meeting did take place. This however did not contribute to the community having a say in the park plans. They were merely provided with information and consulted. This passive engagement is the lowest level of public participation according to Table 1. In addition, community consultation (which is the third level out of the seven presented in Table 1) only took place once plans to translocate wild animals from the KNP were realized. This has contributed to the feeling of mistrust and

vulnerability amongst community members and may have devastating affects on future support for the park.

One cannot deny that decision makers have realised their mistake in bypassing community consultation and moving directly to implementation. It seems more effort is being made to bring communities into the process through the formation of the Project Liaison Board, thereby ensuring that communities receive their promised benefits from the development of the GLTP. The provision of incentives (and note that this is only the fourth level of participation described in Table 1- participation by material incentives) and assistance seems however to be mostly concentrated in the Support Zone. It is stated that only a small proportion of the LNP communities can be accommodated in this area, which implies that there may be problems with a lack of equitable opportunities.

It is very difficult to try and categorise the type of approach to community conservation in the GLTP. Elements from all three relationships are evident, but more so from the lowest level along the community conservation continuum – Protected Area Outreach. The fact that decision makers themselves cannot even define the community conservation approach raises concern and could be due to the fact that in-depth community analyses of conditions conducive for certain types of community conservation have not been carried out rigorously as is required to truly understand and assist communities.

# Chapter 7

## Conclusion and Recommendations

### 7.1    Conclusion

Since the origins of conservation, fences and boundaries have been introduced in order to protect and conserve the natural assets contained within. Transfrontier conservation has attempted to change this concept as it focuses on biodiversity preservation and is critical of environmentally inappropriate political and other boundaries. Transfrontier parks are sometimes referred to as "Peace Parks" as they also aim to promote peace and co-operation between participating states. In addition, the Great Limpopo Transfrontier Park (GLTP) claims to promote the principle of the African Renaissance through its anti-colonial approach to conservation.

The aim of this project was to explore the processes of decision making throughout the administrative hierarchy of the Great Limpopo Transfrontier Park (GLTP), and to evaluate these processes in terms of social and environmental justice principles. Qualitative methodological techniques were used. A field visit was conducted in the Kruger National Park (KNP) and Limpopo National Park (LNP) in August 2003. In December 2003, 15 semi-structured interviews were conducted with Masingir Velho community members and a LNP field ranger, Mr. Satoli. Representatives from the decision making hierarchy of the GLTP were identified and contacted, and many responded to electronic questionnaires. These organizations included South African National Parks, Peace Parks Foundation, African Wildlife Foundation, GFA Terra Systems, KfW (German Development Bank) as well as administrators and the coordinator of the GLTP.

The theory reviewed for this research included literature on the ideology and establishment of national parks, particularly those in Africa, and included consideration of the new conservation philosophies that have attempted to overcome these legacies. A key concept was the framework of environmental decision making, used to determine the extent to which the development of the Great Limpopo National Park (GLTP) has included issues of social and environmental justice and public participation. In particular, theory relating to three areas of concern to this study was discussed. These areas are: environmental justice and its relationship to social justice; theories of environmental decision making; and finally public participation and community involvement in policy processes. Primary data such as community respondents' quotes, newspaper articles and

official GLTP documents, together with the electronic questionnaire responses were analysed in relation to the above literature, in order to meet the three objectives of the research. These objectives were: to identify decision making procedures and approaches currently being used in the setting up of the GLTP; to determine the extent to which decision making approaches have incorporated concerns relating to social and environmental justice; and to assess public participation in the GLTP to date – particularly at the community level.

Zerner (2000: 16-17) provides a key insight which informed this research. As he explains:

> "Certain species, landscapes and environmental outcomes are privileged while others are peripheralized or disenfranchised. Each park, reserve and protected area is a project in governance: in drawing boundaries- conceptual, topographic, and normative; in implicating a regime of rules regulating permissible human conduct; in elaborating an institutional structure vested with power to enforce rules; and in articulating a project mission rendering the management regime reasonable, even natural".

With this in mind, it is necessary when advocating mechanisms intended to achieve international environmental justice, such as transfrontier parks, to examine forms nature management, to identify what kind of politics and governance are perceived and put in to place, and to assess the results. This was the purpose of the thesis.

The conservation regime or approach of the GLTP was assessed in Chapter 6. . Findings indicate that the intended Transfrontier Conservation *Area,* which allows for multiple land use, has been modified to an effective Transfrontier *Park.* Within a *park,* subsistence activities are controlled or even restricted, as biodiversity preservation is the priority. Although KfW and the World Bank, the two central funders for the GLTP, are completely opposed to "forced removals", resettlement of communities within the LNP will definitely need to take place due to the introduction of wildlife as well as the fact that the communities' subsistence activities threaten the tourism potential of the area. Compensation is to be provided in the form of direct benefits from tourism development such as employment, but concern is expressed at the fact that "few (public-private partnerships) have established visible and credible links between community tourism, conservation, and the generation of revenues" (Gomera, received 13 December 2002).

It is questionable whether the romantic idea behind the establishment of the GLTP is possible in reality. When looking at the popular images associated with marketing the park, and on-the-ground achievements, the gap between the two is striking. The implementation of the two

flagship actions of the GLTP (namely, the removal of fences to allow wildlife to follow ancient migration routes, thereby creating a biosphere reserve, and the introduction of wildlife such as elephants from the KNP) has initially jeopardized the intended aim of *community conservation and development* within the GLTP. These two actions have given rise to opposition between community members and park managers, as farming in the area has been made more difficult. At present, more fences seem to have been put up than taken down. The LNP boundary on one side has cut off the most accessible route for water collection.

The apparent lack of concern for farming activities from park mangers makes sense in the light of one of the GLTP objectives which is to "change the land use of the area from unsustainable subsistence agriculture in a very low rainfall area to wildlife management and tourism". So, although one cannot deny that the GLTP will bring much needed development in the area, it is questionable whether it can justifiably be sold as a community conservation project, as the community have had no say in the initial actions of the park and the community's livelihood objectives of subsistence agriculture are definitely not aligned with that of the decision makers' focus on biodiversity preservation and tourism development. As was the case in past conservation approaches, the communities within the LNP still have to move out of the area to allow for "successful" conservation and tourism. This point is made clear in an official document which discusses the motivation of possible resettlement of the local population living within and around the LNP: "the attractiveness of the park as a tourist destination correlates inversely with the number of people living inside" (KfW & DNAC, 2002: 13).

In order to determine the extent to which social and environmental justice concerns have been incorporated into the decision making, Chapter 6 looks at past injustices and whether present attempts have been made to rectify these. Not much seems to have changed. In the past, the state made local livelihoods difficult to pursue as Acts were passed which effectively made the people's behavior and relationship with nature illegal, with unauthorized resource use being prosecuted. From semi-structured interviews conducted with Massingir Velho community members, it is clear that the community relies greatly on their natural environment for their survival. However, once again, it seems that global biodiversity preservation goals take precedence over the needs of local people as traditional activities of hunting and the collection of raw materials have been outlawed, resulting in the local community members who continue these activities becoming illegal "poachers".

When looking at the actions and the manner in which decisions have been taken in the GLTP, it does not seem to fit into the definition of community conservation. It does however reflect some elements of civic environmentalism and rural development projects. Taking Dixon's (1990) warning seriously, though, it appears that the development programmes and projects of the GLTP are more integrated in name than in practice. The differing objectives of conservation and community survival do not seem to have been integrated into policy equally. Findings displayed in the questionnaire results, indicate that policies and action plans for the GLTP were developed by the state with little public participation. Drawing the community into community consultation processes to ensure social and environmental justice was only adopted as a responsive measure when opposition was met, and was not a decision-making priority from the outset.

Zerner (2000) believes that conservation cannot be separated from power, and emphasises that when analysing conservation practices, one should be aware as to what *type* of power is allocated to *whom*. With this in mind, one could argue that the quality of justice being delivered in the GLTP is not the type needed by communities who still have unclear land tenure and user rights. Community ownership and stability is therefore compromised. The community's powerless to influence any decisions or effect any change is encapsulated in the fact that they are, at present living with introduced wild animals in an unsafe and therefore unjust environment, as the presence of wildlife and new laws to ensure their survival is resulting in the communities' subsistence lifestyle becoming more vulnerable. This is exacerbated by the fact that coping strategies necessary to protect oneself when living with wild animals have also been outlawed. Once again, wildlife is prioritised over people: "the issue of the location of people in relation to access is very important as it is likely to be a source of conflict with wildlife" (Gomera, received 13 December 2003). Decision makers have therefore indicated that the communities are to be moved and resettled in existing host communities surrounding the GLTP. What seems to have been overlooked is that in doing so, community structures and rights are disrupted.

Chapter Six also provided an assessment of the environmental decision making process of the GLTP. Decision making processes adopted by the GLTP were compared with the Integrated Environmental Management (IEM) principles presented by Kahn (1998). As is evident in many poor communities, the GLTP faces obstacles to the implementation of effective community involvement and empowerment; for example the Massingir community's focus on survival and subsequent lack of concern for 'first world' conservation ideals and the GLTP's use of 'first world' public participation techniques amongst the rural poor. While the public meeting held in

Massingir cannot be seen as an inappropriate method, the fact that the community members were not engaged to a large extent remains a problem. The type of participation which took place during the barriers meeting, is defined by Barrow and Murphree (1997) as *passive participation*. This is the lowest level along the continuum (Table 1). The Massingir community members present at the meeting received top-down information from the Project Implementation Unit (PIU) and as is evident in the semi-structured interviews, the park managers did not listen to the community's suggestions.

Similarly, it is strikingly clear that that the communities in the LNP have not been regarded as equal partners as they have had no say in the decisions regarding the GLTP and their futures. Instead of formulating plans with other decision makers they have only been given a few choices regarding their future settlement. This *participation by consultation* in development programmes is still considered passive participation where top-down decisions are made. This is not considered true participation.

In addition, the levels of public participation in the GLTP was assessed using the IEM principles presented by Khan (1998). The findings are summarised in Table 2. The table indicates that mechanisms for open and participatory planning and accountability for delivery are lacking in the GLTP; although the elements of consultation of interested and affected parties, informed decision making, and democratic regard for rights and obligations have been introduced to a limited extent. While informed decision making has taken place to a small degree, the GLTP has not implemented this rigorously allowing local communities to receive benefits offered by formative community analysis. Table 3 illustrates the potential benefits that have been lost due to an apathetic approach to community analysis. These include: the avoidance of major strategy mistakes, mobilisation of community empowerment, establishment of criteria for evaluating outcomes, and trust building.

Recognition should be given to the fact that the GLTP decision makers have realized their mistake of excluding community members from policy formulation and implementation. Effort is now being made to correct this through the formation of the Project Liaison Board. This board's main purpose is to ensure that the community receives the promised benefits of tourism development offered as compensation to the loss of access and user rights. The provision of incentives and assistance however seems to be mostly concentrated in the Support Zone. It should also be noted that (this is only the fourth level of participation described in Table 1 -

participation by material incentives. As only a small proportion of the LNP communities can be accommodated in this area, there may be problems with a lack of equitable opportunities in the future.

The final issue discussed in Chapter 6 is how properly to define the community conservation approach adopted by the GLTP, in light of an understanding of the community's tenure rights and the role of the state. Reviewing the responses to the electronic questionnaires, there is a lack of knowledge on the different types and forms of community conservation amongst decision makers. The on-the-ground actions and plans of the GLTP were compared to theory presented by Barrow and Murphree (1997) on the three forms of community conservation, each of which has different tenurial and access regimes. These are Community Based Natural Resource Management (CBNRM), Collaborative Management, and Protected Area Outreach (PAO). These can be viewed as ranging along a continuum from high to low level community involvement respectively.

The assessment found that PAO is the community conservation approach most similar to that adopted by the GLTP. This is the lowest level of participation and ownership along the continuum. PAO advocates that the conservation resources are placed under the ownership of the state and that tenure rights are converted into rights for benefits to improve livelihoods. These conditions are all found within the GLTP. PAO projects generally regard livelihood objectives as a residual issue, with biodiversity being prioritized, and this is a good description of the current case.

## 7.2    Recommendations specific to the GLTP

These recommendations range from general issues that need to be considered and implemented, to more specific steps that need to be undertaken within the GLTP to ensure that the communities are drawn into the decision making process and benefit from the development and incentives offered:

- The GLTP should implement more fully the principles of the African Renaissance and rely less on conservation principles and methods of the Western world.

- Community analysis needs to be conducted out of a genuine interest and concern for the communities' tradition and knowledge and not as a means to determine resettlement sites,

which may be necessary for the park to reach its full tourism potential. The communities have had no real opportunity to influence their future and park plans but have been told that resource use is restricted and given choices with regards to future resettlement. Community readiness analysis will also aid in avoiding major strategy mistakes already experienced in the GLTP.

- Environmental Education programmes for community members should be developed. This would help: avoid some of the obstacles to IEM described by Kahn (1998); build capacity; and contribute to empowerment thereby ensuring that some of the aims of community conservation are met. The establishment of conflict resolution structures and mechanisms would also be beneficial during future negotiations between GLTP community members and decision makers.

- The GLTP decision makers need to become more proactive in ensuring community participation instead of simply responding to obstacles and opposition. In addition, this public participation needs to shift along the continuum, from its present place as passive or consultative participation, to interactive participation which is characterised by joint analysis for joint actions; the possible use of new local institutions or strengthening existing ones, and enabling and empowering people so that they have a stake in maintaining structures and practices (See Table 1).

- The GLTP should ensure fair and equitable representivity in Community Participation Structures. All stakeholders need to be brought into the decision making process to ensure inclusivity and transparency. Communication is essential for all stakeholders involved. It is critical that feedback and continual support is practiced so that attention and support is not lost at the community level.

- Mechanisms should be developed to provide for the co-existence of conflicting statutory and customary tenure and land-use. It is critical that time is taken to develop local ownership and responsibility.

- Mechanisms need to be developed that hold decision makers accountable for the delivery of promised incentives and benefits. In addition, community members employed by the LNP need greater security than short-term contracts. Local communities should have

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preference in employment opportunities that arise from the GLTP developments. Related to this is the need for skills development opportunities and entrepreneurial training.

- Sustainable integration of community members into new villages needs to be assured. The success of integration also needs to be monitored so as to avoid any future discrimination against newcomers.

- The borehole provided to the Massingir Community Members by the PIU needs to be maintained.

## 7.3    Concluding Remarks

It is evident from this research and other literature reviewed on "community conservation" that there has been to date, a shortfall of real co-operation in the case of the GTLP. It is hoped that decision makers are taking into cognisance that if communities are not empowered, they will empower themselves, with sometimes unpredictable results – possibly moving further away from peace and collaboration.

The creation of large unfragmented habitats through a network of biological corridors to better sustain the ecological integrity of bioregions is an alluring notion. But one has to ask at what price this is possible and justified. From a cynical point of view, the ecological rationale and promised benefits of the park could be suspected to simply be fundraising propaganda designed to appeal to Western donors. Other justifications also appear to be targeted to tourists. In terms of the capacity-building rationale for transfrontier conservation, institution building and transferring of skills is possible. However, there has to be determination from the "stronger" partners to pro-actively engage in building capacity amongst the "weaker" partners, or develop a regulatory mechanism to enforce the same. Without it, the "strong" will only get stronger and the "weak" will only get weaker.

There is no single easy solution to the challenges that face community and transfrontier conservation in the GLTP, but there seems to be enormous political will on the part of two of the three states involved; there is support from donors to make it happen, and there is a lot of energy from the private sector to assist. This is a fairly rare combination of circumstances which it would be foolish to ignore provided that no injustice is inflicted on the communities in the

process. Taking into account the fact that areas earmarked to be included in the GLTP suffer from extreme poverty, the transfrontier park may bring much desired development to the population. But as this research has highlighted, a lot more effort needs to be made in order to ensure that this development benefits those that need it most - the local communities. It is hoped that the decision makers of the GLTP take cognisance of the lessons learnt in the past as well as the findings of this thesis and the recommendations humbly offered.

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# Appendix A

**BINNEKOMS**

**SUID-AFRIKAANSE POLISIEDIENS**    **SOUTH AFRICAN POLICE SERVICE**

Posbus / P O Box 28

| Verwysings Reference | : | 3/5/2 |
| Navrae Enquiries | : | Insp Coetzer |
| Telefoon Telephone | : | (013) 7355601; 7355770 |
| Faksnommer Fax number | : | (013) 7355172 |

DIE STASIEBEVELVOERDER
THE STATION COMMANDER
**SKUKUZA**
1350

DATE : 09-12-2002.

Die Commander          The Game Rangers          The Gate Official
S A N D F Observation Post    SATARA AND HOUTBOSCRAND    Kruger Gate
PUMBE

AUTHORISATION TO CROSS THE RSA-MOSAMBIQUE BORDER AT PUMBE

Authorisation granted to the following person/s to cross the border from Mosambique to South-Africa at Pumbe, and to travel on the Pumbe Fire break in the Kruger Park on the dates and times as mentioned. below.

SURNAME     :     DYLL

NAME     :     CARLA.

DATE     :     9·12·2002

ESTIMATED TIME     7 am     REG NR    N73980.

DATESTAMP OUT
2002-12-08

SIGNATURE SANDF MEMBER AT PUMBE :     TIME : 11.36

**INSPECTOR**
STATION COMMISSIONER : SKUKUZA
J S COETZER

2002 -12- 0 9
SKUKUZA
AREA LAEVELD/LOWVELD
STATION COMMISSIONER
SOUTH AFRICAN POLICE SERVICE

## Appendix B

Massingir Velho Community Respondents:

Respondent 1:        Female aged 30 + years

Respondent 2:        Male aged 30 + years

Respondent 3:        Male aged 30 - 40 years

Respondent 4:        Male aged 50 - 60 years

Respondent 5:        Female aged 30 + years

Respondent 6:        Female aged 60 - 70 years

Respondent 7:        Male aged +/- 30 years

Respondent 8:        Male aged 30 + years

Respondent 9:        Female aged +/- 20 years

Respondent 10:       Male aged 40 + years

Respondent 11:       Male aged 40 + years

Respondent 12:       Female aged 50 + years

Respondent 13:       Male 20 - 30 years

Respondent 14:       Female 30 + years

# Appendix C

Responded to Questionnaire:

| | |
|---|---|
| Mr. Maxwell Gomera: | IUCN |
| Mr. Arrie van Wyk: | PPF (Project Manager of PIU) |
| Mr. Piet Theron: | SANParks (GLTP Co-ordinator) |
| Mr. Kobus Wentzel: | SANParks (District Ranger- Shingwedzi, KNP) |
| Dr. Jorge Ferrao: | International Co-ordinator for GLTP (Mozambique) |
| Mr. Ralph Kadel: | KfW |
| Mr. Heiko Weisslder: | GFA (Administrative and Financial Director) |
| Mr. William Swanepoel: | Administration (Implementation and Anti-Poaching Unit in LNP, Mozambique) |
| Mr. Lamson Maluleke: | Community Representative and AWF |

Did not respond despite confirmation:

| | |
|---|---|
| Mr. Danie Pienaar: | SANParks (Corporate handler) |
| Mr. Paul Rode: | PPF (Financial Manager of PIU) |
| Mr. Robert Clement-Jones: | World Bank |
| Mr. J. Kharika: | DEAT (based in National Office of IUCN) |
| Inspector Oubass Coetzer: | Administration (SANParks, based in KNP) |
| Mr. Gilberto Vicente: | Park Warden of LNP. |